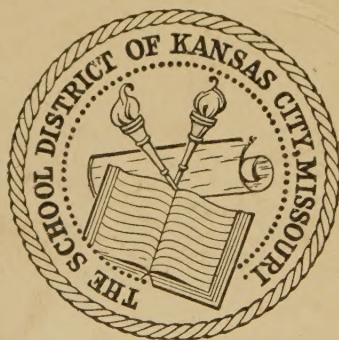


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The
American Historical Review

LAND TENURE IN THE ANCIENT ORIENT

LAND tenure in the European Middle Ages was early studied by scientific historians, and the establishment of its fundamental importance for the understanding of the economic and social history was one of their greatest triumphs. It was not long before it was recognized that the manorial system of the Middle Ages was no innovation, that it had evolved naturally from the land system of the Roman Empire. In turn, this was traced back to the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Within the last century, a vast number of records in the cuneiform and hieroglyphic writings have been discovered, published, and translated. Parallels, or more correctly, antecedents to the better known land systems of the West were soon detected, and there were even found anticipations of the more truly feudal system of Europe in certain periods of Egyptian and Babylonian history. Orientalists were not slow in pointing out these remarkable similarities, and some went so far as to employ in their translations the familiar terminology of the European manor. Innumerable papyri from Egypt and rarer inscriptions from the other Hellenistic kingdoms showed definite lines of communication between the relatively scanty native Egyptian records and those of the older countries of Western Asia and the records from Europe proper.

With these facts so clearly established, it was natural that the view should prevail that the manorial system was the typical land system of the ancient Orient and that it was the direct ancestor of the better known tenures of the West in later times. The second assumption is undoubtedly correct, and further detailed investigation will surely discover new links between East and West. The first assumption is true in part, but only in part. Assyria, the one country whose records have been studied in their entirety from this point of view, proves that the problem can not be solved in this easy fashion.

The problem will not be solved by the present hurried survey. Many detailed investigations must be carried on before more than a tentative solution can be presented. The humbler purpose of this article is to urge the importance of this subject to the students of land problems in general, to indicate the lines along which it is believed investigation should proceed, and to illustrate this procedure by certain examples taken from the abundant mass of material. Suggestions from neighboring territory will not be ignored, but the data from the ancient Orient will be studied by themselves. In particular, the use of terminology proper to other fields will be avoided as far as possible, since their employment tends to read into the subject ideas which may not actually be there.¹

Theoretically, at least, the investigation should begin with that second phase of the neolithic Orient, when to pottery and polished stone implements there were added the cultivation of the soil and the domestication of animals. Written records are of course entirely absent, and we can only guess at the conditions under which man, or rather woman, tilled the soil. Neolithic graves prove the possession of private property, and this fact would lead us to suspect that there was private ownership in land as well. We can also call upon analogy with the primitive peoples of to-day, for among them we find examples of land held in common, land belonging to the chief, land consecrated to religion, and land assigned to individuals for a year or in more permanent tenure. Some such conditions we may assume to have been behind the earliest historical land systems.

By the dawn of written history, city states of some size had been formed. We can trace their growth most clearly in Babylonia, whose unification takes place in the full light of written history, but there is plenty of evidence that a similar development immediately preceded Egyptian unity under the First Dynasty. Now and then we have hints that similar conditions may have obtained in Elam, in Syria, and in Asia Minor. The land had already come, in whole or in part, into the control of the state. To be more exact, it had come into the hands of the city god, but, since the ruler was the vicegerent of the god on earth, it was the ruler who enjoyed actual possession. Some

¹ This paper was read at Ann Arbor, Dec. 29, 1925, at a joint meeting of the American Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society. It was again read at the meeting of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society at Chicago, Mar. 19, 1926. Both Orientalists and historians have contributed valuable suggestions which have been incorporated in the revised paper. It is a pleasure to state that Professor D. D. Luckenbill, of the University of Chicago, authority on Babylonian and Assyrian economic history, has expressed complete agreement with the general view herein presented, though with no necessary agreement in individual details.

of the land he may have granted to his nobles for favors received or to be given, but the vast mass was crown land. It was cultivated by serfs who paid to the god rent and not taxes; this rent was paid in kind, and in turn the ruler paid the salaries of his subordinates in grain, so that the measure of grain almost became the equivalent of coin in bookkeeping. Only in the case of the cities may there have been a more free tenure, though this is by no means certain for the earliest period. Thousands of bookkeeping records from Babylonia establish the accuracy of this picture.²

This system of land tenure proved peculiarly adapted to the Nile valley and was continued throughout the ages. It was the basis for the wealth of the Fourth Dynasty and it made possible the erection of the pyramids. In the period of decline which followed, it broke down to the extent of transferring the rights of the crown to the feudal princes who defied the central power, but the serf benefitted not at all by the change. It was in full force again under the New Empire, to which belongs the well-known story of Joseph, whose wisdom is made by the Hebrew writer the cause of its introduction.³ Thousands of papyri from the Macedonian and Roman and early Arab periods have made it familiar to every student of agricultural history, and it has left its traces in the Egypt of to-day. It has made the typical Egyptian a peasant.⁴ Yet, it should be noted, there is some evidence for a land-holding middle class from at least the Middle Kingdom and onward.⁵

When the Shumerian in Babylonia began to be supplanted by the Semite, fresh from the nomadic life of the Arabian desert, we find our first certain examples of tenure in fee simple. Manishtusu, one of the greatest monarchs of the Agade dynasty, could not confiscate land without compensation. As witnessed by his great stele, he must pay the owners at the current price or must grant other lands of equivalent value.⁶ The business documents likewise reflect the change. Holdings of the citizens of the towns were not confined to houses within the towns themselves but also included lands in the outskirts. All their property could be bought and sold, provided only that the transaction was properly recorded, sealed, and witnessed. Church and state had begun to separate, and the possessions of the

² Cf. H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes Sumériennes Archaïques* (Paris, 1909).

³ Gen. 47: 23 ff.

⁴ J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1912), pp. 44, 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 237.

⁶ J. de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires* (Paris, 1900 ff.), I., opp. p. 142; V. Scheil, II. 1 ff. Cf. F. Steinmetzer, *Beitr. z. Assyriologie*, VIII. 2; A. T. Olmstead, *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, XXXIII. 316.

temples continued to increase, until the priesthoods dominated the economic life, through their great estates, their training of the scribes, and their issuance of coined money, bearing the head of the local god as witness to its correct weight and fineness. The code of Hammurabi, based on earlier Shumerian codes, shows the system in full force.⁷

With the conquest of the Babylonian alluvium by half-civilized hordes of Kashshites from the east, there resulted a remarkable parallel to the conditions of the European Middle Ages. In each case, on the basis of an earlier manorial system, a definitely feudal system was imposed in a period of political disturbance, when the royal power was at its weakest. Nearly a hundred Kashshite boundary stones have come down to us. They contain royal charters, granting huge tracts of land to more than half independent nobles, and with as careful a statement of the rights and immunities which went with them as can be read in any medieval charter. They are full of technical terms, especially of those dealing with taxation, and exact interpretation is still in the future.⁸

In its general outlines, the Assyrian system of land tenure was very similar to that of Babylonia, from which it was in large part derived. Since it has been presented, with as complete a view as the evidence at hand will permit, in the writer's *History of Assyria*,⁹ a brief sketch may here suffice.

For sources, we have over a thousand bookkeeping documents, the larger part of an agricultural nature, a few letters which discuss farming conditions, a few incidental references in the royal annals, the charters to the nobles and to the imperial free cities, above all, the Harran Census. Each section of the census deals with a family group. Since the father is named first, it would appear that these holdings were hereditary. Then follows the status of the head of the family, irrigator, husbandman, vineyardist, shepherd; his sons are listed by name, his daughters are counted. The number of his slaves is given and then his holdings, reckoned by the *imer*, the amount of land that could be sown with an ass-load of seed.

The soil of the great estates, which were particularly numerous in Mesopotamia, was cultivated by serfs. In the sales of land, they are regularly mentioned by name, and in the same sentence with the live

⁷ V. Scheil, *Dél. en Perse, Mém.*, IV. 11 ff.; R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi* (Chicago, 1904).

⁸ Full bibliography of these charters, A. T. Olmstead, *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, XXXVI. 120 ff.; the most important single collection is that by L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones* (London, 1912).

⁹ A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923).

stock. They could not leave land or master, but they might buy additional land, stock, or equipment. They probably paid a third of their income to their master.

In addition to payment of rent, regularly in kind, the serf, often a deported captive, owed numerous services to the state. The land unit was the "bow", which must furnish the military unit, a bowman and his shield-bearer. Serf as well as slave must also serve the state for economic purposes. Peasants must work the crown lands, keep up roads and canals, and assist in building government structures. References to "task work" are frequent in the letters to the king, and once we hear the voice of the ancient lowly, "the task work is heavy, heavy upon us". The peasant's daughters must serve "king's maidship", as, for example, in the great weaving establishments in the royal capitals.

The Assyrian might be a fierce warrior, but he had learned the great truth that the real foundation of the state is the farmer, and he treated his serfs accordingly. A system much like that of our working the farms on shares was normal. Our largest single group of bookkeeping documents from the royal archives consists of the records of loans advanced by the master to finance the harvest.

In all ages and throughout all countries, not excepting our own, the greatest problem of the farmer has been the securing of loans for his seasonal necessities without recourse to the usurer. The Assyrian landlord showed strangely enlightened self-interest in saving his tenant from this fate. His loans were not in accord with the usual practice, which results in the enslaving of tenant to master by an ever mounting and unpaid interest. The Assyrian landlord actually refused to demand interest at all if the loan was paid when the harvest was in. In fact, he actually lost money if grain were loaned, for he made his loan when grain was dear and received it when it was cheap. Only the careless and the thriftless, who did not meet his loan at harvest, paid interest and then it was high enough.

The Assyrian has been given a bad reputation. Certainly he did not deserve it from his treatment of his peasants. The fact is that the peasant was relatively well off when Assyria ruled the world. His successors did not follow the same enlightened policy, and in the later documents from Babylonia we can watch the serf sink to the level of the slave and lose his identity in a separate and more privileged class.

Our documents come almost entirely from court circles and therefore deal largely with crown lands or with the estates held by the nobles. But there are sufficient references to the free farmer and

cultivator to prove that they formed a considerable part of the population. While the great plains of Mesopotamia and their continuation in North Syria were largely tilled by serfs, the rougher country was still held by the free peasant. Here the idea of family ownership was strong, as is witnessed by the elaborate formula in the bills of sale by which the various members of the seller's family are prohibited from claiming an interest in the sold land. That even deported captives might own land in fee simple is shown by the speech of the Assyrian general to the men of Jerusalem whom he was attempting to persuade to surrender: "Every one shall eat of his own vine and his fig tree and drink the waters of his own cistern."¹⁰

Nor, in any estimate of Assyrian land tenure, should we forget the imperial free city. These free cities possessed elaborate charters of rights, frequently renewed by their rulers, and which applied equally to the lands held by the citizens in the suburbs. Here all lands were held in fee simple, could be freely bought and sold, and were immune from all the vexatious exactions of the military and civil service.¹¹ Taking into consideration all this evidence, we may conclude that a very large part of the Assyrian Empire was cultivated under the manorial tenure, but it is equally clear that a very respectable part of the citizens owned their land as fully as we do to-day.

Palestine and its land tenure must be of special interest to us, because of its Biblical associations. It was a land of small patches of thin soil, hidden in deep isolated valleys or shut in by rocks and forests, and was therefore ill fitted to farming on a large scale. Its population was constantly being recruited from the desert, whose inhabitants adapted themselves but poorly to the settled agricultural life.

The Phoenician coast was indeed marked by rich pockets of soil, large enough to afford a start to civilization, but too small to support a large population. Intensive agriculture was therefore demanded, with its emphasis on the small farmer, and even at that its citizens were driven to the sea to act as the middlemen for the ancient world or to sell industrial products manufactured at home.

How simple was Syrian agriculture is strikingly indicated by the Canaanite code which Professor Waterman has shown underlies the earliest Hebrew code still preserved in Exodus. There can be no doubt that it is based on the code of the Babylonian Hammurabi, for sometimes there is actual translation, but more often there is adaptation. This adaptation in itself proves the existence of a free peas-

¹⁰ II Kings 18: 31; for detailed study of the Assyrian land system, cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, chap. XL., the Assyrian Manor.

¹¹ Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, chap. XLI., the Imperial Free City.

antry. There are slaves but no serfs, and the large estate is conspicuously absent.¹² This free peasantry appears again and again in our earliest Hebrew tales, such as that of Saul, about to become king, but not too proud to hunt his father's asses.¹³

Hebrew union was a necessity to meet Philistine aggression, but the peasant paid a large part of the price. One of our earliest examples of political philosophy is that chapter in Samuel in which the seer is presented as telling the people what manner of service they must do for a king. The taking of the tithe is simple taxation. But, by the "manner of the king", he will also take their children to plow his ground and to reap his harvests, while their daughters will be perfumers, cooks, and bakers. These duties closely parallel the services demanded by the Assyrian king. Further, he will take their best fields, vineyards, and olive yards, and will give them to his servants.¹⁴

David followed the example of his greater neighbors in making a census. Military needs were given as excuse, though we can not doubt that taxation was more in the king's mind. The true Hebrew attitude is made plain by Joab's emphatic dissent, and public opinion saw David's punishment in the pestilence which followed.¹⁵

To Solomon must be ascribed such discredit as may accrue to the man who introduced, on a large scale, forced labor for the erection of his palace and temple and for the division of the land into administrative districts whose chief purpose was the proper collection of the taxes to support his elaborate court.¹⁶ The reaction under Rehoboam, which resulted in the divided kingdom, was in its essence a revolt of the free peasantry against these exactions. The ostraka discovered in Ahab's storehouse by the Harvard expedition which excavated Samaria shows the same system of enforced contributions in effect,¹⁷ and a little later we have similar evidence in the inscribed jars that contained the oil and wine collected in the four provinces of Judah and sent to the king at Jerusalem.¹⁸

Jehu's revolt was not merely religious but economic, for Jehu too represented the peasantry. That the lot of the peasant was not

¹² Exod. 21 f.; cf. Leroy Waterman, *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, XXXVIII, 36 ff.

¹³ I Sam. 9.

¹⁴ I Sam. 8: 10 ff.; for the granting of fields and vineyards by the king, cf. also I Sam. 22: 7.

¹⁵ II Sam. 24.

¹⁶ I Kings 4: 7 ff., with its valuable fragment from the royal archives.

¹⁷ G. A. Reisner, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 227 ff.; cf. W. F. Albright, *Jour. Palestine Oriental Society*, V. 38 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Albright, *loc. cit.*

thereby improved, even under his own dynasty, is shown by the first of the writing prophets, Amos, who is not dazzled by the superficial prosperity of Jeroboam II., but pictures for us the decay of agriculture and the loss of lands by the poor.¹⁹ This is one of the chief themes of the prophets who followed. Yet, with all allowance for these gloomy pictures, it is clear that the greater part of the land was still in the possession of the free peasants, and that their lot, if unhappy, was due to poor crops and bad seasons, rather than to oppressive landlords.

Did we know more of Persian history, we could better trace the part Persia played in passing on these various systems of land tenure to the classical world. Very few documents exist in the native Persian and these tell nothing of the land, but we have incidental references to the Greek and Latin authors, we have a fair sized amount of Biblical material from the Persian period, we have an ever increasing number of Aramaic inscriptions and papyri, the cuneiform tablets from this age are an unworked mine, there is much in the hieroglyphic inscriptions from the Nile. From these, when properly collected and studied, a new picture of Persia can be drawn and at least the outlines of the land systems can be blocked out.

The Persian was no innovator, neither was he a stickler for administrative uniformity. He took what he found and made the best of it. The very words he used in his taxation terminology, preserved in the Aramaic documents incorporated in the book of Ezra, are letter for letter the same as those used by the Assyrians and Babylonians before him.²⁰ Where he found large estates, as in Asia Minor, he retained them.²¹ Where religious communities or foundations enjoyed special rights, he was careful not to disturb them, as in the case of the shrine of Apollo in Magnesia,²² or the still more famous case of the temple at Jerusalem.

The Hebrew prophets of the Persian period, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, bear witness to the same peasant farming and the same crop failures in bad years. Nehemiah tells of the king's tribute which is driving the peasants into debt and slavery, but it is their own lands which they are mortgaging, and to their fellow Jews.²³ The law codes of the period assume ownership of field and vineyard,²⁴ and

¹⁹ Amos 8: 4.

²⁰ Ezra 4: 13, 20; 6: 8; 7: 20 ff.

²¹ B. Haussoullier, *Rev. de Philologie*, XXV. 8 ff.; cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Beitr. z. Alten Geschichte*, I. 295 ff.

²² Gadatas inscription, G. Cousin and G. Deschamps, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XIII. 529 ff.; English translation, C. J. Ogden, in G. W. Botsford and E. G. Sihler, *Hellenic Civilization* (New York, 1915), p. 162.

²³ Neh. 5: 3.

²⁴ Lev. 19: 9 ff.

indeed there is so little question of tenure that they ignore the whole matter. The intensely strong family feeling for the land is shown by the jubilee laws, even though they may never have been actually enforced.²⁵ The Jewish papyri from Elephantine present us with the documents of a military colony at the First Cataract, buying and selling their lands, not according to the servile custom of Egypt, but by forms which are essentially the same as those employed by the inhabitants of the free cities of Babylonia.²⁶

Our conclusion must be that there is no simple formula that will explain the whole development of land tenure in the ancient Orient. A large part of this territory was indeed farmed under conditions approaching those found on the manors of medieval Europe, but there were many variations in detail, and there was no little ownership in fee simple. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the Near East in Greco-Roman times or under the Muslims. We can be sure that the land system of the Hellenistic and the Roman world goes back to those of the ancient Orient, and that here is to be sought the source of the serf estate. But it should also be remembered that other systems of tenure remained in the Orient until the time of Alexander and that they have survived to the present day in Arabic and Turkish law.

Thus far, students of the classical land tenure have largely devoted their attention to Egypt, where such masses of papyri have been unearthed. But it will long ago have been observed that in this, as in so many other respects, Egypt was not typical of the whole Near East. There are other records for the Greco-Roman period. A careful study of the later Jewish writings would add much, for it has been clearly shown that in many respects the Talmudic doctors simply followed old Babylonian law.²⁷ The cuneiform tablets of the Seleucid period have much to say on land ownership, as on many another feature of the economic life, but few have even been translated. One tablet, which can scarcely be called well published or annotated, gives direct evidence on our problem.²⁸ No one has searched through the dreary tomes of Syrian homilies to gather the agricultural grain. Arabic and later procedure will afford welcome hints. But this paper is already over long for so humble a survey, and it will have accomplished its purpose if interest is excited in this new and virtually unplowed field.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

²⁵ Lev. 25 : 23 ff.

²⁶ A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford, 1923). Note the references to the sluggard and his field in Prov. 20 : 4 ; 24 : 30, probably dating from the Hellenistic period.

²⁷ Cf. H. S. Linfield, *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, XXXVI. 40 ff. Note especially the mortgages which assume fee-simple ownership.

²⁸ C. F. Lehmann, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, VII. (1892) 330 ff.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH TOWNS

IN 1893 and 1895 there appeared in the *Revue Historique* a noteworthy article¹ by the eminent historian Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent, setting forth ideas which he has since continued to develop in a variety of scattered publications. But M. Pirenne's work, fortunately, is not destined to remain, like that of so many scholars, known only to readers of technical European journals. As a result of a visit to America in 1922, when he lectured at many of our universities, M. Pirenne has now brought out, through the Princeton University Press, a most admirable little volume,² wherein all may follow the fascinating story of the medieval town.

As told by M. Pirenne, the story is straightforward and simple. True urban life has ever been based on trade and industry; as it is to-day, so it was in the Middle Ages and antiquity. Throughout the greater part of Western Europe, however, urban life has had no continuous existence from Roman to our own times, for an age intervened when commerce practically ceased. As a consequence, the medieval town was the product of a commercial revival. It was the inevitable result of economic forces that operated then, as now, without regard for religion, language, political tradition, or cephalic index. National characteristics, local institutions, or royal regulation might affect the superficial organization of an urban settlement, but in themselves were powerless to create it.

Now, obvious as it seems, no one has adopted just this point of view in dealing with the English borough; at least, no one has pushed home the conclusions that it necessitates. The records have been read and reread, but too often interpreted to mean something that they do not say. Let us then test the theories of M. Pirenne by the English evidence, accepting as certain only what the sources of each age indisputably prove.

In the first place, flourishing towns existed in Roman Britain, but it is agreed that, with the coming of the barbarians, urban life in that province suffered even more complete collapse than in Gaul and in Germany.³ On the Continent it was the Church that, thanks to its

¹ "Les Origines des Constitutions Urbaines au Moyen-Âge", *Revue Historique*, LIII. 52 ff., LVII. 57 ff.

² *Medieval Cities* (Princeton, 1925). A French version is to follow.

³ C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History* (Manchester, 1911), pp. 73, 74; A. Ballard, *The English Borough in the*

diocesan organization, kept alive the idea of the Roman *civitas*. The city became the cathedral town, the centre of an episcopal administration which included, by virtue of royal immunity, the right of holding courts, coining money, collecting tolls, and providing for local defense. The last item, indeed, was one of paramount importance, particularly in the period of the Norman incursions. Under the command of the bishop or of his *avoué*, the walls that had stood since the days of Constantine were repaired and given over to the charge of a permanent garrison. Although, however, the city remained important as a fortress and as an administrative centre, it was neither a unit of economic production nor a legal entity. Its inhabitants lived off the labor of peasants on surrounding estates; its court, its mint, its market were supported by outsiders; if it had a government, that was not self-government.⁴

In Britain no such episcopal organization existed, or at least, none survived the Saxon conquest. When bishops were installed among the converted kingdoms, some took Roman cities as their capitals, but others established themselves in mere country villages—a situation that remained for Norman prelates to bring into accord with Continental usage.⁵ In any case, if the old city kept any political importance, this was the work of the king, and we may leave the bishop out of account.

Now it is a familiar fact that the kingdom of England was a product of the tenth century. The king of Wessex, like the count of Flanders, proved his statesmanship in war with the heathen invader, and in both countries there began a new era of fortification. It was then that Flanders, like many other feudal states, saw the erection of those crude fortresses known in French dialects as castles and in German as burgs. What the city was for the bishop, the castle was for the secular prince. The Flemish burg, placed in the hands of a castellan, became not merely a military post, but also a centre for the administration of justice and the collection of the count's revenues. Its population included, besides a garrison of soldiers and a few

Twelfth Century (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 70 ff. In the former of these books the critical scholarship of M. Petit-Dutaillis gives a splendid guide to the literature on the English borough; and as an introduction to the sources, the painstaking compilations of Adolphus Ballard prove equally indispensable. For the sake of brevity, reference in the following pages will be restricted, wherever possible, to such standard authorities.

⁴ Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, pp. 56-71. For the purposes of this study it will not be necessary to repeat the citations that M. Pirenne makes of his numerous other publications.

⁵ G. Hill, *English Dioceses* (London, 1900).

priests, a horde of officials and serving-men; but like the inhabitants of the contemporary city, they were dependent on outlying manors for their subsistence and formed neither an economic nor a political community.⁶

If, with these facts in mind, we now turn to the records of Saxon England, what do we find? That some Roman cities continued to serve as fortresses or places of refuge, particularly in the time of the Danish invasions, when their walls were repaired and improved.⁷ That such a place was called in Anglo-Saxon a *burh*—a name which had been earlier applied to a defensible dwelling-house.⁸ Then we have the familiar story of the *burh*-building by Edward the Elder, the "timbering" of what at first must have been rude entrenchments and stockades;⁹ but many *burhs* became linked with political organization in the conquered Danelaw and even outside it. The Burghal Hidage gives us a list of thirty-one such centres, each followed by the number of hides apparently connected with it for military purposes;¹⁰ and by the end of the tenth century, we have proof that the *burh* was the ordinary meeting-place of a court, that it regularly contained a mint and an official market, and that it was governed by a royal reeve.¹¹

Taken by itself, this evidence surely delineates something very similar to the Flemish burg of the same epoch; for the fact that the

⁶ Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, pp. 73-77.

⁷ Ballard, *The English Borough*, pp. 73 ff.

⁸ F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1898-1912), II. 330 ("Burg"), 659 ("Stadt"); F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 183 ff.; Ella S. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London, 1913), ch. II.; W. H. St. John Hope, "English Fortresses and Castles of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries", *Archaeological Journal*, LX. 72 ff.

⁹ Mrs. Armitage has not only listed the *burhs* of Edward and Ethelfleda (pp. 26, 27), but has made a minute study of the extant earthworks at each place. Thanks to her scholarly work, definite conclusions as to the size and shape of the early *burh* can now be made. Eddisbury, "the only case in which the work of Ethelfleda is preserved in a practically unaltered form", is an oval about 600 feet by 1200, enclosing a little over 10 acres (p. 35). Of the *burhs* of Edward, Witham had an area of 9½ acres (p. 39), Maldon of 22, Towcester of 35 (p. 41), Nottingham of 39 (p. 45), and Cambridge of 30 (p. 55). The last two of these forts were originally Danish. The *burh* was thus a small affair hastily thrown up in a few weeks. It normally consisted of a wooden palisade and a ditch, but at Towcester the Chronicle says that Edward erected a stone wall.

¹⁰ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 187, 502 ff.; Ballard, *The English Borough*, pp. 42 ff.; Armitage, *Norman Castles*, pp. 28, 385; H. M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 204 ff.

¹¹ Maitland, pp. 185-195; A. Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs* (Oxford, 1904), pp. 110 ff., and *The English Borough*, pp. 43 ff.; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II. 659 ("Stadt").

term *borough* later came to mean town in our sense of the word does not for an instant justify the conclusion that urban settlements were created by the son of King Alfred.¹² Indeed, Maitland's picture of the primitive *burh* was entirely faithful to the sources¹³—a fact that seems to have been obscured by the controversy over his "garrison theory". Even that much criticized notion, though hardly proved by the known facts, is by no means contradicted by them. Garrisons of some sort there must have been in the *burh*; men styled *cnihts* were still living there in 1066, and although they "drank their gilds", they were not professional tradesmen.¹⁴ The *burh* had a market-place, but as Maitland said, that "does not imply a resident population of buyers and sellers".¹⁵ The tenth-century borough would seem to have been essentially a royal military and administrative centre, the inhabitants of which were socially indistinguishable from the country

¹² Practically all our modern authorities (*e.g.*, Petit-Dutaillis, Liebermann, and Ballard, *ut supra*) use *borough* and *town* interchangeably for the tenth century—an equation which is entirely unjustifiable without careful definition of terms. Medieval chroniclers and scribes frequently wrote *urbs*, *oppidum*, *castellum*, *castra*, or *portus* as the equivalent of *burgus*, but we must not allow classic terminology to blind us as to the nature of the thing itself. Mrs. Armitage (ch. V. and app. D) cites the relevant sources, but seems to think that the motte and bailey type of fortress introduced into England by the Normans should alone be properly called castle; earlier fortresses were towns. To her the *burh* was not merely the camp of refuge so clearly depicted by contemporary writings and archaeological remains, but "a place where people were expected to live permanently and do their daily work . . . a fostering seat for trade and manufactures". But is there any evidence for this latter supposition? Military necessity alone will account for the location of the tenth-century boroughs (see the excellent sketch by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope cited above, n. 8), and if half of them lived on into the next century, it was due to the accidents of history, and not to the kindly foresight of their founders (see below, n. 23).

¹³ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 184–195. Maitland clearly implied that the early *burh* was no true town, but since economic history did not interest him, he made no attempt to explain how the *burh* became a town. His disciple Ballard seems never to have realized that such a problem existed.

¹⁴ See the distinction between *domus equitum* and *domus mercatorum* at Nottingham, *Domesday Book*, I. 280. On the *cnihts* and their gilds, see J. H. Round, in *Victoria History of Hampshire*, I. 530 ff.; C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant* (Oxford, 1890), I. 2 ff.; Maitland, p. 191. On the garrison theory, see Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies*, I. 82 ff.; Ballard, *The English Borough*, pp. 66 ff. The argument that Maitland based on the "tenurial heterogeneity" of the Domesday boroughs has never made many converts, and Ballard's own peculiar extension of the idea is even less convincing. On the other hand, Mary Bateson's objections (*English Historical Review*, XX. 144 ff.) are not altogether borne out by the Domesday evidence. This question deserves more thorough treatment, but may here be passed over as irrelevant to the main point under discussion.

¹⁵ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 195–196. Cf. Pirenne, p. 141.

population, gaining a living directly or indirectly from agriculture.¹⁶ Of the later middle class there is not a hint in the sources.

If, on the other hand, we turn to the twelfth-century borough, we find what was unquestionably a mercantile centre. It was not peculiarly royal, for a great multitude of feudal lords were actively engaged in creating boroughs by charter. With the military revolution wrought by the Norman Conquest, the borough had ceased to be of paramount importance as a fortress. It still had walls and occasionally its inhabitants would be called on to fight, but the rule was already appearing that the burgess could not be forced to serve except in defense of his own home. In place of the royal administration had now appeared a communal government, with elected magistrates, an exclusive judicial organization, and an autonomous financial system. Though all agricultural flavor had not departed, the streets of the average borough were now lined with shops; its gild-merchant monopolized business inside the walls; its wharves were piled with goods awaiting sale or shipment. By their freedom, by their privileges, and by their occupations, its inhabitants were sharply distinguished from those of the countryside. Moreover, a peculiar method of land-holding had become characteristic of the urban community. The burgess held by *burgage* tenure, acquitting all obligations towards his lord by payment of a money rent, and enjoying the rights of free sale and devise.¹⁷ The middle class has definitely appeared in history.

Now it is the thesis of M. Pirenne that this familiar medieval town, with its self-government, its free status, its wealth and prosperity, was the product of the commercial revival that revolutionized Europe in the eleventh century—a doctrine so widely ac-

¹⁶ In this respect the Anglo-Saxon sources leave little ground for dispute. Neither a market nor a mint implied trade extensive enough to support an urban population, and all that we know of the later borough leads us to believe that agriculture reigned supreme in the tenth century. Authorities agree that the *burh* had no more self-government than the rural hundred. The reeve was appointed by the king or the earl, and our scanty information concerning the court tends to prove that it was not a municipal but a territorial organ, connected in some obscure fashion with the administration of the kingdom and probably older than the shire-court. Maitland, pp. 185 ff., 209 ff.; Chadwick, *Studies*, chs. VI., VII.; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II. 451 ("Gericht", 12, 13), 516 ("Hundred", 10), 661 ("Stadt", 12); C. S. Taylor, "The Origin of the Mercian Shires", *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Journal*, XXI. 32 ff.

¹⁷ See the exhaustive analysis of twelfth-century municipal charters in A. Ballard, *British Borough Charters*, vol. I. (Cambridge, 1913). In the introduction to the second volume of this work, Mr. Tait has further strengthened the argument that, in the twelfth century, *burgage* tenure made the borough and the borough made *burgage* tenure. See also Hemmeon, *Burgage Tenure in Medieval England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914), p. 157.

cepted that it does not seem necessary to justify it by elaborate argument. Disputes may continue over the details of its application but hardly over its fundamental truth. It seems to be a fact that towns grew up on the Continent where, and only where, trade conditions were favorable. Many Roman cities again became rich and populous as commerce once more flowed along its ancient channels, but beside them were a host of new centres of distribution developed by new routes. The nucleus of such a town was frequently the mercantile colony that grew up round a princely stronghold. The *new burg* quickly became *the burg*; and by the end of the eleventh century *burgenses* meant neither soldiers nor servitors of a castle, but burghers. Yet there were always cities, as there were always castles, which remained untouched by the new economic currents, and which the thirteenth century found much as they had been in the tenth. For one monastery that became the germ of a town there were a dozen that did not; nor did every village market give birth to a metropolis.¹⁸

England, of course, had no towns to compare with those of Flanders during any part of the Middle Ages; but, thanks to the matchless records of the Norman monarchy, our knowledge of what towns there were is singularly complete. For the earlier period, the Burghal Hidage and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle give us a list of some fifty *burhs*; ¹⁹ for the twelfth century the indefatigable Ballard has provided us with a list of over one hundred towns that received charters before the death of King John; ²⁰ and for the intervening time we have an even more thorough enumeration—the Domesday catalogue of boroughs existing either in 1066 or in 1086.²¹ This is precious material, for a mere comparison of the three lists should lead to some interesting conclusions as to the relationship of the mercantile borough to the old royal *burh*.

Examining first the twelfth-century list beside that of Domesday, we find about fifty names common to both.²² It is therefore plain that over one-half of the twelfth-century boroughs were new creations, as indeed their charters frequently declare. But that is not all; a large number of the Domesday boroughs failed to qualify for a charter of liberties in the next century. As one group of boroughs was being born, another group was dying off; and to explain this

¹⁸ Pirenne, ch. VI.

¹⁹ Ballard, *The English Borough*, pp. 41, 42. Cf. Armitage, *Norman Castles*, pp. 26, 27.

²⁰ Ballard, *British Borough Charters*, pp. cxxxvi ff.

²¹ Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, pp. 9, 10, and *The English Borough*, pp. 83, 84.

²² Ballard provided the material for this comparison, but seems never to have appreciated the importance of making it.

noteworthy fact we shall have to turn our attention to the tests of burghal status applied by the Domesday commissioners, a complicated problem, but one to which we are not entirely without a clue.

We may next observe that of the names on our tenth-century list scarcely one-half continue to stand in Domesday.²³ Between Edward the Elder and Edward the Confessor governmental needs and standards had changed; the *burh* of one was not necessarily the *burh* of the other. In particular, by the end of this period such a place was not merely a military position, but an administrative centre that normally included a mint and a court co-ordinate with the hundred, and from which the earl regularly received the third penny. Now these features appear prominently in Domesday, and if we adopt them as marks of the official Anglo-Saxon borough, we secure a list of about seventy places that were still called boroughs after the Norman Conquest,²⁴ although a good many of them had passed into private hands and some were plainly decadent. Indeed, a score of ancient boroughs never did secure charters; according to the standards of a new age, life was not in them.²⁵

To the Domesday commissioners, we may conclude, the borough was primarily a traditional institution; for their classification clearly depended neither on population nor on economic resources, the two factors that within a hundred years came to be considered all-important. Obviously some revolutionary force was at work, and what could it have been but commerce? The supposition that, under the influence of trade, the older official borough, which was not a town, grew into the newer mercantile borough, which was a town, is one that the evidence thus far examined inevitably suggests. But it need not have so meagre a foundation; Domesday is filled with hints that a transitional stage in the history of the English borough had already been reached by 1086.

²³ The figures are given by Ballard (*The English Borough*, p. 42), but his obsession concerning "composite boroughs" obscures the issue.

²⁴ This is admirably brought out by Ballard's table (*ibid.*, pp. 83, 84). The failure of Domesday to mention one or another of these features does not, of course, prove that it did not exist.

²⁵ As was pointed out by Maitland (pp. 175 ff.), the conventional aids paid by the boroughs on the occasion of a Danegeld serve as another test of their relative importance in the early twelfth century. At first the list is practically that of the old official boroughs still remaining in the king's hands, though some places, like Buckingham, have already dropped out. Others disappear by the middle of the century, and eventually, when Henry II. develops the new tax that comes to be called *tallage*, it is levied on old and new boroughs alike, and solely according to their ability to pay. C. Stephenson, "The Aids of the English Boroughs", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV. 457 ff.

In the first place, the Domesday list is not confined to ancient official boroughs, for alongside them appear a considerable number of new creations which are also styled *burgi*.²⁶ We read that at Norwich, Nottingham, and Northampton new boroughs have been established since the Norman Conquest, and that they have been settled by Frenchmen, colonies of whom are also reported as residing at Hereford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, and Wallingford.²⁷ In these cases the flexible Latin undoubtedly translates the French *bourg*—a walled addition to an older structure, a new trading-quarter.

Again, Domesday describes exactly the same sort of thing in connection with the new-style feudal castles built by the Conqueror or his barons. "Henry de Ferrers", says the survey of Staffordshire, "has the castle of Totbury. In the borough about the castle are forty-two men living only by their trading, and they render together with the market 4*l.* and 10*s.*"²⁸ Similar colonies appear at Wigmore, Castle Clifford, Quatford, Rhuddlan, Penwortham, Okehampton, and Berkhamstead,²⁹ as well as near certain monasteries.³⁰ The king also is lord of boroughs that are not of the ancient type, such as Reading and Twineham;³¹ and various barons seem, about the same time, to have built little boroughs on their country estates.³²

Now to us a trading settlement of two-score houses surrounded by a fence and a ditch would not be much of a town, but such a nucleus might, under favorable conditions, develop into a town; and we should remember that many a *ville neuve* of the next century was even less than this when it was first created. Some of the new

²⁶ Domesday apparently reports about thirty such places, bearing none of the marks of the old official borough, but the terminology is somewhat uncertain (Maitland, p. 181). The only new Domesday borough of any size was Dunwich. *Domesday Book*, II. 311.

²⁷ *D. B.*, I. 52, 56, 179, 219, 252, 280, II. 116. Mary Bateson's well-known appreciation of the new borough (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XVI. 335 ff.) remains in large part valid, but subject to the corrections made by Mr. Hemmeon, *Burgage Tenure*, pp. 166 ff.

²⁸ *D. B.*, I. 248^b.

²⁹ *D. B.*, I. 105^b, 136^b, 183, 183^b, 254, 269, 270. See also Round, in *Vict. Hist. Hertfordshire*, I. 295, and *Herefordshire*, I. 300; Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, ch. v.

³⁰ *E.g.*, St. Albans, *D. B.*, I. 135^b. Cf. Berton, *D. B.*, I. 58^b: "et x. mercatores ante portam ecclesie manentes reddunt xl. den."; also Steyning and Ashwell, *D. B.*, I. 17, 135.

³¹ *D. B.*, I. 38^b, 58. Cf. Eye, *D. B.*, II. 319^b: "et modo i. mercatum et unus parvus, et in mercato manent xxv. burgenses."

³² *E.g.*, Cheshunt and Stanstead, *D. B.*, I. 137, 138^b. Cf. Berkeley, *D. B.*, I. 163: "Ibi unum forum in quo manent xvii. homines et reddunt censum in firma."

boroughs of Domesday grew and some did not, but all are interesting as revealing first steps, that otherwise would have to be conjectured, toward the organization of professional trading.

To return to the old borough, Domesday unfortunately reports the number of French colonists at only half a dozen places. For the rest it gives the ordinary haphazard statistics as to increase or decrease of inhabitants or revenues. Many boroughs were obviously prospering as the result of the Norman Conquest, but we are not told just how or why. The commissioners of the Conqueror were not interested in the origin, occupation, or legal status of the burgess population. However, by putting together a few desultory remarks and by reading between the lines, we do manage to gain some valuable information.

Wherever we get figures at all, the majority of men in most boroughs seem to have held little or no land beyond what was necessary for their town houses.³³ Agricultural features, of course, continued to be prominent, but if the brilliant Maitland had been as much interested in economic revolution as he was in legal continuity, the agrarian side of English municipal history would not loom so large in our modern texts.³⁴ The eleventh-century burgess was decidedly more *bourgeois* than has been represented. Not only did he

³³ Good figures in this respect are given us only in the eastern counties. At Thetford 21 out of 720 burgesses held 6 carucates and 60 acres (*D. B.*, II. 118^b); at Maldon 15 out of 180 held half a hide and 21 acres (*D. B.*, II. 5^b). The same situation seems to be indicated at Ipswich, where 808 burgesses held only 40 acres, and at Norwich, where 1320 held 80 (*D. B.*, II. 290, 116). And although, as seems probable, these portions of hides were units of geld-assessment rather than actual acres, such a partition seems to look back to an age when the boroughs were assessed for geld on the basis only of their arable land. Poor men at Ipswich and Thetford paid only a poll-tax as their share of the geld. Were landless merchants assessed on their movables? Even so, it should be noted that the ratings of many boroughs were ridiculously low. In this connection see the judicious remarks of Mr. F. M. Stenton in *Vict. Hist. Derbyshire*, I. 308, and *Nottinghamshire*, I. 236. Cf. Maitland, *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 173. In the new boroughs burgess and merchant seem to be synonymous terms (see the entries quoted above). The Hertfordshire survey distinguishes burgesses from other men by assigning no plows to the former. *D. B.*, I. 135, 135^b, 136^b, 138^b. Cf. Steyning, *D. B.*, I. 17. See also Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, pp. 60, 61.

³⁴ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 196 ff. Here, as in *Township and Borough*, Maitland's thesis was primarily concerned with the borough as the possible descendant of a village community. Although, however, he naturally emphasized vestiges of a primitive agricultural economy, he by no means intended to deny the importance of the mercantile element. See the very suggestive discussion of some of these points by Mr. H. W. C. Davis in the *Quarterly Review*, CVIII. 54 ff.

earn his livelihood by trading more frequently than by plowing, but he held his property by burgage tenure—a system which even Maitland saw as a product of the mercantile spirit.³⁵

Furthermore, though Domesday shows the king or his officials normally vested with political power, signs of communal privilege are by no means wanting. Peculiar responsibilities for geld or military service, and the possibility that Exeter, London, York, and Winchester already had the right of granting their taxes, point to special bargains between burgesses and king.³⁶ Such an agreement, we know, had been made at Dover, where the citizens annually owed, in return for various exemptions, twenty ships with their crews for fifteen days' service; and similar arrangements probably prevailed at Sandwich, Romney, Hythe, and Maldon.³⁷ Some measure of financial autonomy at least was enjoyed at Northampton, where the burgesses farmed the borough from the sheriff.³⁸ Many customs regarding tolls and forfeitures, such as were later prominent in municipal charters, had already come to be recognized.³⁹ In several places the burgesses either owned or administered property as a community.⁴⁰

³⁵ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 198, and *Township and Borough*, p. 72. Mr. Hemmeon (*Burgage Tenure*, p. 163) seems to hold that this tenure was a relic of some primitive system preserved in the borough but elsewhere destroyed by the manorialization of the countryside. But where is the evidence for such a primitive system? Domesday, it is true, occasionally tells of peasants holding by a money rent (*censores, gablatores*), but they were very few and may well have been rural colonists like the *hospites*, who are specifically described in several entries (see Round, in *Vict. Hist. Herefordshire*, I. 293, and Tait, in *Vict. Hist. Shropshire*, I. 302), and who formed a characteristically new class in eleventh-century Europe (Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, p. 82; C. Stephenson, "The Origin and Nature of the *Taille*", shortly to appear in the *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*). On the general significance of burgage tenure in Flanders, see Pirenne, pp. 202 ff.; Des Marez, *Étude sur la Propriété Foncière dans les Villes du Moyen-Âge et spécialement en Flandre* (Ghent, 1898).

³⁶ C. Stephenson, "The Aids of the English Boroughs", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV. pp. 457 ff.

³⁷ Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, p. 81, and *An Eleventh Century Inquisition of St. Augustine's Canterbury*, in *British Academy Records of Social and Economic History*, IV. (London, 1920), pt. II., pp. xxiii, xxiv.

³⁸ *D. B.*, I. 219.

³⁹ Thus Dover, *D. B.*, I. 1: "Quicunque manens in villa assiduus reddebat regi consuetudinem quietus erat de theloneo per totam Angliam." Here we unquestionably find a communal privilege, restricted to those who, according to the later phrase, were in scot and lot of the borough. Cf. Torksey, *D. B.*, I. 337. Other borough customs are conveniently listed in Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, pp. 82 ff.

⁴⁰ See Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, pp. 87 ff., and in *Brit. Acad. Records*, IV., pt. II., p. xxv. Maitland (pp. 200 ff.) was anxious to minimize the com-

These facts, it is submitted, prove that some of the familiar traits of the twelfth-century borough had already made their appearance in local usage. The natural conclusion would be that they were the first effects of a commercial revival that had begun in the Anglo-Saxon period, but which, greatly stimulated by the Norman Conquest, showed its full force under the Angevin kings. The sea trade that is quite casually mentioned in Domesday⁴¹ probably had its dim beginnings in the tenth century, when society had recovered from the paralyzing shock of the Danish invasions, and when the first scanty references to professional traders made their appearance in the records.⁴² That some part of the economic awakening was indirectly due to those invasions can not be doubted, but that either the original Vikings or their opponents founded mercantile towns it is extremely hard to believe, though they did construct boroughs.

Among modern writers on English history the most serious rival to the ideas set forth above is still the good old doctrine of Georg von Maurer. *Markgenossenschaft* is no longer a fashionable expression, but so long as Anglo-Saxon England is pictured as a mosaic of self-governing communities, the well-worn remark of Stubbs, that the borough was "simply a more strictly organized form of town-ship", will continue to be sufficient.⁴³ On the other hand, one who holds with M. Pirenne that an eighth-century Arcadia should not be constructed from thirteenth-century material will demand a less romantic explanation.

munal element in the Domesday boroughs because it had been cited as a vestige of the primitive village community. If, however, this communal element was new, the result of an incipient economic revolution, Domesday may be said to support, rather than to weaken, Maitland's contention.

⁴¹ Compare particularly the entries for Canterbury, Pevensey, Arundel, Guildford, and Chester. *D. B.*, I. 2, 20^b, 23, 33, 262^b.

⁴² See the references listed in Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II. 493 ("Handel", 14-17).

⁴³ *Constitutional History of England* (Oxford, 1903), I. 99. Cf. Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 398 ff. It is this idea of the town's development out of the self-governing village that M. Petit-Dutaillis thinks has been rejected by modern scholars "in too absolute a fashion" (*Studies*, I. 75); and yet he refuses to be convinced by Vinogradoff's argument that such a village had existed (*ibid.*, p. 27). For the latest enunciation of the same theory, see David Murray, *Early Burgh Organization in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1924), I. 599. "The history of Glasgow shows that in considering the origins of burghs it must be kept in view that organized and probably self-governing communities existed long prior to the appearance of what we know as burghs, and it may be reasonably assumed that the burgh was a development or modification of an older type."

The mediæval English town was called a borough. The name was old, but the thing was new. Where the town grew had perhaps stood an ancient royal fortress, perhaps not. Its site may have been a simple village, a cross-roads market, a fishermen's haven, or a cow-pasture. But neither wall nor court, neither king's peace nor toll-gate, neither kine nor herring, possessed the infallible charm of attracting an urban population. For that a more potent magic was required—European commerce.

CARL STEPHENSON.

RETROSPECTIVE REVIEWS: RECENT BRITISH BIOGRAPHIES AND MEMOIRS¹

For the history of the last third of the nineteenth century A. G. Gardiner's *Life of Sir William Harcourt*² will always have to be consulted. If Mr. Gardiner has not so great a man to deal with as Morley had, nor so entertaining a man as fell to the lot of Buckle, if he himself is less of a philosopher than the biographer of Gladstone and has been less near the seats of the mighty than the biographer of Disraeli, his work may nevertheless ask comparison with the well-known lives of the two Victorians.

The Harcourt family could hardly have lit upon a biographer better equipped by outlook and sympathies to understand Sir William. As late editor of the *Daily News* "A. G. G." has long been famous for his critical attitude towards British imperialism. It can not be said that he has attempted to force his view upon the reader, but he has allowed his actor many chances to forecast the outcome of imperialism, and he is inclined to suggest that recent history has abundantly justified that forecast.

In two respects he deserves well of the historian. With careful economy he has made excerpts from letters to reveal Harcourt as he lived and jested, as he pounded the table and fell upon the Opposition. We have here brought before us not one of the great figures of English history but a House of Commons man, one of the best of them, a man who liked to fancy that he belonged to the eighteenth century but was more Victorian than he knew, a fine type of the old Whig adapting himself, under the stress of political exigencies, to the New-castle programme and modern radicalism, a partizan to whom Liberalism was patriotism. And secondly, Gardiner has been at great pains to answer those questions which the historian is prone to ask. We have suffered of late, since the demand for biography became insistent, from the biographer-relative, who, because he alone has

¹ Books of like character which have already been reviewed in this journal during the last five years are: *Margot Asquith, an Autobiography*, XXVI. 525; J. H. Morgan, *John Viscount Morley*, XXX. 822; John Buchan, *Lord Minto*, XXX. 824; Lady Gwendolen Cecil, *Life of Robert Marquis of Salisbury* (first two volumes), XXXI. 134; Viscount Grey of Fallodon, *Twenty-Five Years*, XXXI. 323; J. A. Spender, *The Public Life*, XXXI. 325; G. P. Gooch, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, XXXI. 780.

² A. G. Gardiner, *The Life of Sir William Harcourt* (London, Constable, 1923, two volumes, pp. xi, 608, 670).

access to the letters, can not be dismissed lightly, but who fails in many instances to tell that which the historian is most anxious to know, and which could often be told if the biographer had only an understanding of the period with which he is dealing. Here Mr. Gardiner does not fail us, he has not been content with his memory of events but has taken the trouble to master the history of his period and to examine the problems involved. And further he has been careful to include, even at the risk of inserting passages dull to the casual reader, those documents that have to do with constitutional development and change.

Upon several episodes in British history the book gives us new knowledge. We learn a bit more about the break of Chamberlain with Gladstone in 1886. Up to that time Harcourt and Chamberlain had been close friends, and the correspondence between them not only serves to explain the clash between Chamberlain and Gladstone but gives us, for the first time, the history of Harcourt's well-meant efforts in the Round Table conferences to woo Chamberlain back into the party. No doubt J. L. Garvin, when he brings out the authorized life of Chamberlain, can, if only he will, add to our information.

The correspondence gives us some further right to comment upon Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule. Morley, Barry O'Brien, and Bernard Holland have published letters that enable us to see how far Gladstone relied upon the workings of his own mind in turning the Liberal party down the Home Rule road. It was a choice that was to affect the history of Liberalism; a half-dozen major policies of the party were put off for an effort to give the Irish a parliament, an effort that was to prove unavailing. Much was at stake in that autumn of 1885 and one can not wonder that Hartington and Chamberlain, as others, believed that they should be called into counsel; that not all the reflection and examination of constitutions should be done at Hawarden; that the Liberal party was greater even than its leader. Harcourt was as much slighted as the others but he was a good party man above all and followed, however reluctantly—for he was never interested in Ireland—the lead of Hawarden, not without writing letters that add to the story.

On no subject does Gardiner help us more than on Victoria. Those letters from the queen which Buckle published in his *Life of Disraeli*, and the larger body of them recently brought out, give us a much clearer notion of the queen and her part in politics and of her aggressiveness in foreign policy. Blunt, long ago, in his diary had

sensed the queen's tendency, and Harcourt's correspondence with her and account of conversations with her confirm Buckle and Blunt. Both Gardiner's text and the appendix enable us to see how careful Gladstone and Harcourt were in keeping the queen within bounds. Like Disraeli, Harcourt knew how to deal with the queen and, if he did not lay it on with a trowel, understood how to inquire about the family. But he was a constitutionalist, and history will give him a place among those Victorians who had to stand firm in the last skirmishes between Cabinet and Crown.

Campbell-Bannerman³ will be mentioned in history for his South African settlement and possibly for another reason: he was the first political figure brought up in the Victorian and more particularly in the Gladstonian tradition who not only foresaw but was sympathetic with the new social-radical Liberalism.⁴ His story is unusual even in the multicolored variety of English political life. Put down generally as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, he hewed with such effect at the War Office and drew so well as chief secretary for Ireland that he had won an assured position in politics when Chamberlain's South African policy led him into sharp issue with the business imperialism of the late 'nineties. His allusion during the fag-end of the Boer War to "methods of barbarism", daringly repeated when it shocked the mood of the time, was believed to have finished his political career. It proved to be his making; and his consistency, his doggedness, and his Scottish caution in the years that followed left him *per varios casus* at length undisputed leader of his party and heir to No. 10 Downing Street.

This biography is also important on account of its author, who was for years the editor of the old green *Westminster* and thus the dean of liberal journalism. His "Notes of the Day" upon the second or third page of that afternoon authority were read, from the 'nineties to the War, by almost every political family in London of whatever complexion. They were written by a man accustomed to spend his Sunday afternoons with Campbell-Bannerman at his London house.

Mr. Spender has succeeded in drawing a full-length portrait of Campbell-Bannerman that is more than competent. More cosmopolitan possibly than any other British statesman of his generation, Sir Henry was in politics a "little-Englander". At no time attach-

³ J. A. Spender, *The Life of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, G.C.B.* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1923, two volumes, pp. xv, 351, 444).

⁴ Morley might be cited as another, but he had by no means the same deep and abiding interest from youth to old age in the problems of poverty and social reform.

ing himself to that still small circle called curiously the "great world" of society, he never took on the color of that class nor assimilated their tradition that the business of British politics was with the proper and brilliant development of the pawns on the European chess-board. He examined the Irish question unswayed by the prejudices of his contemporaries or by those political necessities that brought his leader suddenly around, and saw farther ahead in respect to it than most of the wise of his day. Perhaps it was his political gift that, while others were deriving their politics from the past, he was considering what the future would bring forth.

Would that Spender had seen fit to tell us more, would that he had shown us more of Sir Henry's correspondence during the years that saw the rise of Liberal Unionism, would that he had dared to share with us Sir Henry's racy and lively judgments upon his colleagues and opponents. To withhold them is not the new manner.⁵

The long involved cross-play between Campbell-Bannerman and Rosebery is presented as well as it is possible for an author who was refused Rosebery's side of the correspondence. No doubt many more letters will have to find their way into print before it will be possible to pronounce lastly upon the deeds of Rosebery, but Spender's account and that of Gardiner, between them, give us some clues as to the Laird of Dalmeny both when he was prime minister and when he plowed his "lonely furrow". Certainly he was not a leader, unless possibly in foreign policy, where his whole conception ran counter to what Liberalism had stood for. When Morley, Acland, and others preferred him as Gladstone's successor to the old war-horse of Liberalism, Harcourt, they probably had no notion of what aid they were affording to the imperialists. While Conservatism under Chamberlain was running after expansion, Liberalism was to lose its way, split its forces, and fail of exerting weight against the tendencies of the time. Not until Liberalism fell away from Rosebery or he from it, not until it gathered its forces round Campbell-Bannerman, did it find its way again.

Perhaps history will inquire why Campbell-Bannerman so lightly allowed Grey, in 1906, to go ahead with the military arrangement with France. That arrangement, which was to involve Britain more

⁵ It would be a satisfaction to have Sir Henry's comments upon Joseph Chamberlain. Historians are going to have a hard time to reconstruct that vivid personality, because those who came under his spell remained bewitched and those who resisted often misjudged him, imagining him an arch-conspirator, which he was not. But more than Beaconsfield he gave the push to that modern British imperialism which will no doubt be minutely examined by students of the backgrounds of the late war.

and more in bonds of "honor", was confided only to the prime minister and to Asquith and Haldane, who with Grey had been the Liberal Imperialists of the Boer War, and who were now intrenched in the strong places of the Cabinet. Sir Henry had had trouble enough earlier with those three and should have been wary of giving them a free hand in the most important of foreign policies without consulting at all a Cabinet that was "blue-water" by a considerable majority. This lapse Spender does not offer to explain nor indeed even recognize. From his other writings⁶ it may be suspected that Spender would say that by 1906 Sir Henry could have done nothing else than to draw close to France. It may be suggested that at the time Sir Henry's mind was occupied with other matters, especially with the illness of his wife.⁷

Blunt's diary⁸ is one of the most interesting that could fall into the hands of a reader of recent British history. A man of unlimited curiosity, who had the gift of finding out from whatever man he met what that man could tell and who, when his prejudices were not involved, had a shrewd understanding of character, he was fortunate in being a Sussex squire of lands "my own inherited", who could meet and talk with whom he wished and say and do—short of felony—what he most desired. His jottings will find a place, as would have been his wish, not far below those of Evelyn, of Haydon, and of Greville.

They will have to be used with as much caution as Greville. At least three-fourths of the political stories that fly around clubs are wholly or partly wrong; Greville put most of them down and Blunt has done the same, but owing to the multiplication of newspapers and memoirs he will be more easily brought to book.

His own record offers the reader the chance to make the proper discounts. Blunt obviously deceived himself about the opinions of

⁶ Spender has recently published *The Political Life*, in two volumes packed with acute observation upon the tendencies of the last thirty years in Britain. He has an extraordinary gift for seeing historical processes at work in his own time, for seeing those processes in relation to men and men in relation to them. These volumes, which have been reviewed in the *American Historical Review* (XXXI. 325), should be read as a supplement to some of Wells's novels, those novels which deal with the growth of suburbanism and the march of the middle classes upon politics and society.

⁷ Furthermore Sir Henry had been forced in making up his Cabinet to deal with Grey, Asquith, and Haldane as a triumvirate, who had attempted to push him into the upper house and who were prepared to stand together. Sir Henry was in a difficult position but surely he could have insisted that the military convention with France should be submitted to the Cabinet.

⁸ W. S. Blunt, *My Diaries, being a Personal Narrative of Events, 1888-1914* (London, Martin Secker, 1919, 1920, two volumes, pp. x, 512, 511).

others. Of intense convictions that demanded utterance, he easily assumed that pleasant words from friends, who were perhaps unwilling to discuss controversial subjects with him, meant essential agreement. He persuaded himself, for example, that he was bringing his friend Winston Churchill around to his own anti-imperialism and was destined of course to disillusionment. Further he was inclined to judge men from passing phrases that might be no more than the expression of a fleeting idea. And, although trying at all times to tell the truth, he was incapable of being fair to those of another outlook, to imperialists in particular, not only unfair, but prone to imagine any vain thing about them. As to such figures as Cromer and Kitchener he was utterly unreasoning in his judgments. He was hardly less censorious of some of those of his own outlook. Harcourt and Morley he could barely tolerate, not only because they were Liberals, and there was to him something underbred about Liberalism, but because those men, realizing perhaps the futility of forcing their opinion upon a generation that would have none of it, were unwilling to go as far as he. Sussex squires can be more daring in utterance than politicians who have given hostages to the public.

Nevertheless Blunt was right about many things and ahead of his time. Twenty years before Gallipoli he saw that Britain was driving Turkey into the arms of Germany. He blamed the ignorance and want of imagination of Grey and, possibly fifty years from now or in even less time, Englishmen will admit that they paid dearly for his policy, however well-intentioned and high-minded. Blunt hated Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, and already Rhodes is beginning to be a less heroic figure⁹ and the cult of Chamberlain is fading a little in favor of other cults. Yet Blunt failed to realize either the sincerity of Rhodes or the imagination of Chamberlain.¹⁰

Perhaps historians will look chiefly to Blunt for his records of lunches at Mount Street and after-dinner conversations at New-buildings, yes, and for his progresses, like those of Evelyn, among his cousins and kind in the country. That he gave away his friends has shocked England in this generation but will be forgotten in another. No doubt Earl Balfour was surprised to find that quiet

⁹ There is a great deal of the inside of British politics in Blunt's records, especially in the second volume. He was on good terms with Redmond and Dillon and the Irish party, he was in constant communication with his cousin George Wyndham during the Conservative régime up to 1906, and afterwards too, and saw much of Winston Churchill during the years of Liberal government. Hence Blunt will always be one of the books for the student of pre-war British policies. But he will find it a problem to extract the truth from the gossip.

¹⁰ See, e.g., St. Loe Strachey in *The Adventure of Living*, pp. 299-310.

talks of his with George Wyndham as they walked home together from the Commons have found their way into the record of an old gossip. No doubt Hilaire Belloc was less than pleased to see his aspiration for a peerage set down in print. Belloc was hardly careful enough in making his friends of the men of the Sussex weald.

Blunt, like Henry Adams, had a right by birth to expect a political career. He saw friends rise easily to ambassadorships and cabinet posts, and, if disappointed about himself,¹¹ accepted failure more lightly than Adams because he was so nearly a Mohammedan. Like Adams he was concerned about the state of the world, but unlike him sought no key to history. If Adams was an amateur in architecture and old French poetry, Blunt was no less in Arab horses and modern English poetry. Adams wrote history, a form of art that has always to be retouched, Blunt a few poems that should for a time endure the weather. Both by their memoirs made a final bid for immortality and may attain thereunto, at least among those few who take down old books and look them over.

The letters of George Wyndham¹² have at least three uses. They tell us something of the circumstances under which the Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903 was passed,¹³ and prove how a Conservative was stirred from his base by knowledge of Ireland and moved at his own political peril to strive in her interest. The letters give, secondly, a reflection of the country group that was loyal to Balfour, that followed him in his middle position about tariff reform, and that later backed him up in fighting the Education Bill, the Licensing Act, and the Veto Bill. In the third place, the letters afford an excellent picture of the best sort of upper-class family life. One of the most charming figures of his time, Wyndham was a hunting squire, interested as well in art, in literature, and literary men. He played at politics because his kind did—political success came easily to them—and he played that game according to the best public-school rules, until it became in his generous mind more than a game, a field of battle upon which great causes were to be striven for, the strengthening of imperial connections abroad, and the amelioration of social conditions at home. His letters, while seldom profound, are marked by spontaneity and good feeling, and sometimes by excellent comment

¹¹ Blunt had as much desire as Henry Adams to accomplish political results through his friends and flattered himself that he did so.

¹² J. W. Mackail and Guy Wyndham, *Life and Letters of George Wyndham* (London, Hutchinson, 1925, two volumes, pp. 416, 417).

¹³ But much more about the framing and progress of that measure is to be learned from Wyndham's conversations with Blunt in Blunt's diary. Wyndham was too many-sided to deal fully with politics in his letters.

and even divination as to the course of politics. They may well be read after a rereading of Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga* (less a great novel than a careful piece of history) for a comparison of the upper classes, with their horses, dogs, pictures, and poetry, their real freedom of life, and their sense of obligation, and the upper middle classes with their directorates and pictures, their dependence upon real estate and consols, and their want of interest in the state or in those less fortunate than they.

Mr. Raymond has in his study of Balfour¹⁴ used the recent memoirs, the newspapers, and his own knowledge as a journalist. He has overlooked few of the epigrams about or by Balfour, and he is never wanting in the ability to find pat and terse phrases of characterization. Not allowing his brilliance to run away with his sense of fairness, he has written probably as just an interpretation of Balfour as we shall have in a decade.

Raymond admits that Balfour is an enigma and offers explanation. It will be recalled that when Chamberlain, in 1903, set going the movement for a British Zollverein, Balfour looked over the fence and decided to sit on the stile, and that he is credited by many with having brought upon his party, by his hesitation, the rout of 1906. Raymond urges the thesis that Balfour was deliberately holding off decision on a controversial issue of internal politics, while he was quietly orienting Britain in the new European situation, preparing her against the day of Armageddon. It is an interesting theory, Mr. Raymond may well have more evidence of it than he offers, but it is quite unproven and seems out of character. If behind all Balfour's evasions there was a *weltanschauende* mind planning and bringing to pass through Lord Lansdowne a new policy for Britain, why then of course history will have to reconsider his achievement.

Certainly there is nothing in his record in domestic politics to indicate a man of long views. Like Harcourt, he was an old parliament hand, more skillful certainly, but with the same interest in the immediate issue. To win victory, or at least verbal victory, on the question before the House, to get the best of the leader of Opposition on that particular evening, this seemed ever to be his aim and pleasure. He has seldom seemed enough attached to principles or ideals to look far ahead. In the struggle of 1909-1911 he was completely outmanoeuvred by a party whose leaders cared deeply for certain principles and who were forced to look ahead.

¹⁴ E. T. Raymond, *Mr. Balfour, a Biography* (London, W. Collins Sons and Company, 1920, pp. 228).

He had the instinct of his class¹⁵ for comfort, and possibly that is why he preferred as subordinates—Raymond thinks he did—men of less than first-rate talent, who would get along easily with him. The Wyndhams and the Lyttletons seemed to be the men after his own heart.

Books of "characters" of British politics are becoming plentiful. Those by Lord Birkenhead,¹⁶ by E. T. Raymond,¹⁷ by a Gentleman with a Duster (Harold Begbie),¹⁸ and by Herbert Sidebotham,¹⁹ all of them, deal with much the same group of men, with Lloyd George, Asquith, Balfour, J. H. Thomas, et cetera, but include between them various other leaders and some "backbenchers". Lord Birkenhead has the advantage of having had personal acquaintance with the men he draws, and in the case of a few of the lawyers he has profited therefrom, but in general his studies seem written-to-order and conventional, and rarely reveal that brilliance associated with F. E. Smith. Raymond draws upon a long newspaper experience and a close knowledge of the political chronicles of the last thirty years. He is under the prepossession, not always shared by journalists, that a man's past conduct in politics serves to explain his character to-day, and the historical explanation starts first to his mind. An explanation, historical or psychological, he must have; in every one of his characters he must find a unifying principle. His portraits are done with great artistry, with too much; he is too epigrammatic, too brilliant. He is better in his full-length biographies where he has time to prove and to qualify. The Gentleman with a Duster, wholly unlike Raymond, is a moralist, who has looked upon English politics with the eye of a nonconformist and found them little to his taste. There is some shrewd analysis in his work. The portraits by Sidebotham, who watched Parliament from the press gallery, if by no means the most finished, seem to me the best. Raymond's sketches of Walter Long (later Lord Long) and of Gwynne of the *Morning Post*, Birkenhead's of Healy and J. B. Seeley, and Sidebotham's of J. H. Thomas and Lady Astor deserve mention.

¹⁵ There has been a lot of nonsense written about Balfour's Cecilian inheritance, as if he were close kin to Burleigh or the first Salisbury.

¹⁶ Earl of Birkenhead, *Contemporary Personalities* (London, Cassell and Company, 1924, pp. x, 326).

¹⁷ E. T. Raymond, *Uncensored Celebrities* (London, Fisher Unwin, 1918, pp. 244).

¹⁸ *The Mirrors of Downing Street: Some Political Reflections by a Gentleman with a Duster* (London, Mills and Boon, 1919, pp. vii, 183).

¹⁹ Herbert Sidebotham, *Pillars of State* (London, Nisbet and Company, 1921, pp. vii, 256).

Lord Bertie's diary²⁰ offers an excellent panorama of the late war and much information about French politics during that time.²¹ English political figures, all of the important ones, go through Paris and dine or at least talk with the British ambassador. That ambassador had an excellent post for observation of the whole field of war and politics, but he had little gift of distinguishing the false from the true, of putting down just what people said, or of hitting off their characters. A loyal servant of the government, the embodiment of the best Foreign Office tradition, he always did his duty, even when it came to offering hospitality to queer Labor members over from Westminster. He saw the war go from bad to worse but never lost his faith in British victory and remained at the darkest time *jusqu'aboutiste*. That he recognized the villainy of Sazonov and Izvolski should be put down to his credit by new historians who deal in the day-by-day details of war diplomacy. In spite of its conventionality, the diary is thoroughly interesting; interesting, I think, because the reader reviews the war again, getting much the same information he picked up from the American papers at the time. The stories that proved untrue and those that proved too true pass before him in procession, as then.

Already Repington's diary²² has begun to figure in the foot-notes of contemporary history. E. T. Raymond has made much and wise use of it. It is not too much to say that from now on every historian of the war and of British politics during the war will have to cite the diary again and again. It is doubtful if any other non-official book published about the war from the British angle is as important. This military man, journalist, and diner-out gave away so many people that he has been reviewed sharply in London, and naturally. Those reviews have somewhat obscured the merits of his diaries as historical material. From the standpoint of good taste, it would of course have been better to have bequeathed the journals to the British Museum, as Haig has done, with a proviso that they should not be opened for fifty years or so. It is hard for historians to regret the lapse of taste.

²⁰ *The Diary of Lord Bertie of Thame, 1914-1918*, edited by Lady Algernon Gordon Lennox, with a foreword by Viscount Grey of Fallodon (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1925, two volumes, pp. xii, 367, 347).

²¹ He is rather more dependable upon French politics, if less "knowing" and detailed, than the author of *The Pomp of Power* (Laurance Lyon).

²² *The First World War, 1914-1918, Personal Experiences of Lieut.-Col. C. A'Court Repington, C.M.G.* (London, Constable, 1919, two volumes, pp. xvii, 621, 581).

In estimating Colonel Repington's authenticity a distinction must be made between what he reported as rumor or gossip and what he learned at first hand from responsible persons. A considerable part of his jottings were of conversation with the best-informed people on the Allied side. Much of what they told him can be proved or disproved from the official reports. He had a flair for facts of a military character. Sometimes, of course, he disbelieved what was true. That large numbers of the French army went home after Nivelle's failure, that Petain had to restore the morale of the French army, and for that carefully managed piece of work was later given the *maréchal's* baton, would appear to-day to be recognized history. Repington heard rumors of large defections from the French army but was too francophile to credit what he heard. Nor were his military perceptions sufficient to enable him to realize the shattered state of the German army at the end of 1916, nor was he aware in the midsummer and early autumn of 1918 that the defeat of the Germans was close at hand. The German success of March and April, 1918, he seems to have foreseen, if one may assume that he did not afterwards tamper with his journals.

His gossip is not so important, though much of what he picked up at week-end parties came closer to the edge of truth than many statements put forth by other collectors of unconsidered trifles about the war. His picture of London society during the agony of war may well be compared to that in Stephen McKenna's *Sonia*.²³

As a reporter of those with whom he talked Repington was an old hand and can be in the main trusted. He had none of Blunt's weakness for believing that the other man shared his "views". He had a knack of picking out essentials and a gift of so quoting a man as to give a notion of the workings of his mind. The voluminous literature about Lloyd George—the five-foot shelf is not far away—offers nothing more helpful in understanding the play of that Welshman's mind than a single conversation with Repington about a fundamental problem of the war. Foch's sharp Gascon sentences as he sets forth the secret of his military successes to this military critic give us more notion of that spirit and temperament in one paragraph than many magazine articles. It is in this kind of interview that Repington best serves the historian. What the leaders were thinking of as the war went on, what they feared or hoped, what reasons they gave themselves and others for what they were doing, what public

²³ The anonymous attack upon Repington by the righteous Gentleman with a Duster in his *Glass of Fashion* tells us nothing by way of discounting Repington that might not be readily understood by any discerning reader.

opinions they dreaded, these are the questions Repington helps to answer, and the answers are useful.

That he had little subtlety, that he saw things in black and white, that, a thorough-going "westerner", he believed the war must be won by attrition and was willing to see the butcher's bill paid, that he expected Britain to go on indefinitely supplying millions of men to the Western front, that the morale of the peoples behind the armies seemed to figure little with him as an element in the situation, all this goes without saying of a man whose outlook was that of the Gwynnes and Maxses. He was easily a second cousin of the Forsytes.

Those who distrust the competency of the British governing classes, particularly in time of crisis, those who would charge with light-mindedness and irresponsibility the men upon whose decisions the Dardanelles and Salonika adventures depended, will find in these diaries much to support their judgment. It must not be forgotten, however, that Repington watched the outside of things and seldom witnessed the making of hard decisions. He was susceptible to the last enchantments of the Victorian age and seemed to see a few well-born men in a few great houses still determining, as was their right, the destinies of the world, assisted as of yore by fair women, and now, in another time, by newcomers from Fleet Street. There was more to Britain's part in the war than was dreamed of in his philosophy.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

“YOUNG AMERICA”

WHEN a slogan comes to be used commonly by politicians, editors, and diplomats it may be assumed that it expresses a set of ideals and emotions of some significance. “Young America” was such a slogan. Its adoption by an important group in the Democratic party during the election of 1852 was a political gesture that received serious attention at home as well as abroad. Since foreign powers are not always in a position to determine how deep the realities behind a gesture may be, it is the more important to evaluate the gesture and to determine its relation to the national psychology. The purpose of this paper is, first, to describe and evaluate the movement Young America, with special reference to its foreign policy and activities, and, secondly, to indicate the relation of the movement to national self-consciousness in the years following 1850.

The idea of a Young America seems first to have been formulated in a commencement address by Edwin de Leon at South Carolina College in 1845.¹ He observed that as there was a Young Germany, a Young Italy, a Young Ireland, so there might well be a Young America. For “nations, like men, have their seasons of infancy, manly vigor, and decrepitude”. The young giant of the West, America, was pictured as standing at the full flush of “exulting manhood”, and the worn-out powers of the Old World could not hope either to restrain or to impede his progress. If there was to be a Young America, then the new generation, the young men of America, would have to express their faith in the glorious destiny of the country, by seizing political power to hasten the fulfillment of that destiny.

Such ideas were not new. From the time of Benjamin Franklin and Philip Freneau,² Americans, for the most part, had been convinced that their country had a distinctive mission to perform—the introduction of a new and better political order in the world. If there was one idea to which Americans as such could subscribe, it was the conviction that their country, as the only large democracy in the world, had the best possible form of government. Philosophers like

¹ Edwin de Leon, *The Position and Duties of Young America* (Charleston, 1845).

² Benjamin Franklin, *Life and Writings* (Albert Smyth, N. Y., 1905), VIII. 416; *Poems of Philip Freneau* (ed. F. L. Pattee, Princeton, 1902), I. 66 *et seq.*

Emerson and poets like Whitman expressed this idea in terms only more refined than those of popular Fourth of July orators. Our republican and democratic institutions and ideas were held to be unique. The opportunities America afforded made her the symbol of the future and of progress, for she was free from the inequalities and handicaps of the Old World.³ The problem of determining how the historic mission of America might best be advanced occasioned multiple interpretations. This was natural, for a new country in which a national culture had not given unity to diverse regions rarely expresses a well-developed national self-consciousness.

To Young America direct and immediate participation in the affairs of the world was the indisputable formula of procedure. The time, in their eyes, was thoroughly ripe for the realization of the American mission. Success in the Mexican War, easy and cheap, had acted like an intoxicant. It engendered a jingoism which demanded even more grand accomplishments! This urge for participation in world affairs found little expression because the country was absorbed in internal problems growing out of the war.

When, however, the European revolutions of 1848 had been crushed by reactionary governments, there was occasion for action. How could Americans, conscious of their mission to advance their superior institutions, be content with mere example? Despotism needed an immediate lesson. Indeed, if the distinctive institutions of America were to be secure from the advancing menace of autocracy, the task was not only clear but demanded immediate performance.

The year 1852 offered an admirable opportunity for a discontented group of young men within the Democratic party to adopt this phrase "Young America" as a slogan and a rallying cry. The enthusiasm Kossuth was arousing indicated that the country might be ready to assume an active rôle in championing the revolution which that Hungarian declared must shortly break out. The New York *Herald* declared that the cause of Hungary was a trump card which, skillfully played, might win the White House.⁴ Webster, Whig Secretary of State, attended the Congressional banquet given Kossuth on January 7, 1852, being led in part by a desire to repeat the popular success of his Hülsemann letter.⁵ It seemed to Hülsemann, Austrian chargé, that Webster's speech, candidly recognizing

³ R. W. Emerson, *Journals*, X, 84. See also *The Young American* (1844) and Walt Whitman, *Gathering of the Forces, 1846-1847* (New York, 1920), I, 28 (editorial in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 24, 1846).

⁴ New York *Herald*, Jan. 15, 1852.

⁵ *Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (National Edition, Boston, 1903), XVI, 588, XVIII, 502.

the justice of Hungarian independence and expressing a wish to see that independence accomplished, signified an intention to quit the Cabinet and to found his candidacy for the Whig nomination on an alliance with Kossuth.⁶ This was likewise the opinion of the Prussian minister-resident, Baron von Gerolt.⁷

As early as December, 1851, it had been plain that the Senate would be the stage for discussions regarding the expediency of assuming a more vigorous position in the interest of European republicanism. Senator I. P. Walker of Wisconsin (Democrat) announced on December 16 of that year that "the country must interpose both her moral and her physical power" against the interference of one nation in the affairs of another in violation of public law and morality. He maintained that the country ought to be ready, if necessary, to fight for Hungarian freedom.⁸ On January 20, 1852, Cass of Michigan introduced into the Senate a resolution to the effect that the United States had not seen nor could they again see, without deep concern, the intervention of European powers to crush national independence.⁹ Cass, although repudiated by the leader of Young America as an "Old Fogey",¹⁰ could not have represented that group more effectively than by his earnest plea for the adoption of the resolution. The country, urged Cass, must not remain a "political cipher". The world must know that there are "twenty-five millions of people looking across the ocean at Europe, strong in power, acquainted with their rights, and determined to enforce them".¹¹

Although the support of the Cass resolution came chiefly from the Mississippi Valley, Stockton of New Jersey urged active, physical

⁶ Hülsemann to Schwarzenberg, no. 3, Letter A, Jan. 8, 1852, "Rapports de l'Amérique 1852", Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Vienna. Hülsemann was instructed that it was impossible for the Austrian government to maintain diplomatic relations with Webster (Schwarzenberg to Hülsemann, Feb. 4, 1852). The Cabinet in Vienna feared that the United States would be entrapped by Kossuth's schemes (Schwarzenberg to Hülsemann, Nov. 25, 1851). The temporary break in diplomatic relations occasioned by Hülsemann's quitting Washington was healed because of Austria's reluctance to antagonize a power whose desire for intervention in Europe was feared. Buol-Schauenstein to Hülsemann, May 11, 1852.

⁷ Gerolt to the King of Prussia, no. 13, I. 1, 132, Mar. 30, 1852, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, "Washington 1852", Berlin.

⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., p. 105 *et seq.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

¹⁰ The *Lantern* (comic weekly, New York), vol. I., no. 6, Feb. 14, 1852, defined, with much humor and gusto, an "Old Fogey" as a superannuated officeholder.

¹¹ *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., p. 310.

force in behalf of struggling republics.¹² Nor was the measure supported merely by members of the Democratic party. For example, while Seward urged that the moral argument was sufficient for a protest against Russia's intervention in Hungary, he seized the occasion to point out the commercial advantages to be derived from the triumph of the republican idea in that country.¹³

The chief opposition to the resolution came from the Whigs, but they were joined by every Southern Democrat with the exception of Soulé of Louisiana. The arguments advanced indicated that the Cass resolution aroused both sectional and class opposition. An interference with the affairs of Europe would furnish Europeans with an excuse to intervene in our domestic problems.¹⁴ An active foreign policy would necessitate an increased concentration of power in the federal government.¹⁵ The secret of our prosperity and greatness, it was held, lay in our policy of isolation. A departure from it would not unite the country, as certain younger Democrats maintained. Indeed, the sectional character of the debates was pointed to as evidence that the very discussion of a new foreign policy was weakening still further the bonds of union.¹⁶

This opposition plainly came from the more prosperous and conservative regions. Clemens of Alabama appealed to the established commercial interests, picturing a foreign war on "mistaken humanitarian grounds" as bringing disaster to the manufacturing interests of New England, the agriculture of the West, and the cotton plantations of the South, since markets would be closed, and our commerce subjected to seizure.¹⁷ A test vote indicated that the South, whether Whig or Democrat, opposed any change in our foreign policy, while Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana formed an almost solid block in favor.¹⁸

These discussions in Congress, together with the Kossuth excitement, furnished ample stimulus for the launching of the movement calling itself Young America. The greater part of the nerve and energy of the movement was supplied by George N. Sanders. This picturesque figure, a volatile Kentuckian, served from 1844 to the outbreak of the Civil War as a wire-puller and spokesman for the

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 438 *et seq.* Feb. 2, 1852.

¹³ *Ibid.*, appendix, pp. 787, 143. Mar. 1, 1852.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 551 *et seq.* Senator Cooper of Pennsylvania, Apr. 28, 1852.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 531-532. P. Ewing of Kentucky, Apr. 21, 1852.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 551. Senator Cooper, Apr. 28, 1852.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179. Feb. 7, 1852.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 186. Test vote, Jan. 2, 1852, to lay a memorial for intervention on the table.

group in the Democratic party whose battle cry was "expansion and progress".¹⁹ Sanders's rhetoric was that of the promoter of grandiose business projects to be realized by jingoism. At the same time his faith in the liberal institutions of his country and its mission to extend them was apparently genuine. His querulousness and dubious financial operations had alienated him from the older members of the party.

The personnel of the group associated with Sanders was not entirely definite, but it may be said that it represented, in general, frontier sections of the country.²⁰ Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was popularly reputed to be the soul of the movement.²¹ His colleagues in Congress, James Shields and William Richardson of Illinois, were also leading spirits in the group. Others were William Corry of Cincinnati,²² Robert J. Walker, formerly of Mississippi,²³ William R. Smith of Alabama, William Polk of Tennessee, and E. C. Marshall of California.²⁴ But regardless of whether the particular members of the group came from frontier regions or not, it is clear that the group as a whole represented frontier ideals.²⁵ Among these

¹⁹ Sanders did not share Calhoun's opposition to the annexation of Oregon, Calhoun to Sanders, Feb. 3, 1844. *Political Papers of George N. Sanders* (New York, 1914), a sale catalogue presenting extracts from many letters that did not pass from the sale to the Library of Congress. The writer has recently found, in a little known biographical encyclopedia of Kentucky, evidence that Sanders may have played an important part in the agitation over the annexation of Texas, in being indirectly responsible for the famous letter which helped to lose Clay the presidency. According to William Corry, a friend of Sanders, he organized a meeting at Ghent, Ky., during the campaign of 1844, which passed resolutions favoring the annexation of Texas, and appointed him chairman of a committee to correspond with the candidates regarding their respective positions on that question. Clay's Raleigh Letter, Corry says, was in response to a query from Sanders's committee. *Biographical Encyclopedia of Kentucky of the Dead and Living Men of the Nineteenth Century* (Cincinnati, 1878), p. 538.

²⁰ John L. O'Sullivan, T. de Witt Reilly, and Tammany Hall represented an Eastern group closely associated with Young America.

²¹ In his speech at the Congressional banquet in Kossuth's honor Douglas made a pompous and bombastic speech defying the crowned heads of Europe, at the same time declaring himself willing, under certain circumstances, to use military force to secure Hungarian and Irish self-determination. *New York Herald*, Jan. 10, 1852.

²² In Cincinnati the *Nonpareil* represented Young American sentiment.

²³ Walker had suggested the possible desirability of an alliance of the United States and England against autocracy, at a Kossuth dinner at Southampton, England, which he attended as American consul. Hülsemann to Schwarzenberg, no. 31, Nov. 17, 1851.

²⁴ These men were spokesmen for Young America in the House of Representatives.

²⁵ The advocacy of homestead legislation was an example of this tendency. George Evans had named his paper devoted to furthering homestead legislation

was the typically frontier interest in the future development of capitalism. "Great, powerful and rich as are the United States", said Marshall, "they must become greater, more powerful, more rich."²⁶ The *Democratic Review*, which with Sanders as editor became the organ of Young America in January, 1852, argued that if republics were established in the heart of Europe, reciprocal free trade, which was assumed as an inevitable result, would enormously enhance our commerce and provide markets for surplus produce.²⁷ Naïve indeed were these candid admissions. At times, however, they were veiled with idealistic sentiments. The general American conviction of a mission to extend free institutions, and thus to promote a better world order, was remembered and appealed to. It is significant that these idealistic sentiments, bombastically and pompously expressed, were as genuine elements of American self-consciousness as the materialistic ones linked with them.

This materialistic aspect of Young America was most ably expressed by Pierre Soulé during the Senate debates on Cass's resolution criticizing Russian intervention in Hungary. "What, speak of isolation!" exclaimed Soulé. "Have you not markets to secure for the surplus of your future wealth?" It was therefore in Soulé's eyes "our own interest, and if not our interest our duty, to keep alive . . . that reverence for the institutions of our country, that devout faith in their efficacy, which looks to their promulgation throughout the world as to the great millennium which is to close the long chapter of their wrongs".²⁸ This vigorous plea indicated the sympathy of the southern Mississippi Valley with the programme of an active foreign policy in behalf of republican institutions abroad. Just as the established vested interests feared the disastrous effects of a policy of intervention, so interests capable of potential development demanded participation in world affairs to secure commercial advantages.

The appeal which Young America made to many Virginia Democrats may be explained by this emphasis on a future development of capital. Virginians, conscious of their agricultural decadence, were making efforts to stimulate industry and commerce as well as agri-

Young America! (New York, 1846-1849). The New York *Herald* warned Young America that it must be "up and doing" if it did not want the Free-Soilers to steal this part of its programme. Established capitalistic interests of the East were naturally opposed to "western railroad stock-jobbers" unless they themselves were in control. New York *Herald*, May 20, 1852.

²⁶ Mar. 19, 1852. *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., p. 383 *et seq.*

²⁷ *Democratic Review*, XXXI. 40.

²⁸ Mar. 22, 1852. *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., appendix, p. 349 *et seq.*

culture.²⁹ Hence such Virginians as R. M. T. Hunter, James A. Seddon, and John Daniel of the Richmond *Examiner* were favorably disposed toward Young America.³⁰ The old alignment with the complacent Calhoun Democrats was not an entirely desirable one. The projects of Maury³¹ and George Law's plans for the development of direct steamship lines from Norfolk to Europe might obtain substantial advantages from the programme of Young America. Indeed, Law was the chief financial support in the concrete efforts Young America was to make.

Still another factor in the force of Young America's appeal for intervention in behalf of European republicanism was the presence of large numbers of newly arrived immigrants in the United States, who, for the most part, were friends of republicanism at home. Tammany Hall, with its foreign complexion, ratified, as early as October, 1851, the Young American principle of "no more neutrality, active alliance with European republicanism throughout the world". William Corry, one of the most vehement partizans of Young America, addressed Tammany with a speech which might well be taken as the platform of Young America.³² The fact that large numbers of these newly arrived foreigners settled in the West was another reason why that section was the heart of Young America. The New York *Herald* professed to believe that the Young American crusade for intervention rested on a mere desire on the part of Western politicians to win votes.³³ Although it is difficult to evaluate the degree of truth in this charge, there is evidence that such ambitions influenced in part the behavior of the group adopting the slogan "Young America" as a battle cry.³⁴ But whatever part the

²⁹ See C. H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, *passim*.

³⁰ *Correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter*, pp. 127, 136.

³¹ F. M. Maury, *The Amazon and Atlantic Slopes*. Virginia was expected to profit from newly opened-up commerce in South America (1853).

³² New York *Herald*, Oct. 23, 1851. Corry's correspondence with Joseph Holt (Papers of Joseph Holt, Library of Congress) indicates prodigious activity in behalf of Young America.

³³ New York *Herald*, Feb. 5, 1852.

³⁴ See, for example, Gustav Koerner, *Memoirs* (ed. Thomas McCormick, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), I, 591, 545, 577, 599, 588; T. C. Blegen, "The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants", *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, III, 129; F. I. Herriot, in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XII, 404; William Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner* (Milwaukee, 1900-1902), I, 229-230; Morris Busch, *Wanderungen zwischen Hudson und Mississippi im Jahre 1851 und 1852*, p. 85; Ernst Bruncken, "Political Activity of the Wisconsin Germans", *Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings*, 1901, p. 191; Kate A. Everest, "The Germans in Wisconsin", *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XII, 300.

desire to win German votes played in shaping the interventionist politics of the Westerners in Congress, there was unquestionably a close relationship between the expansive, missionary republicanism of the German exiles and the philosophy of Young America.³⁵

Thus Young America as a recognized political group began its activities in 1852, with special interest in co-operation with European republican movements. Naturally individual members of the group had before that time been active in furthering similar ideas. The leader, George Sanders, had been personally concerned in certain dealings with European revolutionaries and had thus attracted the suspicious attention of representatives of the established governments. Sanders had associated himself with George Law in a notorious musket deal. By act of Congress the War Department offered for sale 144,000 muskets antiquated by the adoption of the new percussion lock. Sanders went to Europe to dispose of these arms to the revolutionary leaders, some of whom he must have met during his participation in the siege of Paris the previous year.³⁶ Before arrangements could be made the revolutions were crushed.³⁷ But the problem of disposing of the muskets continued to occupy Sanders's attention. He frankly admitted that the only possible purchasers were the European republicans, and he defended the right of private citizens in a neutral country to sell arms to belligerents.³⁸ Perhaps this vested interest whetted Sanders's enthusiasm for a new revolutionary outbreak in Europe. Hülsemann, the Austrian chargé, feared the influence which Law and Sanders exerted on Congress "through intrigues and bribery".³⁹ This uneasiness increased when the announcement was made that Kossuth had purchased part of the muskets.⁴⁰ Rumors indicated that, by his order, secret shipments of powder and arms were being prepared in New York.⁴¹ There seems to have been no more truth in these rumors than in those which had disturbed the Austrian representative during the spring of 1850.⁴²

³⁵ See, for example, T. S. Baker, "Young Germany in America", *Americana Germanica*, I. 86; Richard Rathmuller, *German-American Annals*, IV. 92; Julius Goebel, "A Political Prophecy of the Forty-Eighters", *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XII. 462; Karl Heinzen, *Der Pionier* (Boston, 1853-1879).

³⁶ Henry Labouchere to Lord Northbrook, April 23 (no year). *Political Papers of George N. Sanders*.

³⁷ Letter from Sanders to the New York *Herald*, Feb. 12, 1852.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Hülsemann to Schwarzenberg, no. 20, Feb. 21, 1852.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 31, Letter A. Apr. 25, 1852.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Hülsemann caused some nervousness in the Austrian Imperial Cabinet by reports, in 1850, that expeditions were fitting out in New York for the Adriatic and

It is true, however, that Sanders was making rash promises to Kossuth. The Hungarian had urged that the aid of a Democratic government in the spring of 1853 would be too late. Thereupon Sanders vouchsafed his readiness and ability to purchase "the best and fastest going steamer in the United States mercantile marine" and to place it at Kossuth's disposal, armed, manned, and equipped. Kossuth observed that this offer was the most significant one which had been made and one which, if realized, would alone make his American visit entirely successful.⁴³ Kossuth was soon disillusioned since Sanders failed to secure financial support.⁴⁴

The world knew little of these projects, and Sanders's enthusiasm was too great to be limited to clandestine and uncertain channels. His zeal took the form of championing the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas as the Democratic candidate for the presidency. Douglas appealed to a group of younger men in the party who, like Sanders, had not enjoyed the spoils of office, and who were thoroughly discontented with the domination of the Old Fogies. The ritual of the Democratic party had come to be more important than its spirit.⁴⁵ There was need of an evangelistic revival. Hollow complacency was not enough to maintain the party machine intact. Leadership in the party had long enough been in the hands of the Old Fogies. This was the keynote of the articles which Sanders began to print in the *Democratic Review*, an organ long representing the more progressive wing of the party, and of which he became editor in January, 1852. He insisted that the party must have a man for the presidency who realized that our national integrity had long enough been prostituted to foreign governments, that our flag and our armaments must no longer subserve the whims of foreign tyrants.⁴⁶ The "Old Fogy" Democrats, J. C. Breckinridge and General W. O. Butler of Kentucky, and especially Marcy and Cass,⁴⁷ were "superannuated wire-

Naples, with the purpose of inciting the Hungarians and overthrowing the Hapsburg monarchy (Hülsemann to Schwarzenberg, no. 11, Mar. 15, 1850, Schwarzenberg to Hülsemann, Apr. 1 and 14, 1850). The intuitions of the Prussian minister resident, Baron von Gerolt, that these expeditions were intended for filibustering in Cuba, proved correct. Gerolt to the King of Prussia, no. 5, Mar. 18, 1852.

⁴³ Kossuth to Sanders, Jan. 27, 1852 (Pittsburgh). *Political Papers of George N. Sanders*.

⁴⁴ Kossuth to Sanders, July 11, 1852. Letter in private collection of Mr. John H. Gundlach, St. Louis.

⁴⁵ R. F. Nichols, *The Democratic Machine, 1852-1854*, pp. 223, 224.

⁴⁶ *Democratic Review*, January, 1852, XXXI. 2.

⁴⁷ Cass aroused the hostility of Sanders because of the nepotism which had kept the son of Cass at his post in Rome when his refusal to recognize the Roman Republic in 1848 had seemed a "betrayal" of republicanism. Sanders

pullers", living in the shadows of great men, mimicking their gestures, words, bows. Without progressive ideas upon which to base its actions or to attract support, Old Fogysm had been forced to rely on subterfuges, corruptions, schemes in utter antagonism to democracy and the true national interests of the country. The programme of Young America was drawn with rhetorical splendor. Sectional and party discord were to be healed through a progressive foreign policy, which included the principle of American intervention on the side of the struggling republics in Europe.⁴⁸

Everyone knew that Sanders, in writings these articles, had Stephen A. Douglas in mind. Douglas's defiance of the crowned heads of Europe and his eloquent if vague declarations in favor of the self-determination of all oppressed nationalities, together with his liberal promises of patronage, marked him as the natural leader of Young America.⁴⁹ He had denounced the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty as "truckling to Great Britain" and thus won the support of Tammany and the Irish vote. His advocacy of homestead legislation, western railway interests, the Oriental trade, and the acquisition of Cuba appealed to the frontier interest in an expectant development of capitalism.

The connection between Douglas and Sanders had begun in 1851. Douglas had at first great confidence in Sanders's judgment, and in April, 1851, wrote that he was glad his plans were approved by him.⁵⁰ "I profit more by your letters than any I receive", wrote Douglas.⁵¹ In December, 1851, Sanders asked Douglas for money with which to purchase the *Democratic Review*. Therefore the later denials which Douglas made as to any knowledge of Sanders's plans were mere falsehoods. "I appreciate the service you are rendering me and the importance of the movement, and will do all in my power", Douglas wrote on December 28, 1851, promising at the same time to try to raise the money if it were absolutely necessary.⁵²

also maintained that Cass had shown himself subservient to Louis Philippe in his *France, its King, Court and Government*. *Democratic Review*, XXX. 456.

⁴⁸ *Democratic Review*, January, February, March, 1852.

⁴⁹ *New York Herald*, Jan. 10, 1852; *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 5, 1852; *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., p. 70; Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵⁰ Douglas to Sanders, Washington, Apr. 11, 1851. *Political Papers of George N. Sanders*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Chicago, July 12, 1851; also R. M. T. Hunter to Sanders, May 9, 1851, Sanders MSS. in the Library of Congress.

⁵² Douglas to Sanders, Dec. 28, 1851 (Washington), in collection of John H. Gundlach. J. Addison Thomas, a friend of Marcy, informed his chief on Jan. 27, 1852, that the *Review* had been bought by a friend of Douglas. Marcy Papers, 22, in Library of Congress.

Douglas soon discovered the danger in the course Sanders was pursuing in the *Democratic Review*. In a letter of February 10 he reminded Sanders that from the beginning he had opposed the policy of bitterly attacking other Democratic candidates.⁵³ But the March and April numbers of the *Democratic Review* bristled with denunciations of the "Old Fogies" and shouted the cry "Young America". On April 15 Douglas wrote another long letter to Sanders, begging him to give up the course he was following, and emphasizing the injury that had been done by the assaults on the candidates for the nomination. "If these attacks are repeated my chances are utterly hopeless, and I may be compelled to retire from the field and throw my influence in favor of one of those whom the *Review* strives to crush."⁵⁴

The course of Sanders in the *Democratic Review* unquestionably injured the cause of Douglas.⁵⁵ The affair was discussed in the House of Representatives, Richardson of Illinois attempting to prove that Douglas had had no connection with Sanders and the *Review*. But Breckinridge of Kentucky pointed out that Douglas had recommended the journal to the country after he had read its articles condemning the "Old Fogies".⁵⁶ The damaging effect of these discussions, together with other factors, made Douglas's hope for the nomination less buoyant. In the Baltimore convention his active supporters could not achieve the necessary majority, though his ninety-two votes showed that his strength lay in the Mississippi Valley and California.⁵⁷

Although Young America had occasioned alarm among the Whigs as well as among the Democrats,⁵⁸ the nomination of Pierce had a quieting effect. The New York *Herald* considered Pierce a "discreet representative of Young America".⁵⁹ The *Democratic Review* made the best of the situation by urging that since Pierce was a new man, he was quite capable of becoming all that the *Review* had urged.⁶⁰

⁵³ Douglas to Sanders, Washington, Feb. 10, 1852. Gundlach Collection.

⁵⁴ Douglas to Sanders, Washington, Apr. 15, 1852. Gundlach Collection. The *Lantern* cartooned Sanders with a *Democratic Review* banner slaying "Old Fogies", with the "Little Giant" in mortal terror, begging him to stop. I. 20, May 22, 1852.

⁵⁵ B. F. Angel to Marcy, Washington, Mar. 11, 1852; Thomas H. Hyatt to Marcy, Feb. 26, 1852; A. Campbell to Marcy, Mar. 12, 1852; L. Shephard to Marcy, Dec. 15, 1852; Thomas Carr to Marcy, Feb. 3, 1852. Marcy Papers, 22.

⁵⁶ *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., appendix, pp. 299, 420, 711-714.

⁵⁷ Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*, p. 206.

⁵⁸ New York *Herald*, Mar. 25, 1852; Edward Stanley in the House of Representatives, June 14, 1852. *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., appendix, p. 707.

⁵⁹ New York *Herald*, June 10, 1852.

⁶⁰ *Democratic Review*, XXX. 491.

During the summer Douglas, in campaigning for Pierce, appealed to the Young American sentiment.⁶¹ Edmund Burke succeeded in persuading Dr. Hebbe and a Mr. Flinchmann, both influential among the German population, to campaign for Pierce. "The grand ideas which are the most potent in the election", Burke wrote to Pierce, "are sympathy for the liberals of Europe, the expansion of the American republic southward and westward, and the grasping of the magnificent purse of the commerce of the Pacific, in short, the ideas for which the term *Young America* is the symbol."⁶² Kossuth wrote a circular to the German clubs and societies virtually urging them to support Pierce.⁶³

Although Young America had not nominated its candidate, the party platform incorporated many "Young American" ideas. This platform advocated "the full expansion of the energies of this great and progressive people", and the *Democratic Review* interpreted the meaning to its own satisfaction.⁶⁴ The platform moreover resolved that "in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democracy of this country". The New York *Herald* looked to the Pierce administration for the promotion of internal glory and prosperity and "the extension of our power and influence among the nations of the earth".⁶⁵ At the same time it observed that appointment of Young Americans to cabinet positions would mean an unsettlement of the financial world, the electrical vibrations of which would be felt even on the London exchange.⁶⁶

The election of Pierce was regarded with concern by those Europeans who feared the growing influence of the United States and the prominence which that influence was lending to republican and democratic ideas. The Prussian minister resident in Washington, Baron von Gerolt, informed his government that the peace policy of Fillmore had ended, and that a new era designed to show the influence of the United States in Europe as well as the New World was about to begin.⁶⁷ The Austrian minister of foreign affairs, Count Buol-Schauenstein, believed that the election would increase popular license

⁶¹ New York *Herald*, Sept. 11, 1852.

⁶² Edmund Burke to Franklin Pierce, June 14, 1852. Pierce Papers, III., in Library of Congress.

⁶³ *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, vols. XVII.-XIX. (1917-1919).

⁶⁴ *Democratic Review*, XXX. 491.

⁶⁵ New York *Herald*, Nov. 4, 1852.

⁶⁶ New York *Herald*, Nov. 18, 1852.

⁶⁷ Gerolt to the King of Prussia, no. 23, Dec. 13, 1852, "United States of America", Geheimes Staats-Archiv, Berlin.

in America, "so incompatible with the good faith of foreign relations". Apprehensive of the American movements against Cuba, he feared "a generally aggressive and annexing policy".⁶⁸ Hülsemann, the Austrian chargé in Washington, expected that while the new government would be sympathetic with the revolutionary party in Europe, it would be deterred for the moment from offering any assistance. This was ascribed to the fact that the relations of the United States with Spain were bound to be precarious because of a determination to secure Cuba, and further, that difficulties with Great Britain and Mexico were not unlikely to develop. A victorious revolution abroad, no matter how momentary, would, nevertheless, in Hülsemann's opinion, change the probable pacific policy of the government.⁶⁹ Yet Hülsemann clearly realized from the Kossuth excitement that the influence of the South would oppose measures which threatened their commercial and financial interests, as intervention in European affairs was bound to do.⁷⁰ Yet the uncertainty in regard to the turn which the expansionist and interventionist sentiment in the United States might take caused Austria to modify her attitude towards this country.⁷¹

In December, 1852, the *Siècle*, published in Paris as the organ of the republican party in Europe, represented the newly elected government as favorable to intervention in Europe. The English press, designating the *Siècle* as the organ of the American legation in Paris, regarded this announcement with concern.⁷² The conservative press in France was likewise nervous. The *Journal des Débats* believed the election of Pierce was a danger sign.⁷³ The *Revue des Deux Mondes* lamented that the death of Clay and Webster left the door open to "la jeune Amérique", and "a violent, perhaps bloody solution" of

⁶⁸ Foote to Everett, Dec. 15, 1852. Correspondence with the State Department, 4, United States Legation, Vienna.

⁶⁹ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 8, Apr. 10, 1853.

⁷⁰ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, Vienna, Nov. 21, 1852, no. 42.

⁷¹ The Austrian government sharply reversed its decision that, as a result of Secretary of State Webster's address at the Congressional banquet for Kossuth, official relations could not be maintained with Webster (Schwarzenberg to Hülsemann, Feb. 4, 1852). The instructions to Hülsemann to make some sort of a compromise did not reach him until after he had left Washington. The conciliatory attitude of the Austrian government was caused chiefly by the realization that "the political and economic importance of the United States are increasing each day, an importance which assures them an influence on the destiny of Europe". Buol-Schauenstein to Hülsemann, May 11, 1852. See also M. E. Curti, *Austria and the United States*, Smith College Studies in History, April, 1926.

⁷² J. Addison Thomas to Marcy, Paris, Dec. 26, 1852. Marcy Papers, 46.

⁷³ Nov. 11, 1852.

outstanding issues.⁷⁴ Young America was regarded as the most numerous and influential wing of the Democratic party, and its "voracious, insatiable" ambition for power and expansion was evidence that it possessed "les yeux plus gros que le ventre".⁷⁵ Émile Montégut observed that since Americans thought of themselves as "patrons of future peoples and the model of universal government", it was not surprising that they had insulted Austria and Russia, and menaced Spain. These were regarded as the advance signs of more grave attacks. The discourse of Cass on the French occupation of Samana was regarded as expressing the jealous anxiety of the United States, and, indeed, Pierce's election might be regarded as a triumph of aggressive passions.⁷⁶ Other French writers were also attacking the expansive tendencies in the United States. One, A. de Moges, believed that the system of American expansion ought to become thenceforward the chief preoccupation of the European cabinets.⁷⁷ It remained to be seen what influence Young America would actually have on the new administration.

The bitter fight between the "Old Fogies" and the representatives of Young America for spoils began almost immediately. George Sanders used every possible weapon to prevent the president-elect from offering to Marcy the chief office in the Cabinet.⁷⁸ Almost every day and night during the early months of 1853 he was to be seen at the Astor House, with various Douglas men, seizing each opportunity to talk with influential citizens and travellers. A political enemy of Sanders, Thomas N. Carr, had reason to believe that in all these efforts he was financially supported by George Law.⁷⁹ Despite everything, including interviews with Pierce,⁸⁰ Sanders failed. Marcy was announced as the new Secretary of State.⁸¹ But the leader of Young America was not discouraged. Sanders publicly declared his determination to obtain an office in spite of Marcy's opposition. A letter to this effect was read at Tammany Hall.⁸² George Law, it

⁷⁴ XVI. 792-793, November, 1852.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 606, January, 1853.

⁷⁷ A. de Moges, *Influence Prochaine des États-Unis sur la Politique de l'Europe* (Paris, 1855); M. H. du Pasquier de Dommartin, *L'Intérêt Européen dans l'Amérique du Nord*.

⁷⁸ J. Addison Thomas to Marcy, New York, Jan. 18, 1853. Marcy Papers, 28.

⁷⁹ Thomas N. Carr to Marcy, New York, Feb. 24, 1853. Marcy Papers, 28.

⁸⁰ Pierce to Sanders, Jan. 18, 1853. Sanders Papers.

⁸¹ This was regarded as a "death-blow" to "progress" by that ardent champion of Young America, William Corry. Corry to Holt, Washington, May 2, 1853. Joseph Holt Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸² Carr to Marcy, New York, Apr. 4, 1853. Marcy Papers, 33.

seems, had committed Pierce to Sanders's appointment. It was also believed that Douglas was among the some hundred friends who were aiding Sanders.⁸³ And so in the face of opposition of Marcy,⁸⁴ Sanders was appointed in June (1853) consul at London.⁸⁵

Hülsemann regarded this appointment as an indication that the government intended to maintain intimate relations with the revolutionary refugees in that capital.⁸⁶ The Austrian chargé assumed that Marcy had yielded in his opposition to Sanders because of the latter's influence with Pierce.

Sanders arrived in London in November. Although he was on good terms with Buchanan, the American minister,⁸⁷ it was Sickles, the secretary of legation, who proved the more valuable friend. This relationship enabled Sanders to make use of the legation seal and despatch-bag for sending personal communications and probably those of his exiled friends, the leaders of the revolutions of 1848. Buchanan was apparently ignorant of the use Sanders was making of the despatch-bags.⁸⁸

The exiles virtually made their headquarters at Sanders's London house. It was there that Kossuth met Garibaldi for the first time. It was there that Buchanan graced a dinner party whose guests included Kossuth, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Garibaldi, Orsini, Arnold Ruge, and Herzen. "Sitting next to Mrs. Sanders at table", wrote Buchanan, "I asked her if she was not afraid the combustible materials about her would explode and blow us all up."⁸⁹ Buchanan was much impressed by the assembly. In reporting the affair to the Secretary of State, he observed that he had been very cautious in his remarks. "But", he added, "they were all evidently much pleased that I was neither ashamed nor afraid to meet them. However indiscreet it might be for me, as American minister, to invite any of them to my house, I should feel myself degraded as an American citizen to have refused the invitation of a friend, simply because men who have suffered in the cause of liberty were to be present."⁹⁰

⁸³ Carr to Marcy, New York, Apr. 4, 1853, Marcy Papers, 33.

⁸⁴ Marcy to Buchanan, Dec. 22, 1855. Private Letters of W. L. Marcy, Library of Congress. See also the *Lantern*, April, May, 1853, *passim*.

⁸⁵ The wrath of Marcy's friends ran high with the news of this appointment. By one correspondent Sanders was described as "too lazy to shave and clean himself and out and out a blackguard". W. W. Benson to Marcy, Albany, June 25, 1853. Marcy Papers, 34.

⁸⁶ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 19, Aug. 11, 1853.

⁸⁷ J. Addison Thomas to Marcy, London, Nov. 29, 1853. Marcy Papers, 45.

⁸⁸ Buchanan to Marcy, Dec. 22, 1854. Marcy Papers.

⁸⁹ Buchanan to Marcy, Feb. 24, 1854. Marcy Papers, 48.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

Sanders was listening to the plans of the exiles and doing what he might to further them. Ledru-Rollin entertained the idea of using the United States as a lever to force the revolutionary movement in Europe. At the time of the *Black Warrior* and the Ostend Manifesto he wrote to Sanders, suggesting that the United States pledge its support to the Spanish republicans, braving even the risk of war with the European governments. The reward was to be the expectation that Cuba, out of gratitude and interest, would apply to the United States for annexation.⁹¹

With Kossuth the relations of the American consul were more intimate. On July 29, 1852, Kossuth had written from London asking Sanders whether anything was to be expected from the incoming Democratic administration.⁹² "The European movement", urged Kossuth, "is not only impending, but can by no means be delayed long any more. Not only is the organization entirely completed, but in consequence of this achievement the blow must be stricken." Kossuth insisted that after the great victory of the Democratic views signalized by Pierce's election, aid to the cause of European revolution became a matter of political dignity.⁹³ "To speak plainly, the nomination to Constantinople should tell all Europe explicitly, that it is meant to be energetically anti-Russian and anti-Austrian because American and Democratic."⁹⁴ Kossuth added that almost anything might be done at Constantinople by money. This suggestion clarifies the policy Kossuth was at this time pursuing in Washington. During March and April, 1853, Pulszky, his former secretary, was urging the administration to make the uprising in Milan the occasion for announcing its policy.⁹⁵ Pulszky wished the administration to declare that it would support Turkey in case it was attacked by Russia and aided by Austria. Such an event was expected, and was to be the signal for an Hungarian uprising. The

⁹¹ Ledru-Rollin to George N. Sanders, London, Aug. 1, 1854 (*Political Papers of George N. Sanders*); see also A. R. Calmin, *Ledru-Rollin et les Proscrits Français en Angleterre*. Sanders's coadjutor, Corry, states that "it is quite probable that it was the urgency of Mr. Sanders that pushed Mr. Buchanan and encouraged Mr. Soulé, at Ostend, to manifest the determination to appropriate Cuba at all hazards, and with no respect for national law as hitherto accepted". *Biographical Encyclopedia of Kentucky*, p. 539. The scattering of Sanders's papers would make it difficult to test this statement.

⁹² Kossuth to Sanders, London, July 29, 1852. *Political Papers of George Sanders*.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1852.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*; Corry was being pushed for this post. Corry to Holt, May 2, 1853. Joseph Holt Papers.

⁹⁵ Strangely, these activities did not get into the press. Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 6, Mar. 27, 1853.

prestige of the United States would be greatly enhanced by purchasing as naval bases Kleck and Sutorina. The influence of Kossuth's chargé at Constantinople was offered to achieve this end; it was expected in return that the moral influence of the presence of the United States in this region would aid the revolutionary outbreak in Hungary. Pulszky seems to have had long conversations with Cushing, the attorney general, well known for his sympathy with Young America, and with Soulé, Marcy, and President Pierce. Hülsemann scarcely expected that the United States would be led into such an extravagant project.⁹⁶ Though these schemes had in reality little chance of success, there was reason for the Austrian government, none the less, to feel considerable anxiety.⁹⁷

The spring and summer passed without definite results, but Kossuth's optimism was stimulated by the arrival of Sanders in London in November, 1853. In a letter dated London, November 15, 1853, and published in the *New York Herald*, Sanders announced to America that Kossuth's agent had been openly received in Constantinople. "The Porte made no secret of the fact", continued Sanders, "that unless Austria withdraws her armies from her frontiers, or England and France shall accede to his demand for his guaranty of the neutrality of Austria, that Kossuth will be invited to Constantinople and placed at the head of a strong division to march on Hungary."⁹⁸

But this was obviously mere talk. Two days later Kossuth requested Sanders to write a letter to the United States minister in Constantinople recommending to his good offices the Hungarian chargé, and further to use his influence to persuade the Porte not to delay longer in forcing Austria "peremptorily to assume a clear

⁹⁶ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 6, Mar. 27, 1853.

⁹⁷ At this very time, A. Dudley Mann, well known for his friendliness to European revolution, was appointed and confirmed in the newly created office of assistant secretary of state (Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 6, Mar. 27, 1853). This was generally regarded as a concession to Young America, and as such was disagreeable to Hülsemann and his colleagues (Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein. *Ibid.*). The presence of Cushing in the Cabinet was in itself reason to fear the influence of Young America (Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, Feb. 21, 1853). On the evening of April 10 it appeared that the Cabinet was to be radically reorganized, Cushing to become Secretary of State, Stockton, Secretary of the Navy, in which event "it is a complete victory for Young America" (Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, Apr. 11, 1853). While the rumor proved to be unfounded, it was clear to the Austrian chargé that there was cause to be nervous as long as Cushing, the representative of Young America, enjoyed the confidence of the President. Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 6, Mar. 27, 1853.

⁹⁸ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 37, Dec. 5, 1853, enclosure.

position".⁹⁹ Kossuth continued to urge that the United States minister in Constantinople should turn the scale in the diplomatic battle being waged between England and France for preponderance.¹⁰⁰ In spite of all these efforts, the representatives of the United States remained passive. Kossuth had complained that they were willing to allow the "Black Sea to become a Russian lake or leave it to England's protection".¹⁰¹

At the same time that Kossuth and Sanders were pursuing the uncertain paths of diplomacy, they were endeavoring to equip a vessel to transport the Hungarian leader with such followers as might be assembled to Constantinople. Sanders not only gave advice, but seems to have acted as a sort of purchasing agent.¹⁰² For lack of financial backing the negotiations came to nothing. "God knows", Kossuth wrote Sanders on December 13, 1853, "how anxiously I have awaited a letter from America. . . . I am sick with excitement and disappointment."¹⁰³

But there were other means of assisting the cause of European freedom. August 21, 1854, Sanders's letter to the President of the Swiss Confederation appeared in the *London Times*.¹⁰⁴ It protested against certain resolutions abridging the rights of asylum in that country. Sanders ventured to hope that the Swiss Confederation would not be influenced by Austrian diplomacy. Full of feeling for republicanism, the letter urged that Switzerland, "like our own America, is charged with certain solemn responsibilities". A few days later, August 24, the *Times* criticized Sanders's position in assuming that Switzerland was the sole abode of "true political faith", and that the duty of its people, therefore, was the conversion of Europe.¹⁰⁵

August Belmont, American minister at the Hague, wrote to Sanders that "the virulent manner with which the demolition has been attacked by the whole conservative press of England and the continent, is the most evident proof of its importance".¹⁰⁶ "The republican spirit in Europe is subdued but not crushed, and manifestos like yours can not fail to exercise the most beneficial influence

⁹⁹ Kossuth to Sanders, Nov. 17, 1853. Collection of John H. Gundlach.

¹⁰⁰ Kossuth to Sanders, Feb. 26, 1854. *Political Papers of G. N. Sanders*.

¹⁰¹ Kossuth to Sanders, Dec. 13, 1853. Collection of John H. Gundlach.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1853.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1853. Kossuth believed that if he could have entered the Bosphorus with a couple of vessels on the occasion of the catastrophe at Sinope his reception would have been both enthusiastic and significant.

¹⁰⁴ *London Times*, Aug. 21, 1854.

¹⁰⁵ *London Times*, Aug. 24, 1854.

¹⁰⁶ Belmont to Sanders, Sanders MSS., Library of Congress (no date).

on its dormant powers." Belmont asked for copies of the letter to be distributed in Germany and France.

Sanders had made many enemies before he assumed his position in London, and his open activities in behalf of the revolutionary cause did not diminish them. Hülsemann understood in January, 1854, that Sanders's letters to the New York *Herald* had so displeased the President that he hesitated to transmit the nomination to the Senate.¹⁰⁷ In February, 1854, Sanders's nomination as consul in London was refused confirmation in the Senate by a vote of 29 against 10.¹⁰⁸

Sanders was outraged at the rejection. Blaming Douglas for deserting him, he even intimated that the Little Giant was one of the conspirators against his character. Douglas was surprised at the direction his wrath had taken. "I am not in the habit of suspecting my friends", Douglas wrote, "much less of condemning them. . . . When, in the prosecution of your cherished revenge, you shall ascertain the true state of the facts, and shall know who stood by you, and defended you to the last, you will feel more mortification and chagrin at having written your unkind letter to me than I did in reading it."¹⁰⁹

The exiles in London were thoroughly disappointed at the recall of Sanders. On March 1, 1854, Kossuth, Ledru-Rollin, and Mazzini addressed a letter to him expressing "deep regret and mortification at this untoward occurrence". The rejection of his nomination by the Senate was "a hard and mischievous blow at the prospects" of democracy.¹¹⁰ Kossuth became furious when he thought of the way in which Sanders was treated by his government, and "sick at heart at considering what the cause of European democracy" lost by losing him.¹¹¹ Louis Blanc took occasion to express his appreciation for

¹⁰⁷ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 3, D., Jan. 15, 1854. Sanders continued this virulent letter-writing, publishing in several languages, according to Corry, an extraordinary assassination letter, which urged the murder of Louis Napoleon, "By any means, and in any way it could be done". William Corry, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

¹⁰⁸ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 9, B., Mar. 9, 1854. Sanders's friends believed that Marcy's influence had secured the rejection. Marcy wrote to Buchanan that he had treated Sanders forbearingly, and had done nothing to influence the action of any senator adversely towards him. Marcy to Buchanan, Dec. 22, 1855. Private Letters of W. L. Marcy, Library of Congress. Even Sanders's enemies were surprised, despite Marcy's "conjecture and advice" on the subject, at the large vote against him. N. G. Upham to Marcy, Mar. 3, 1854, Marcy Papers, 48. Apparently Young America was not such a power in Congress as had been supposed.

¹⁰⁹ Douglas to Sanders, Mar. 27, 1854. *Political Papers of G. N. Sanders*.

¹¹⁰ Kossuth, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin to Sanders, Mar. 1, 1854. *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Kossuth to Sanders, Sept. 1, 1854. *Ibid.* Kossuth addressed a letter to the Germans of America on the Senate's action. Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 17, Mar. 30, 1854. *National Intelligencer*, Mar. 27, 1854.

the articles which had appeared in the *Democratic Review*.¹¹² "My admiration rises to affection for you", wrote Victor Hugo. "When you write it is your soul that writes, a soul elevated and free."¹¹³ Campanella, the secretary of Mazzini, thanked Sanders for the favors he had received,¹¹⁴ and Garibaldi added to "a word of affection and gratitude" the comment that whatever it might be his fortune to accomplish for his country would be inaugurated "under the auspices of generous men (sympathizing in soul with my unhappy land) of whom you are the model".¹¹⁵

Sanders's consular colleague in Liverpool, Nathaniel Hawthorne, "hoped to Heaven" that Pierce would do the right thing in Sanders's case, and felt certain that he would "if he follows his nature".¹¹⁶ Soulé wrote from Madrid that "there will not be a true Democrat throughout the land who will not deplore and bitterly condemn that you were not returned to a post which you filled with so much distinction".¹¹⁷

Although Sanders's efforts in London were badly rewarded, slightly better success attended those of some other representatives of Young America. August Belmont, agent of the Rothschilds in New York, and sometime consul-general for Austria, was thoroughly sympathetic with the programme of American aid for European republicanism. Belmont owed his appointment as minister to the Hague very largely to Sanders's influence with Pierce.¹¹⁸ From the Hague, Belmont wrote Sanders that the Crimean War might very well make possible new and successful revolutions. "The day is not far distant, when self-preservation will dictate to the United States the necessity of throwing her moral and physical force into the scale of European republicanism. To prepare for such a day is the first sacred duty of our Government and Congress, and this can only

¹¹² Louis Blanc to Sanders, June 14, 1854. *Political Papers of George N. Sanders*.

¹¹³ Victor Hugo to Sanders, Oct. 31, 1854. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Campanella to Sanders, May 17, 1854. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Garibaldi to Sanders, Apr. 11, 1854. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Hawthorne to Sanders, June 2, 1854. *Ibid.* Corry says that the appointment was later confirmed as a result of the intercession of William H. Seward, Sanders's political enemy. Corry, *op. cit.*, p. 539. The writer has found no record of such action in the *Senate Journal* or in the *Executive Documents*.

¹¹⁷ Soulé to Sanders, Madrid, Aug. 21, 1854. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Belmont to Sanders, N. Y., Mar. 21, 1853. Sanders MSS., Library of Congress. Buchanan also recommended Belmont as a desirable minister if the administration desired to obtain Cuba in a peaceful way. Buchanan to Marcy, Mar. 8, 1853. Marcy Papers, 29.

be done effectively by reorganizing and increasing the navy.¹¹⁹ The sooner we prepare against the contingencies which our rapid growth and the jealousy of the European powers will bring about, the better it will be for us."¹²⁰ But apart from forwarding Sanders's letter to the President of the Swiss Confederation, Belmont's activities in behalf of Young America were confined to the despatch of high-sounding demands to the Dutch government for the release of one Walter Gibson who had been imprisoned in Batavia on the charge of exciting native chiefs to overthrow Dutch royal authority.¹²¹

To some extent Edwin de Leon, who as early as 1845 had defined the aims of Young America, executed some of its tenets in his official capacity of diplomatic agent in Egypt. His dealings with Mehemet Ali were high-handed,¹²² while his protection of American missionaries in Jaffa must have been applauded by Young America at home.

Although the Secretary of State, Marcy, was not a friend of Sanders, he was certainly somewhat influenced by the group to which Sanders belonged. His circular to the effect that no foreigners be employed in diplomatic chancelleries and advising diplomatic agents not to wear uniforms responded to a demand of Young America.¹²³ Marcy wrote to Buchanan that his course in dispensing with diplomatic uniform had gained him great popularity,¹²⁴ but the American representatives in Turin, Paris, and Vienna came out less gloriously,¹²⁵ and had either to compromise with or surrender to European and royal custom.

When Douglas had failed of nomination in 1852, Young America had been discouraged but not daunted. Now, however, with the return of Sanders from his consular post, and the failure of the group to exert any very important influence on the government, there was no longer any reason for making pretenses, and Young America as a movement died out. But Young America, as a slogan, meant something long after the movement, as such, was dead—its influence was registered in the national self-consciousness.

¹¹⁹ A strong navy was a favorite idea with Young America. See *Democratic Review*, July, 1852, "Our Mission—Diplomacy and Navy".

¹²⁰ Belmont to Sanders, August, 1854. Sanders MSS., Library of Congress.

¹²¹ See *Writings of August Belmont, passim*; Marcy to Belmont, Aug. 8, 1853. Marcy Papers, 41.

¹²² Edwin de Leon, *Thirty Years of My Life on Three Continents* (London, 1890), pp. 150, 193 *et seq.* De Leon was in close correspondence with Sanders in London.

¹²³ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 14, B., June 13, 1853.

¹²⁴ Marcy to Buchanan, Mar. 12, 1854. Private Correspondence of Marcy.

¹²⁵ John Y. Mason to Marcy, Paris, Jan. 26, 1854, Marcy Papers, 47; Wm. Jackson to Marcy, Vienna, Jan. 30, 1854, *ibid.*

We have seen that Young America had glorious ideals for the future of the country, and a very ambitious programme for realizing them. Yet the ideals were as vague as they were grand. Ways and means of applying the programme, of extending aid to the republican movements in Europe, were not definitely worked out, nor, apparently, were the serious practical problems that intervention would involve ever squarely faced. It would not be expected, then, that such a movement would meet with any great degree of practical success, partly because of its inherent weakness and partly because of sectional opposition and that of established economic interests.

Thus the movement itself was a failure. Yet the fact that it existed and flourished so strongly for a while is very significant. On the one hand it shows that Young America's grand ideals really expressed the feelings of many Americans. Idealists like Emerson and Whitman entertained the same essential ideals, though they expressed them less crudely. It was probably more true of the United States than of the European countries that its people tended, at that time, to have an exaggerated youthful faith in the glory of their institutions. Some wished to gain still further glory through territorial expansion and foreign trade. Others were especially interested in encouraging democracy abroad. How many of these latter were animated by commercial motives is a question. But such people, idealists and materialists alike, must have found their chief aspirations expressed in the programme of Young America. On the other hand, the fact that these already existing feelings found expression and some degree of organization and coherence in Young America could not but have helped to crystallize and still further develop them. Thus, this movement, though it failed of practical results, was significant, first, as a political gesture so vigorous as to arouse alarm in Europe, and, secondly, as a means of expressing and developing a certain type of national self-consciousness.

M. E. CURTI.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

I. THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS, LONDON, JULY 12-16, 1926

THE Anglo-American Conference of Historians, held in London on July 12-16, was the second of the quinquennial series inaugurated in 1921 under the auspices of the University of London and of its Institute of Historical Research. The conference of 1926 was under the same auspices as its predecessor, but a special responsibility for it rested upon the Continuation Committee, created by the conference of 1921 for the purpose of "securing continued co-operation between historical workers in the United States, Great Britain, the British Dominions, and India". Upon Professor A. F. Pollard, director of the Institute and chairman of the Continuation Committee, Dr. Guy Parsloe, secretary of the special Committee on Organization, and Dr. H. W. Meikle, secretary of the Continuation Committee, fell the burden, no light one, of programme and arrangements, and to them, as well as to their colleagues of the special committee, those who enjoyed the fruits of their exceedingly successful labors owe a debt of gratitude and appreciation not easily to be reckoned.

From every point of view the conference had a full measure of success. The attendance of three hundred scholars, of whom fifty were Americans, indicates the importance which, on both sides of the Atlantic, has come to be attached to this occasion. As was to be expected, London, under the gentle stimulus of Professor Pollard and his associates, displayed its most hospitable aspect, and the weather was calculated to make visitors from the banks of the Potomac and the Charles feel equally at home. Teas at University and King's Colleges, at Lambeth Palace, at Merchant Taylors' Hall, and at the home of the Royal Historical Society, a sumptuous luncheon at Bedford College, a brilliant reception by the Senate of the University of London at the Imperial Institute, and soirées at the town houses of Lady Power and Viscountess Astor provided everybody with a maximum of spiritual and material entertainment. These lighter features of the conference were concluded by an informal subscription dinner at University College on the Friday evening, followed, during the long twilight of northern midsummer, by a *conversazione* in the pleasant common room and garden of the Institute of Historical Research. On the following day a post-conference excursion to

Canterbury was arranged by Sir William Ashley, to whom many American scholars, privileged to have been his students, owe so much for the intellectual stimulus and the inspiration to research imparted by his instruction.

Finally, what may be termed the clinical features of the conference consisted of special opportunities to attend sessions of Parliament and of parliamentary committees, of a demonstration by Sir William Schooling of his apparatus for making reduced photographic negatives and positives and of projecting and enlarging them, and of visits to the records of the House of Lords in the Victoria Tower, to the Public Record Office, and to the library of Lambeth Palace.

The members of the conference were most fortunate in that its organizers had been able to secure the presence of the Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, at one of its sessions. In a felicitous address, marked by evidences of keen insight and broad sympathies,¹ Mr. Baldwin greeted the large audience which gathered in King's College to hear him. Modestly disclaiming any special competence to address a body of historians, Mr. Baldwin spoke of the special interest which politicians must take in history, because it is only history that can judge them. He insisted, however, upon the impossibility of passing a just verdict upon the conduct of statesmen until such time should have elapsed as to make it possible to know not only the motives which inspired the course of conduct under examination, but its after effects as well, and also to compare it with the conduct of other statesmen of the same time. Speaking particularly to the Americans present Mr. Baldwin extended to them a special greeting on behalf of the Government and dwelt upon the importance, for American history, of research in British and European records, for, he said, "every emigrant that has gone over in the last 150 years is the product of the generations before him . . . and you can never understand your own problems—problems of such amazing human interest, that could not have been foreseen by the founders of the republic—until you understand the problems of the stock of these men who are now making your country".

In drawing up the programme of the scientific sessions of the conference the committee set an example which may be highly recommended to all other bodies charged with similar duties. Instead of overloading the sessions with a formidable number of unrelated papers, each session, with one or two exceptions, was devoted to a single subject on which a leading paper was read. This communication was followed by a discussion which, commencing with one or two

¹ Printed verbatim in the *London Times*, July 14, 1926.

prepared contributions, speedily developed into an open forum in which the number of participants was usually considerable and the quality of their contributions gratifyingly high. Such a plan gave an intelligibility to the conference as a whole that such occasions sometimes sadly lack, increased the interest of those attending, and did not too heavily tax the mental digestion even of one who might be endeavoring to "cover" it all for the benefit of absent colleagues.

The conference was organized in eight sections, devoted respectively to medieval, modern European, colonial, economic, American, local, and Slavonic history, and to the history of war. Sixteen sessions were held, three of which were general in character, and about thirty prepared papers or communications were presented, while the number of those who took part in the discussions must have exceeded one hundred.

The first general session, which was also the sectional session on American history and was presided over by Professor C. W. Alvord, had as its subject Recent American Interpretations of Anglo-American Relations, 1848-1865. The leading paper, by Professor Thomas P. Martin of the University of Texas, was devoted to an appreciation and criticism of Professor E. D. Adams's recent work, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*. Professor Martin, while paying a high tribute to the work as a whole, and to its objective quality, pointed out certain important sources which in his opinion might have been advantageously utilized, notably the papers of leading business and shipping firms of the time, and the papers of such leaders as John Bright and Richard Cobden. In the discussion that followed, Professor Adams's volumes were eulogized in the highest terms by various British scholars as constituting a fresh contribution of the first importance.

The second general session, Professor Wallace Notestein chairman, was devoted to a communication by Mr. W. G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution of Washington on International Co-operation in Historical Studies,² in which he gave an account of the historical activities of the International Union of Academies and of its American member, the American Council of Learned Societies, and spoke particularly of the recent organization of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. At the conclusion of the session the conference adopted a resolution expressing its gratification at the organization of the International Committee.

² To be printed in the next issue, November, of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research.

The subject of the third general session, over which Professor A. C. Coolidge presided, was Bias in Historical Writing.³ The discussion was opened by Professor C. H. McIlwain of Harvard University, who pointed out that bias should not be confused with personal conviction or enthusiasm, nor with literary color and style, nor yet with the presentation of a hypothesis, but that it is in reality nothing else than prejudice, often fostered by the demand for quick and easy "lessons of history". In the exceedingly animated discussion that followed, in which, however, only one American scholar took part, the infinite variety of bias was insisted upon as well as its inevitable presence, in some form or other, conscious or unconscious, in all historical writers; in the historians of the "great style" it is the point of view of genius. The greater objectivity of modern scholars was referred to, but indifference was denounced as stupidity. A certain impatience with general conceptions, especially with any attempt to discern in history general laws of human conduct, was discernible, as well as a predilection for that point of view which regards history as literature or as art. The discussion was closed with the constructive suggestion of Dr. G. P. Gooch, that the best way of guarding against bias was to keep constantly in mind the extraordinary complexity of the historical process and to be modest and conscientious in pronouncing judgment.

The sectional sessions must be passed over rapidly.⁴ The section on medieval history held two sessions. At the first, papers were read by Professor L. J. Paetow of California and by Mr. Charles Johnson of the Public Record Office on the Dictionary of Medieval Latin that is being compiled under the auspices of the International Union of Academies, and on the Anglo-American Dictionary of Late Medieval British Latin. At the second session there was a discussion, led by Mr. J. P. Gilson, keeper of manuscripts in the British Museum, devoted to the serious problem created by the exportation in increasing numbers of historical manuscripts to America. The attitude of the British scholars present towards what must cause many of them grave concern was wholly generous. They were anxious, not so much to prevent a reasonable movement of such historical material to America, as to find some means of recording it and of keeping informed as to its new location. The project of the American Council of Learned Societies for compiling a catalogue of foreign

³ A full report of the discussion is to appear in the October issue of *History*.

⁴ Fuller accounts of them may be read in the general report of the conference which is to appear in the next issue, November, of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research.

manuscripts in American libraries and collections was regarded as of great importance, along with some system of registering manuscripts that leave Great Britain, in any solution of the problem.

The first session of the section on modern European history was devoted to a discussion of the Value and Limitations of the Diplomatic Documents relating to the Origins of the War. As one listened to the careful and judicious observations of Professor Seton-Watson, Dr. Gooch, and others, one could not fail to be impressed with the extreme caution with which competent and conscientious scholars, like the proverbial angels, venture upon a ground where beings of another category gambol with abandon. The subject of the second session, the leading paper of which was by Professor Roger B. Merriman of Harvard, was the Study of European History (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) in the English-speaking Countries.

The section on colonial history listened in its first session to Dr. Frances G. Davenport's paper on English Colonial Expansion, 1700-1715, in which she dealt with England's aims and achievements in regard to territorial and commercial expansion in American regions claimed by Spain and France, and which served to introduce the general discussion. In the second session Professor J. L. Morison, of Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, read a paper on Lord Elgin and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, for which he had utilized new material that revealed the important part of the governor-general of Canada in the affair, and the methods of propaganda that were employed.

The section on economic history held two meetings. The first was devoted to a discussion of the new Economic History Society, and its organ, soon to appear, the *Economic History Review*. The second session was devoted to a discussion on economic history, led by Sir William Ashley with a paper on the Investigation and Teaching of Economic History in relation to the Teaching of Commerce and Economics on the one hand, and of Pure History and Politics on the other.⁵ The section on local history discussed the Organization of Local History and the Relation of Archaeology to Local History, while the section on Slavonic history listened to papers by Professor Paul Milyukov on the Influence of English Political Thought in Russian History, and by Professor Seton-Watson on the Secret Treaty of London and Italian Intervention, in the light of unpublished documents. In the same session there was a discussion, led by Professor A. C. Coolidge, on the study of Slavonic history. Finally the section on the history of war discussed Sir George Aston's article on the

⁵ To be printed in the first issue of the *Economic History Review*.

Study of War by Statesmen and Citizens,⁶ and Sir Charles Oman's paper on Cataclysmic History, in which he maintained that the historical process is quite as frequently cataclysmic as evolutionary, being interrupted by happenings and accidents not to be foreseen. There were also presented in this section papers by Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Butler, on Sources for Anglo-American War History, and by Lieutenant-Colonel E. Y. Daniel, on Sources for the Study of the Great War of 1914-1918.

In concluding this hasty and inadequate account it may not be out of place to express, on behalf of American scholars, their profound appreciation of the many services which the Institute of Historical Research has rendered during these five years to the cause of co-operation among the historians of the English-speaking countries, and to express also their sincere hope that the future of the Institute may be so assured as to enable it to carry on, in the same effective manner as in the past, those activities which have now become indispensable to the advancement of historical studies.

WALDO G. LELAND.

2. PEPYS IN THE NEWSPAPERS OF 1679-1680

THE charges brought against Samuel Pepys at the time of the Popish Plot have been carefully studied, and competent scholars have given out various sources of information.¹ Most of the items which the newspapers of his own day printed about him, however, seem to have escaped notice. They add some information, afford further evidence about the contemporary pronunciation of his name, and show his interest in the case to have been considerable. The newspapers I have consulted are in the Burney Collection at the British Museum.

Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane had been accused of sending naval information to France, a charge which amounted to treason. According to the *Domestick Intelligence, or News both from City and Country*, for Monday, July 14, 1679, the two were brought on July 9 to "the Kings Bench-barr in Westminster-Hall by an Habeas Corpus", and were "accordingly bailed out, . . . to make appearance in order to their Tryall upon demand".

The next item, which appeared in the *English Intelligencer*, number 3, for July 28, 1679, gives clear evidence for the pronunciation of Pepys's name. It reads: "Sir Anthony Dean and Mr. Peeps, not-

⁶ *Contemporary Review*, July, 1926, reprinted for use in the conference.

¹ See, e.g., J. R. Tanner, "Pepys and the Popish Plot", *English Historical Review*, April, 1892, VII. 281-290.

withstanding those high Accusations against them, endeavour to make an Interest to be chosen Parliament-Men for Harwich, which is the admiration of all that hear of it."

This rumor Pepys apparently did not trouble himself to deny. The story which appeared in the *Domestick Intelligence* for Tuesday, September 9, 1679, however, possibly because it made Pepys appear in a more unfavorable social light, was another matter. The *Intelligence* printed:

We are Informed that the last week Samuel Pepys, Esq; went to Windsor, having the confidence to think he might kiss the Kings hand: But meeting with a Person of Honour, and acquainting him with his Intent; he was told, that it was strange he would presume to come to Court, since he stood charged with Treason; who its said answered, His Innocency was such, that he did not value any thing he was accused of, which he did not doubt but to make appear at the next Term; at which time it seems his Tryal comes on: And thereupon addressed himself to some other Persons and prevailed with them so far as to be Introduced into his Majesties presence; but however could not be admitted to the honour he desired.

There are two good reasons for thinking that Pepys was much concerned at this report. In the first place, a slightly different and more particular account was found in his papers, and was printed by Lord Braybrooke. For purposes of comparison, it is here printed in full:

Extract from a Paper without any date. Endorsed,—The Coffee-House-Paper wherein the scandalous intelligence touching Mr Pepys.

On Tuesday last, Mr Peeps went to Windsor, having the confidence that he might kisse the Kings hand; and being at Court, mett the Lord Chamberlain and made his complent to his Lordshipp. But his Lordshipp told him that he wondered he should presume to come to Court before he had cleared himselfe, being charged with treason; whose answer was, his innocency was such, that he valued not any thing he was charged with; soe parted with his Lordshipp; but by the favour of some courtiers he was brought into the Kings presence; but so soone as his Maj'tie saw him, he frowned and turned aside, shewing his dislike of seeing him there.²

The second reason for thinking that Pepys was troubled by this report is found in the denial which promptly appeared in the *Domestick Intelligence* for September 19, and again in the issue for September 23. It reads:

These are to give Notice, That all and every part of the Relation Published in the *Domestick Intelligence* the 9th of this Instant September, touching Samuel Pepys, Esq; is as to the matter, and every particular

² *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq. F.R.S. . . . comprising his Diary . . . and a Selection from his Private Correspondence*, ed. Richard Lord Braybrooke, 2d ed. (London, 1828), V. 475.

Circumstance therein mentioned, altogether False and Scandalous; there having been no such passage happened, nor anything that might give Occasion for that Report.

This denial is so fully worded, and so precisely phrased, that one suspects it was dictated to the editor either by Pepys or by his lawyer. Seventeenth-century editors frequently had to retract, but very rarely used terms so formal and inclusive.

The charges against Pepys and Dean were not pressed, and the *Currant Intelligence* for Saturday, February 14, 1680, announced their discharge: "The same day [Feb. 12] Sr. Anthony Dean and Mr. Pepys were discharged of their Bayle, the Court being pleased to take their own Recognizance by reason no evidence appeared against them."

In some degree the charges against Pepys had been complicated by the testimony of his butler, John James. James lived long enough to make a somewhat melodramatic confession, if this account in *Mercurius Anglicus* for March 17, 1680, can be relied on.

John James, who was formerly Butler to Samuel Pepys Esq; against whom he appeared as a Witness to a Committee of the late Parliament, making Affidavit that Mr. Pepys kept a Romish Priest in his House, being last week taken dangerously ill, and apprehending he should dye, desired Mr. Pepys might be sent for; which was done by those about him several times, till through their importunity Mr. Pepys sent some of his friends to this John James, who found him very Penitent for the injury he had done his Master, acknowledging that it was out of malice he had sworn against him, and therefore desired his Pardon. After this he received the Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper; but we do not yet hear that he is dead.

This last account did not quite satisfy either James or a certain member of the Parliamentary committee, for we find in *Mercurius Anglicus* for March 28, 1680, corrections of some minor points. Like the retraction in the *Domestick Intelligence*, these seem to have been prepared by a lawyer. Since they are both enclosed in quotation-marks in the newspaper, it would seem clear that at any rate they were contributed, and not the work of the editor.

Whereas there hath been spread a Report about the City, that one John James, who in the last Parliament gave Information to a Committee of the House of Commons, of several Matters against Mr. Pepys, should have acknowledged on his sick Bed, that he had been tempted by Rewards, or other ill practises, to have accused the said Mr. Pepys falsely by a Member of the said Committee: These are to Advertize, that the said John James did on the 11th of this instant March, before several of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the City and Liberty of Westminster, and some Reverend Divines, and other Persons of Quality, Mr. Pepys being then also present, testifie and declare before them all that he had

never been tempted nor prompted to say any thing falsely against the said Mr. Pepys by the said Member. This is all that is thought fit to say of this Matter at Present.

Whereas by the *Mercurius Anglicus* of March 17, 1679, it is reported, That the Information given by John James to the late Parliament, against his Master Samuel Pepys Esq; had been delivered in by him upon Oath; this is by the express desire of the said John James before his death, to give notice, That he never did make Oath to the same; the whole of the said Information being untrue, as (for the disburthening his Conscience before his death) he has sufficiently testified under his Hand, and confirmed by his receiving the blessed Sacrament thereon. Of which he did desire this Publication, for preventing any endeavours of representing his other Errors more criminal, by the addition of Perjury.

ROGER P. McCUTCHEON.

3. THE FIRST REMISSION OF THE BOXER INDEMNITY

THE published documents regarding the first remission of a portion of the Boxer Indemnity by the United States and China's use of these funds for the education of Chinese students in the United States are well known. The questions as to the origin of the plan, the men who were behind it, and the decision to use the funds for education are not thoroughly understood either in China or in the United States.

There were several precedents for America's action. On two previous occasions the United States had remitted surplus indemnity funds to Oriental powers, \$785,000 to Japan in 1883, and \$453,000 to China in 1885.

The earliest suggestion that remitted indemnity funds be used for education that I have found is attributed to Anson Burlingame, American minister at Peking. About the year 1865 he proposed to establish a college in Peking with the surplus of the indemnity which was actually returned to China in cash twenty years later. Meantime, in 1872, the Chinese government itself, quite independently of any indemnity funds, had launched the first Chinese Educational Mission to the United States under the guidance of Yung Wing, a plan which lasted for less than ten years. Again in 1902 the sum of \$376,000 which had been seized by American troops in Tientsin in 1900 was restored to China.

The Boxer Indemnity was on a much larger scale than any of these. It totalled over \$333,000,000 gold, with interest at 4 per cent., payable in installments during thirty-nine years. The American government was of the opinion that China was being burdened with a debt greater than she could pay without financial disaster and consequent loss of independence and territorial integrity, greater too than

the actual losses of the powers concerned. Throughout the negotiations at Peking in 1900 and 1901 the American government urged the powers to reduce the total amount of the indemnity, and stood ready to reduce its own claims, if the rest would do likewise.¹ It was unsuccessful in this effort, however. No nation except the United States has ever admitted that it had any surplus, even though some others have remitted indemnity funds to China as a mark of friendship.

Very soon after 1901 it became known that the losses of American citizens and the cost of the naval and military expeditions sent by the United States to protect its citizens did not amount to more than half of the \$24,440,000 of indemnity which China was required to pay to the United States. Those engaged in diplomatic, missionary, and educational work in China and America began at once to expect the return of the surplus. That this was the real intention of the American government in 1900 is revealed in a statement by Mr. Stafford in Congress in 1908. He says, "I am told by Secretary Root, who was present at a meeting between President McKinley and Secretary Hay to determine this nation's policy in joining with the other nations in exacting punitive damages from the Chinese Empire, that it was never intended that this government should retain this indemnity".

Dr. Jeremiah W. Jenks once told me that as early as 1905 he had talked with President Roosevelt about the possibility of remitting the indemnity and that the President had told him that the plan was already under consideration. Dr. Jenks said that the idea of using the money for educational purposes had been suggested by several different persons, Gilbert Reid for one, but that he, Professor Jenks, had urged that the money be devoted to assisting China to adopt the gold standard.

Education, however, soon proved to be the more popular claimant for these funds. Several events in the year 1906 influenced the project. Harvard, Yale, and Wellesley began offering scholarships to Chinese students. President James of the University of Illinois wrote a memorandum, which was submitted to the President of the United States and privately circulated, which advocated inviting Chinese students to American schools and colleges.² Of still greater importance than these was the interview of Dr. Arthur H. Smith with President Roosevelt at the White House on March 6 of that year. Dr. Smith took it for granted that the indemnity would be returned to China some day, but in order to prevent the squandering

¹ Rockhill's Report in *U. S. For. Rels.*, 1901, appendix, Affairs in China.

² A. H. Smith, *China and America Today*, pp. 213-218.

of the money, he strongly recommended that it should be designated for education.³

The documents published in the series *Foreign Relations* tell of the parts played by Roosevelt, Root, and Rockhill, but make no mention of Hay's ideas. Mr. Stafford's statement, quoted above, is the only published reference I have found to Hay's part in the plan. For a long time I was puzzled to know why the Chinese generally gave the credit to John Hay and their own minister in Washington.

My puzzle was solved when I discovered in the archives of Tsing Hua College, Peking, a file of copies of official correspondence of the Chinese Board of Foreign Affairs relating to the college. These letters contain a fuller account of the diplomatic negotiations than the *Foreign Relations* series. They give us the earliest discussions between Secretary Hay and Minister Liang, the Chinese minister at Washington, regarding the remission, and attribute to Liang the plan to use the money for education.

The first official intimation that the American government might be willing to remit a part of its share of the Boxer Indemnity appears in the first letter of the series, written, evidently, in December, 1904. Minister Liang was appealing to Secretary Hay to help to secure for China a more favorable exchange rate on the Boxer Indemnity payments to all the powers. He mentioned China's financial difficulties and the danger of anti-foreign feeling if the taxes were increased, and, as Hay had always stood for the principle of helping others, asked for help for China. Liang's letter says: "I saw that he was speaking more freely or perhaps not quite so unyieldingly, so I suggested that if each country should reduce the amount of indemnity it would be of great benefit to China's finances. 'If your honorable country would take the lead, wherever the voice of righteousness spread, those countries would rise and follow it.' Hay answered, 'What the Honorable Minister has said is quite reasonable. I will try my best to plan for you.'"

Hay did propose the scheme to the President. Minister Liang made speeches on the proposal. The American minister to China was in Washington conferring with the Chinese minister. Minister Liang's letter reporting these facts was received in Peking on May 15, 1905. It contains also the first official suggestion to use the money for education. "Rockhill says that the President . . . would like to know whether the remitted money would be given to the people or used for some other purpose. . . . It seems appropriate for us to inform the American government that this indemnity should be re-

³ L. F. Abbott, *Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 145.

mitted for the purpose of establishing schools and sending students to study abroad."

Minister Liang's arguments for this plan are that it would furnish a satisfactory answer to the President's question, would win public approval both in the United States and in China, would greatly benefit China's development, would be a pleasing example to set before the other powers which might be thinking of remitting indemnity, and would hasten the action of the American government. There is no evidence that the plan was in any way forced on Minister Liang, or even first suggested by American diplomats.

The next letter in the series came from the famous Yuan Shih-K'ai, who was at that time viceroy of North China. His suggestion was, "China's needs are numerous. Let the money be used first for railways and mines and the profits on these go to building schools". The Board of Foreign Affairs replied to the powerful viceroy that "because of the recent difficulties over the Canton-Hankow Railroad, China's motives might be suspected if she used this money for railroads now".

In a letter received in Peking in November, 1905, Minister Liang reports a conversation with President Roosevelt after the death of John Hay, in which the President agrees to carry out Hay's plan, and suggests that the Chinese minister take the matter up with Root, the new secretary of state. Thus we see that the plan was well started before the death of Hay.

One event which served to delay the project was the discussion by the diplomats of a new immigration treaty, and another was the Chinese boycott of American goods in the years 1905 and 1906. It was not until June 15, 1907, that Secretary Root wrote his well-known note to the Chinese minister in which he declared that it was the intention of the President to recommend to Congress that the surplus of the indemnity be returned to China.

President Roosevelt did this in his message to Congress of December 3, 1907, adding significantly enough in the next paragraph the recommendation that Chinese students be encouraged to come to American universities. Minister Liang wrote later that American opinion generally approved of this plan.

He also quoted an English newspaper as saying: "America received \$15,000,000 from England on an uncertain claim. If America received less than the agreed indemnity from China, England should ask for a recalculation of the Alabama claims."

The form in which the bill passed Congress, May 25, 1908, made it possible for the President to satisfy himself that the money would be used for the benefit of the Chinese people, before he remitted a dollar. Over \$10,000,000 was to be returned to China "at such time and in such manner as the President shall deem just".

There are no records to show that the United States imposed any specific conditions as to the use of these funds. The details of the educational scheme were worked out by the Board of Foreign Affairs. The legation in Peking approved the plan submitted in December, 1908, and the remissions began in January, 1909. The details of the negotiations in Peking between Minister Rockhill and the Board of Foreign Affairs have never been made public. But the published documents⁴ show that China expressed her deep gratitude, left the time and manner of the remission entirely to the American government, and apparently quite voluntarily stated her intention of using the money for the education of Chinese students in the United States. This was done as an expression of her appreciation of the friendliness of the American government. It was in accordance with the recently expressed desire of the President to welcome Chinese students to American universities, and with the advice of Minister Liang to the Board of Foreign Affairs in 1905, to the effect that such a use would please both the United States and China.

CARROLL B. MALONE.

⁴ *For. Rels.*, 1907, 1908; Tsing Hua correspondence.

DOCUMENT

Recollections of the War of 1812 by George Hay, Eighth Marquis of Tweeddale

THE following narrative is taken from the recollections of his military life written by George Hay, eighth Marquis of Tweeddale and later a British field-marshal. These are contained in a manuscript hitherto unpublished, preserved at Yester House, Haddington, the seat of the present marquis. The latter part of this manuscript, which alone is here printed, concerns his experiences in America during the War of 1812.

The future field-marshal was born in 1787 of a family distinguished in Scottish history. He entered the army, a boy of seventeen, in 1804, the year of his accession to the title and estates of his father, who had died a prisoner at Verdun, being one of the English travellers in France retained as a hostage by Napoleon. He grew up to be a man of splendid physique, later famous as a swordsman and horseman.

Lord Tweeddale begins his *Recollections* by a description of his early training as a subaltern, and relates his experiences with Irish recruits who became furiously drunk on board the small collier brig taking them to Liverpool and had to be kept in order at the point of the pistol. The Duke of Gloucester, then in command at Liverpool, who maintained Hanoverian ideas of discipline, wanted to try the recruits for mutiny, and it was only owing to the young subaltern's intercession and his acceptance of personal responsibility for their future conduct that the duke desisted. On this occasion, as later, Tweeddale acted as a friend to his men, knocking them down when they were drunk, but always ready to bail them out when in trouble. In this connection he tells an anecdote characteristic of his relations with the troops. He had to march them to Shorncliffe in the south of England and noticing a disposition on the part of some to tarry behind, he appointed a rear-guard with shillelaghs to administer appropriate correction on the laggards. When one of the recruits called out to him, that it was easy to make a long march on horseback but that the knapsacks weighed too heavy on them, he dismounted at once, asked for a knapsack of identical weight, and with his brace of pistols and the itinerary in addition, marched the whole way on foot to Shorncliffe.

The Recollections contain a vivid picture of English army life in the days of the Napoleonic Wars. Of adventures he enjoyed his full share. Certain of these were humorous, as his encounter with a brigand chief in Sicily who gave him letters of introduction to the great ladies of Palermo, one of whom, a countess of high position, was the bandit's own sister. Life in the army then was rough but not unkindly. In the Peninsular War, when two soldiers were condemned to death for looting, the sentence of hanging was carried out in the presence of the troops on two other men, who had died the night before in the hospital. We find Tweeddale risking his life by crossing a river under fire to rescue the wife of a German hussar who had been forgotten in a temporary retreat. And we see him going into a campaign with plenty of cases of champagne and claret, which on occasion he would lend to the Duke of Wellington. He was twice wounded and took part in a gallant cavalry action from which he returned, after being reported missing, to be rewarded by the great Duke with a pair of pistols which are still preserved at Yester. His Recollections sketch a hasty view of the entire campaign, without any particular idea of its broad significance or strategy, but with a real perception of the alternating episodes of fighting and drudgery, of marches and countermarches, relieved by fox-hunting, gaming, and entertaining.

He was invalided home from Spain after six years of foreign service. Before his health had been restored he joined his regiment which with most of the regulars from the Peninsula had been sent to Canada from Spain to take part in the war with the United States.

The Recollections are of particular interest to us because of the fine spirit of chivalry shown by Lord Tweeddale toward Americans. During the first half of the last century the slighting remarks of English travellers caused intense ill feeling in the United States. It is all the more pleasant to find in time of war, on the part of a then enemy, and a soldier with as much military experience as Lord Tweeddale, a high appreciation of our army. On the occasion of a subordinate writing to him in a manner disparaging to the Americans he rebuked the writer for using such language against an enemy of whom he ought to speak with the highest respect. And he expressed the wish that prisoners passing through his cantonment, if officers, be accommodated with his bedroom and invited to the mess as his guests, and if soldiers, that they be well taken care of at their meals, saying that he himself would defray the extra expenses of their stay. This letter was intercepted by the Americans unknown to him; the knowledge of it served him later in good stead.

The Recollections contain other passages of real interest. There is a fine description of the battle of Chippewa and of the British regulars, led by their officers on horseback, one of whom was Tweeddale, marching into action only to be shot down by the fierce fire of the "Kentucky riflemen" concealed behind a bank. After the armistice Lord Tweeddale visited the American flotilla under Commodore Chauncey at Sackett's Harbor, where everything "looked like a British man-of-war". He was recognized by deserters aboard from the British navy who grinned at recognizing him. Later Commodore Chauncey told him that many of these had joined the American fleet to escape from the tedious blockade of the French ports. There is a charming appreciation for the cordial hospitality extended to Tweeddale both in New York and in Philadelphia. He describes his return to England in an American sailing packet, and tells of a duel which he arranged should take place across the stern of the vessel, and which was only narrowly averted at the last moment.

The Recollections were dictated by Lord Tweeddale to his daughter, when he was over eighty years of age and had become a very terrifying old man. He had then forgotten to mention the fact that he was himself taken prisoner at the battle of Lundy's Lane under circumstances which reflect equal credit on him and on his captors.¹ This anecdote was related by General Winfield Scott to William Howard Russell, the famous war correspondent of the *London Times* fifty years ago. It is printed in the latter's biographical sketch of the field-marshal's eldest son, himself a man of no slight distinction, in an introduction to the *Ornithological Works of Arthur, Ninth Marquis of Tweeddale* (London, 1881).

Russell had "heard General Winfield Scott, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, describe a scene at Lundy's Lane where a young English officer (Lord Tweeddale), badly wounded and streaming with blood, stood at bay, with his back to the wall, striking fiercely with his sword against the bayonets of a host of Americans and exclaiming 'I will never surrender' till Scott, who by a strange coincidence had captured his brother (Lord James Hay, subsequently a general in the British Army) on the banks of the Potomac, came up and saved his life".

After his return to England at the end of the War of 1812, Lord Tweeddale took charge of his Yester estates which had suffered from neglect during his absence and introduced agricultural innovations, foreign at the time, such as deep ploughing and tile-draining. In

¹ No record of this incident has been preserved in the files of the War Department at Washington.

1842 he was appointed governor of Madras and by special arrangement with the Duke of Wellington, whose eldest son had married a daughter of Lord Tweeddale, the latter became commander-in-chief of the local army which stood in need of reorganization. It was said to be owing to the success of his efforts that the Madras army later did not rise in the Indian mutiny. He retired after six years to resume his agricultural pursuits. He died a field-marshal in 1876 at the age of 89. His portrait as a young man in a gallant uniform on horseback, painted by his friend Raeburn, is preserved at Yester.

LEWIS EINSTEIN.²

I went the following day to Plymouth where I met an old friend who commanded a ship of war and was about to sail with a convoy to Quebec. He pressed me to take a passage with him as the sea voyage and rest would cure my swelled leg. My regiment³ was quartered at Fort George at the mouth of the Niagara river. I accepted the offer. On our passage we fell in with a field of ice, in the morning we ran along it. Towards dark we saw a very brilliant light about ten miles ahead. We made signal for the convoy to follow and made all sail as we approached the light. We saw a very high iceberg and when we neared it we saw a three-masted vessel heaving. We shortened sail and when within a few hundred yards of the iceberg we saw a large vessel under the lea of the iceberg we made towards her. I sat on the stern rail of the sloop, the vessel we saw was a privateer and with all sail she ran right across our head at about three hundred yards. All of a sudden I saw the side port-holes raised sailors standing by their guns, lights and fuses in their hands. Of course when right ahead of us we expected to have a broadside of grape but she passed across us and was soon lost sight of in the darkness of the night. It turned out to be one of the convoys preceding us. We fell in with other transports that had been taken by the privateer and retook by them by the time we had left the field of ice and got in among a lot of small icebergs.

On the banks of Newfoundland we had capital sport catching codfish as fast as we set down the hook the fish took it. The first bait was a piece of fresh pork, then we found a shellfish in the cod and baited with it. Nothing further occurred till we anchored at Quebec.

I got my regimental uniform made at Quebec and I was sent up by steamer to Mont[r]eal. I stayed a few days and left for Niagara where my regiment was quartered. It was a long fatiguing journey as I was obliged to ride on two horses I purchased at Mont[r]eal, both young and unaccustomed to troops, my leg was still swelled.

On my arrival at Niagara I found my regiment were at Chipawa.⁴ When I arrived I had an attack of fever and ague for the first time. I

² Mr. Einstein is not responsible for the few annotations which it has been thought desirable to add to the interesting document which he has been so kind as to contribute. Ed.

³ Lord Tweeddale was lieutenant-colonel of the 100th Regiment.

⁴ On June 22 the 100th Regiment was holding Fort Niagara, on the American side, across the river from Fort George. A few days later it was moved forward on the Canadian side to Chippewa.

found the drums beating for the troops to turn out and when I had taken my clothes off I received a message from the general ⁵ to say he was going to make an attack on the enemy and desired to see me. I returned for answer that I was in the cold fit of ague and that I expected the hot fit in a short time, he postponed the attack for an hour. The General wished to see me when I was dressed, he showed me the plan of the road and the position of the enemy. He said that he intended to march right in front by the road close to the banks of the Niagara to the point of a wood that extended on the right of the road back to the enemy's position. As the General asked my opinion I said I would rather march left in front as the enemy would most probably occupy the wood and if we were attacked and I was ordered to wheel into line the regiment would have its back to the enemy. He paid no attention to my remark, we were attacked as I expected. An aide de camp came to me and said the general desired that I should wheel into line. I told the aide de camp that if I should do so I should have my back to the enemy. I wheeled to the right the gre[n]adiers became the left company. I told off the companies according to formation. We drove back the enemy and the battalion moved round the point of the wood when we got on a plain.

At about 800 yards I saw a bank about five foot high in a straight line parallel to the regiment which had formed with its left on the river. On Guest's Island ⁶ there were four pieces of artillery playing upon us. The 1st regiment formed line on my right, the light companies had been sent to turn the flank of this bank behind which the American Kentucky rifle men ⁷ were posted. I never saw more than their heads when they fired on us. The attack in front was made before the light companies were sufficiently engaged on the flanks.

The officer commanding the Royals ⁸ and myself rode in front of our regiments and when about a hundred yards off the bank I got off my horse to be ready to get over the bank, but the fire was so heavy that both regiments came to a standstill and began firing.

I spoke to the captain of the grenadier company to move forward, he was at that moment killed. I then spoke to the lieutenant he was severely wounded, the second subaltern was killed. All I could do I could not get them to advance. The officers were all killed or wounded and the men suffered very severely. The Colonel of the Royals did all he could to get the men to advance, he got shot in his mouth and became speechless. At the same time I got shot in my game leg that cut the tendon Achilles in two. I could not move they put me on my horse, we retired. There was a zig-zag pailing on one side of the road by which we had advanced—I ordered the men to get over it and take down some of the pailings to let me through. We had just begun to form behind the pailing when a squadron of cavalry came up to us, the officer commanding desired us to surrender I told him if he did not retire I would order the men to shoot him and to fire upon the squadron. He retired immediately. I led my regiment back over the Chipawa creek, and gave over my command of the

⁵ Major-General Phineas Riall, commanding under Lieutenant-General Gordon Drummond.

⁶ Goat Island? The editor has not found this statement made elsewhere.

⁷ Presumably the writer uses the term as a general phrase; no detachment specially composed of Kentucky riflemen was present.

⁸ *I.e.*, the Royal Scots, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Thomas Pearson.

regiment to the only subaltern who was slightly wounded. The pickets were posted and the enemy retired.⁹

After getting my wound dressed I was sent down to the mouth of the Niagara river where I got a boat and crossed over to Toronto then York. I remained a day then continued my journey in a bateau rowed by four soldiers. We hugged the shore as the Americans had command of the lake. We landed on the shore, where we remained all night generally in very swampy ground. We took ten days between Toronto and Kingston. Having no surgeon to dress my wound it healed up at both ends. I rested a day at Kingston and then proceeded down the St. Lawrence in a hired boat and arrived at Lachine. We passed under the eyes of the Americans, they took no notice of us. Apartments had been hired for me at Montreal. The wound cured the fever and ague, but the swamps where we slept the night on the shore of the lake brought a return of the ague. The surgeon set about opening up where the ball had entered and came out, it passed through the tendon Achilles and when it healed the sores joined short by one inch or more from the chafing that took place.

Sir E. Prevost the Governor-General of Canada¹⁰ used to come daily to see and asked me many questions about the service in Upper Canada. I could only speak of my own regiment which I told him appeared to be composed of fine men. Their appearance was better than anything I had seen before in the British army. They had received compensation money for three years and they had entered upon a fourth year. It was impossible to say to what service they belonged as clothes were patched with every color of cloth. The result of our conversation was that after I had been two months at Montreal, Sir G. Prevost said to me that so many commanding officers are returned on leave and do not seem to have any intention of joining their regiments, that he had written to Sir G. Drummond that the first commanding officer that joins the division after he receives the order is to have the command of a brigade to command it till the end of the war. As soon as Sir G. Drummond¹¹ left my room I wrote to Mr Duff who had charge of the N. W. Co's concerns that I wished to see him. I asked him if he could provide me with a cedar canoe and sixteen voyageurs next morning at Lachine to take me up to Niagara. The canoe was ready at the time I ordered and I proceeded to Lachine at daylight and my horses having remained with my regiment I had nothing to think of but the dressing of my wound, I arrived safe at the Falls of Niagara.

On my arrivale I waited on Sir G. Drummond. He told me that Sir G. Prevost had told me [him] to give the command of a brigade to the first commanding officer of a regiment that joined, and therefore he would put me in orders for that command.

The brigade consisted of the 59th, 82nd, 100th, and Glengarry Fencibles and the light companies of the 103rd and 4th.¹²

⁹ Lord Tweeddale's conduct in the engagement at Chippewa is highly praised in Riall to Drummond, July 6, *Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1814* (Welland [1896]), edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society by Captain (now Brigadier-General) E. A. Cruikshank, p. 32.

¹⁰ Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Prevost, governor-general 1811-1815.

¹¹ Meaning Prevost.

¹² Meaning 104th. Drummond, Oct. 10, gives a similar statement of the force as under Lord Tweeddale's command at Queenstown. *Documentary History*, p. 243.

I was obliged to carry two crutches in front of my saddle, this was the cause of my being obliged to use crutches for three years after the tendon Achilles did not [heal?].

My knees also plagued me very much, but it was a great thing for me to command a brigade so I bore with these impediments. My brigade did all the night duties and made the reconnaissances. I never saw a better example of steadiness than my own regiment. I did not think they were so steady in a former action and I told them so. On making a reconnaissance to ascertain the strength of the enemy who had made a flank movement to turn our flank, I drew up the 100th regiment in line with ordered arms 5 or 6 hundred yards from a wood in which the enemy were. We made a dash with a company which caused the enemy to drive them backward to form on the border of the wood. The Major of the 100th regiment came to me and said I ordered the men to shoulder arms but they did not obey. I went with him to the regiment, on my way I met an old sergeant of the regiment and I asked him what this meant? He said, "Your Lordship said in a former action when you thought them unsteady that you would remind them of this at some future time. The men are determined to show you that they will receive the enemy if they are charged as you would like to see." Their conduct was wrong but it gave me great confidence in them afterwards. I placed the other regiments so that they could all support the 100th if they were attacked. Having ascertained the strength of the enemy my object was gained and we returned to Headquarters.¹³

The enemy retired and crossed over to their side of the Niagara river. They moved down opposite to Queenstown on the Niagara river, it was supposed they intended to cross there. I had marched the brigade during the night and occupied Queenstown, nothing further occurred they retired ultimately to Sacket's Harbour.

The preliminaries of peace were signed, my brigade was broken up and my regiment went down to Kingstown.

During the time I was there I went down to Sacket's Harbour to visit the General who commanded the army. When I was detained at the gate of the fortification I asked to see General Jackson¹⁴ and sent my card to him, they were at mess. An A.D.C. came to receive me and the General invited me to the mess. They were much surprised at my coming to Sacket's Harbour during the war. I told them that the preliminaries of peace had been signed and as my regiment was going to the low country, I did not like to lose the opportunity of making their acquaintance before leaving their neighborhood. The next day news of peace arrived. Commodore Chauncey asked me to inspect their fleet, I went on board the Commodore's ship a 74.¹⁵ The yards were manned and I was received with all the honours.

¹³ The reconnaissance described seems to be that at Cook's Mills, Oct. 19; the conduct of Lord Tweeddale in it is warmly praised by Drummond, *ibid.*, pp. 260-262.

¹⁴ A slip of memory. Major-General Jackson was in command of the division of the South, and was at this time either in New Orleans or in Nashville. Most likely it was Major-General Jacob Brown.

¹⁵ The only 74's at Sacketts Harbor were the *New Orleans* and the *Chippewa*, neither of which was completed at this time. *Amer. St. Pap., Naval Affairs*, p. 380. Commodore Isaac Chauncey's flag-ship was the *Superior*, 44.

Everything looked like a British man-of-war, I observed some of the men smile when I passed them. I asked the Commodore why they smiled. He answered they are deserters from the man-of-war in which you came out to America. I stayed one day and returned to Kingstown, my regiment was soon ordered to Montreal. I had written home to Greenwood and Cox¹⁶ to have new clothing out by the opening of the St. Lawrence and I had sent the Tailor to be ready to fit the clothing as soon as the regiment arrived. I told the agents that the men had received the compensation, notwithstanding if the clothing did not arrive at the time I desired I would report the state of the regiment to the Duke of York.¹⁷ The barracks were not ready at Montreal and we had some rough accommodation at Lachine for a few weeks. The men received everything new and felt proud of their appearance they had little to do. I kept a sentry night and day in the of the concern which had been converted into barracks to watch the fires in the night. The regiment was always first and received the reward.

I passed the winter at Montreal, the wound in my leg did not heal so I was obliged to get leave to go home.

I hired a sloop at St. Johns which took me through Lake Champlain. We got becalmed off and came to anchor. When we were sitting after our dinner taking our wine on the poop of the sloop a boat came off filled with Irishmen who were deserters from the 27th regiment. My servant was cleaning my morning clothes, one of them jumped out of the boat and asked who we were, he did not get a satisfactory answer. The remainder followed him and came aft. I observed the American sailors peeping up from the lower deck, and when they heard the Irishmen begin with their insolence to us and one of them take up a glass of wine, our party remaining quite still and making no observation. The Irishmen began to be saucy, on which the American crew came on deck and threatened to throw them into the Lake. They called them every name high-minded fellows could think of, cowardly deserters daring to insult officers in a friendly country. The Americans soon cleared the decks and threatened to duck the deserters unless they got into their boat and went away.

We left the next morning and landed at the end of Lake Champlain. We hired a waggon and arrived at [Albany?] where the landlady and her two daughters received us very kindly. They had heard of our coming there, we found everything prepared as it would have been at home. We stayed all night and the next evening we embarked in a steamer for Hudson's river and got to New York early next morning.

Some English young men by telling me that Napoleon had reentered France and added some offensive remarks. I went to the Hotel where rooms had been engaged for us and began dressing. A rap came to my bed room door by a waiter sent to inform me that eleven gentlemen of New York wished to see me.

They were ushered into the parlour. I soon finished my toilet and received them. After congratulating me on arriving in New York they introduced themselves to me by saying that they heard I was coming to New York on my way home and hoped that I would stay there some little time as each of them had invited a party to meet me at a dinner, at balls and evening parties during my stay in New York which would last about 11 days. I expressed myself very sensible of their kindness and as being

¹⁶ Army contractors.

¹⁷ Commander-in-chief of the British army.

honoured by their invitations. We talked on various subjects and on retiring they left their cards. I then had formal invitations which I accepted and I spent a very agreeable time at New York.

I stayed twelve days at New York and went to Philadelphia where I was most hospitably received. All sorts of gaieties were prepared for our party. After spending a very agreeable week at Philadelphia we returned to New York. An event happened the last night that we were at a ball, we were to leave the next morning at 6 o'clock by the ferry over the [Delaware]. I arrived in time but two of our party young fellows did not arrive. The Captain of the ferry boat was good enough to say that he would wait until I went back for the two young gentlemen. I sent one of our party who found them in the ball-room with two young ladies with whom they were desperately in love. They were obliged to tear themselves away and joined us looking very spoony.

On our return to New York I lived very much with Commodore Chauncey who was a shrewd broad-minded man. He told me much about the institutions in the U. S. A., about our sailors being tired of blockading the French ports so they entered the U. S. navy.

I expressed how much I had been gratified with my visits to New York and Philadelphia. He answered if you were to visit any of our large towns you would receive the same attention. I observed that I could not imagine why they had shown me so much kindness. He said do you not know I will tell you. After being wounded you desired the Major of your regiment to let you know everything that was going on in the Upper Province. You must have received a letter disparaging the U. S. army. You made a reply to him that he was not justified in using such language against your enemy, on the contrary that he ought to speak of them with the highest respect, and in your answer you desired that prisoners that passed through your cantonment if there was an officer he should be accommodated with my bedroom, that he should be invited to the mess as my guest, and if a soldier that a fatigue party should be warned to clear out the room, and that they should be well taken care of at their meals and that you would pay any extra for them during their stay in your cantonment.

The only mail that was taken during the war was that in which my letter was. It had been published in many papers in the States and wherever you go you will be received as you have been in New York and any of your family coming to the states will be made welcome.¹⁸

When my brother ¹⁹ took the Ambassador out to America in the

¹⁸ The reader may be interested to compare a passage in the *Autobiography* of General Winfield Scott, who at Chippewa had borne the leading part in the fighting against Lord Tweeddale and his associates. After the close of hostilities, he says (p. 126) Lord Tweeddale "made several complimentary allusions to the prowess of our troops in the war. Scott passing through London, in 1815, to Paris, met the Marquess of Tweeddale [*sic*] in the street, when the parties kindly recognized each other. The latter was on the point of setting out for Scotland and the former for France. Scott was assured of a welcome at Yester House, the seat of the marquess, if he should visit Scotland. The meeting soon became strangely misrepresented, on both sides of the Atlantic, to the great annoyance of the parties".

¹⁹ Captain Lord John Hay, R. N., who in 1842 commanded the *Warspite*, in which Lord Ashburton came to America on his well-known mission. H. S. Burage, *Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy*, p. 319.

"Warspite" he went to New York and was received as I had been. I returned home in an American sailing packet, a brig. The first thing was to choose a president for our mess, there were 14 or 16 Americans and 5 English officers. Some wished to make me president but the Americans did not like a man with a handle to his name to fill that position, so an American was elected, in three days it was found necessary to change our president. Things went well until one morning when not far from the English coast an American gentleman quarrelled with one of our officers. The Americans said that it was necessary the quarrel should be settled by a duel immediately they got on shore, at a short distance. It was left for me to decide, I gave it as my opinion that they should fight across the stern of the vessel. That was considered too near and was not accepted. I then decided that the quarrel should be made up. A little reflection made our cousins think better of it, so the affair was compromised and the affair was made up.

We arrived at Liverpool, I left immediately for town. The next day I met Sir G. Murray who had just returned from Canada,²⁰ we agreed to go to Paris together. We arrived at the Duke's hotel on the anniversary of the battle of Vittoria.²¹ There was a large dinner party, the present Emperor of Germany²² and several royal persons were among the company. They were at desert when we were announced as having arrived. The Duke insisted on our coming into the dining-room as we were covered with dust. He made us come and sit beside him and asked the Prussian princes to make room for us. He then told me all about the Waterloo campaign. He said the army was principally composed of young soldiers, many were militia men unaccustomed to move in large bodies, but when formed in position to meet an attack nothing could move them but the orders of their officers. He then told me as a proof of this the 3rd regiment in Kempt's brigade had never seen a shot fired in action. They were attacked by the young guards. They stood firm behind a newly planted hedge. They were made to toe-dress as the sailors aboard a man-of-war by toeing the line of the plank. They received the attack and drove back the enemy, I asked the Duke why they did not advance, he replied I could not trust them in line there was no doubt about their pluck, but he could not depend upon them if made to move away from the hedge.

I asked the Duke when he felt secure that he had gained the battle. He told me that as soon as he saw the young regiments drive back the attack of the young guards he felt certain that if the older soldiers were attacked they would fight their way through all difficulties. He ended by saying that if he had had the Peninsular army instead of the young soldiers that fought at Waterloo he would have advanced after the young Guards were driven back.

The Duke asked me how I intended to employ myself, I told him my leg was in such a state from my never having laid up since I got the wound that I was unable to move without a crutch. He said you have never attended to the business of your property, you had better go home and attend to it. If ever I am employed on active service you may depend upon my not forgetting you.

²⁰ Major-General Sir George Murray, commander of the troops in Upper Canada and provisional lieutenant-governor Apr. 25-July 1, 1815.

²¹ June 21, but on that day in 1815, three days after Waterloo, Wellington was of course not in Paris. It must have been some other battle that he was celebrating.

²² William I., in 1815 Prince William of Prussia.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Making of the Modern Mind. By JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.,
Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. 653. \$3.50.)

THE mind described and explained in this interesting and stimulating work is not the possession of any individual man. What is meant is the complex of beliefs, ideals, aspirations found in present-day society, animating in diversified ways the individuals or classes occupied with science, art, religion, or with economic and political action. It is a complex full of tension and conflict, a struggle between old inherited beliefs and the triumphant advance of modern natural science. This is the modern mind which is skillfully diagnosed in the closing two-fifths of the book. Since such a product of history can be explained and perhaps justified by a study of its birth and growth, Dr. Randall builds it up historically. We start with a survey of the medieval situation in its culminating thirteenth-century form, see the eruptive effect of new interests in Renaissance and Reformation movements with the subsequent revolution in scientific conceptions of nature, then discern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries how the dominance of Newtonian science fostered the development of rational social sciences that were powerfully determinant in economic, political, and ethical matters. This makes not a history of philosophy nor a history of science but a synthetic record of social change, a *Kulturgeschichte* on the superior level of intellectual and spiritual activity, and these activities appear to make a synthetic unity by having as their producing cause and molding control the economic interest of the increasingly dominant middle class. In this quite fascinating tale—which can never be overtold—Dr. Randall reveals himself as a man of philosophic grasp with a talent for historical exposition, using the spade-work of others, and also as a literary artist.

This thought-provoking exposition gives pleasure by its sonant literary form. It speaks to the ear. The reader hears a flexible, well-modulated discourse that seizes and holds attention by many neat alliterations and balanced contrasts, achieving an effect of rapid fluency by smooth and varied rhythms while it yet lingers artfully to the hearer's pace by amplifications of substantives and phrase. In his interpretive exposition Dr. Randall avoids the abstract diction of the philosopher, preferring the plastic images that wake the imagination and a rhetoric that subtly varies with the changes of the theme. He speaks in tones of tender and delicate sympathy of the saint of Assisi, with a hush of contemplative reverence of

the cathedral perfection of structure in the system of Aquinas, but lets himself go about "great, sprawling, multitudinous Rabelais, grasping with both hands the overflowing fullness of all life from the gutter to the stars, his crammed belly ever shaking with peals of whole-souled laughter, pouring out an unending stream of filthy vituperation upon all who would rob him of a single morsel, however unappetizing".

As he says in his preface, he aims to "enter sympathetically into the spirit of the past", and he has a remarkable gift for such sympathy or *Einfühlung*. This is conspicuous in his exposition of the medieval system. This brilliant sketch outlines the Middle Ages in the pattern of an ideal conception, a complex social order regulated and elevated by direction from a wise and beneficent spiritual power, and it contains a lament that Europe has "sacrificed, in the name of liberty, a precious heritage of unity in aspiration and action" (p. 78). No liberty, no Randall, surely. And as for unity of action, Randall must mention incessant war and faithless treachery and plundering and hard indifference and cruelty to peasants, though (p. 84) this "does not alter the significance of the fundamental principles involved". Homage to the idea which made the spiritual glory of that age fails to restrain a cynical reference to "the so-called Age of Faith, when every man gave lip service to the Church and took wise precautions against the perils of a future life" (p. 521). There is a point where modifications of a sweeping statement become a contradiction of it, and Dr. Randall frequently arrives there. He is a somewhat temperamental author and one of more sluggish mood has difficulty in making some of his pages match. If, for example (p. 213), modern natural science is "the only source yet discovered of understanding and truth", and if (p. 212), by postponing the advent of natural science, Humanism was "an almost unmitigated curse", why should we, on page 99, count it a defect of the modern mind that it yields to a science that excludes all search for purpose and, picking apart the cog-wheels of nature, is not wise, despairing or indifferent about the supreme problem—the meaning to be given to man's life in this vast world. And after all Humanism mitigated its curse (pp. 216, 235), by affording a knowledge of Alexandrian texts that made a rebirth of mathematics and physics.

Probably readers will find several bones to pick. Shall we indeed think that English factory legislation is properly explained (pp. 331, 425) as the work of spiteful landlords who, to revenge themselves on the manufacturers for supporting the repeal of the corn laws, in rage and desperation listened to a few humanitarians like Lord Shaftesbury? And was "the economic individualism that was building the factory system and modern capitalism" (p. 411) due in any measure to the Romanticist counsel, the preaching of Goethe or Emerson, to cultivate and fully express individual personality? If experimental science is the way to truth, a few captains of industry should be mentioned as instances. Certain minor errors of fact may be passed over. But a principle of historical explana-

tion is not a minor thing and some of us will stumble on the almost cosmic power ascribed to the economic interest of the middle class. This is the *deus* or *diabolus ex machina* of the plot. This *libido* seems to the reviewer overworked and only limitations of space deter him from entering the lists. If this has the ring of combat, it is still consistent with a sense of obligation to this book for great profit and constant pleasure.¹

F. A. CHRISTIE.

Geschichte Ostasiens. Von Dr. F. E. A. KRAUSE, Professor an der Universität Heidelberg. Three volumes. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1925. Pp. 400, 488, 80. Volumes I. and II., 29 M., volume III., 9.50 M.)

THE need for a comprehensive history of China has long been felt among nations of the West, but the difficulties in the way of providing one that will meet the conflicting demands of scholars and publishers appear thus far to have been insuperable. To the historian contemplating this task these difficulties are in a way unique; the first is the language of the older sources that yields only to a lifetime of study. But when this is acquired—obviously in its highest perfection by a native of the country—there remains the more serious obstacle of determining the trustworthiness of the material and extracting from the abundant annals of the past an intelligible record of social and political evolution during a period of three or four millenniums. None of this material is compiled with the sort of purpose which underlies the narratives of Herodotus or Tacitus, none presents a philosophical interpretation of the events described, nothing is substantiated by archaeological remains or justified by accounts of neighboring nations. If to these perplexities of the student are added the enormous bulk of printed material, nowhere catalogued or arranged in available collections, and the unbroken continuity of Chinese recorded history from the age of Hannibal to the present day, the heart of the most exacting critic must be softened in contemplating any honest effort to tell the long tale of China to Western readers.

Professor Krause of Heidelberg, who has recently published an interesting study on the religious systems of the Far East, as well as various articles on Asiatic topics, makes rather short shrift of the great bulk of this protracted story. Thirty-nine centuries, down to the Manchu conquest, occupy about 200 pages of the first volume, the succeeding two centuries (1640–1840) of China's greatness are dismissed in fifty pages, while the remaining 300 pages of the second volume are devoted to the contacts of China, Japan, and Europe within the period remembered by men still living. This means that the author has not written a general history of Eastern Asia at all; his work is an account of the decline and fall of Manchu power and the shattering influences of Western contacts together with an introductory survey of the more remote past. Those

¹ Each chapter is provided with an excellent bibliography.

who look to him for light on the many obscure periods in Chinese history, or for opinions on controversial questions such as Chinese race origins, the T'ang conquests, the Hakkas and others, will discover little that is adequate and nothing impressive. It is disappointing, for from one who evidently has some acquaintance with Chinese and whose place in a German university credits him with a knowledge of historical method we have a right to expect more. On the other hand there is a general attitude of fairness in recounting events too often handled by European writers with asperity. His discernment and freedom from bias are especially commendable in relating the recent happenings in China during the late war, an account noticeably free from bitterness that might be forgiven in a German compelled to record the diminished prestige of his nationals in further Asia.

Whatever our regrets in missing a consideration of the important problem of race-sources in primitive China, the author is right in placing proper emphasis upon the supreme achievement of her culture in consolidating the diverse peoples of an enormous territory into a fairly homogeneous group. It is easy to note physical and mental contrasts between the Northern and Southern inhabitants of China and to find in these traces of different stocks; the extraordinary fact remains that nowhere else in the civilized world has anything like the same degree of solidarity obtained during an equal number of centuries in a population of equal size. Europeans, having inherited the spiritual, esthetic, and political elements of their culture from common sources, have so transformed and diversified the resultants that no one to-day thinks of Europe as an entity. The contrast is not only suggestive, its attribute denotes an understanding mind when account is taken of China's historical development. This unfolding is unfortunately so briefly outlined as to offer little material for comment or criticism. It is the standard recital of the succession of dynasties that appears in every history of the Empire. Some question as to "die uralte Lehre von zwei in der Natur wirksamen Dualkräften, Yin und Yang", might be raised. It is, as the author states, the fundamental of the *I-Ching*, but may well have been a contribution from Iran through the Chows rather than a conception of indigenous Chinese philosophy. The meagre notice of Buddhism in China may be due to the author's unwillingness to repeat here his studies in *Ju-Tao-Fo* on the three great religions of the country, but the neglect of a very important element in his subject leaves something to be desired in a general history.

A few items in his account of the modern history of China are worth noting, chiefly because they indicate his uniform reliance upon European sources: the Opium War was not merely one of the great scandals of the aggressive Europe of the nineteenth century, it was a revelation of the influence of sea power supported by the economic demands of the new industrial age; its international significance is seen in the abolition of

the old doctrine of closed lands and closed seas. The principle of extritoriality was not imposed by the British in the Treaty of Nanking, it was proposed by the American plenipotentiary Cushing and cordially accepted by the Chinese commissioner in 1844 as a *via media* for keeping the peace between aliens of different civilizations. The Taiping Rebellion, the most destructive internecine war, perhaps, of recorded history, deserves a fuller notice than a few paragraphs; its significance lies in its disclosure of the culture-traits of the Chinese, their obstinate dislike of the Manchus who had given them the best government they had ever enjoyed, their indifference to any religious sanctions except those inherited from their own past, their fortitude under appalling sufferings, their appreciation of the slow but effective process which led them out of trouble—all these are characteristics that remain in the race and indicate an ultimate solution of the difficulties that embarrass the nation to-day. T'seng Kuo-fan, by the way, did not save Ch'angsha from capture by the rebels in 1852; he had nothing to do with the war until later.

There is no compelling need to review the later and larger portion of Professor Krause's work here. Its scope is political rather than historical, prompted, we may guess, by a recent visit to eastern Asia and written for the instruction of his own countrymen who have not been deluged, as we have been, with books explaining what is the matter with China. The chapters on Japan—four in each volume—are sensible but lack the inspiration that comes from original research or very definite convictions. *Einzeluntersuchungen* on special topics are grouped together at the end of each volume, a concession to the general reader in relegating sheer scholarship to a place by itself, but showing the author at his best. A good bibliography, a copious index with the characters belonging to the proper names, and two maps (one reversed in photographic reproduction) complete the equipment of a useful contribution to the literature on the Far East.

F. W. WILLIAMS.

Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by J. B. BURY, F.B.A., S. A. COOK, Litt.D., F. E. ADCOCK, M.A. Volume IV. *The Persian Empire and the West.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xxiii, 698. 35 s.)

THE appearance of the fourth volume has followed with praiseworthy expedition upon the third in this great work, and its contents are rich and fully worthy of its predecessors. That the reader may know at once how far it comes within the limits of his own interest or concern I here transcribe the long list of chapters, and give in each case the author's name that the relative authority of each writer may be manifest to any searcher for information. The general title for the whole volume is *Persia and the West*, and the contents are as follows: chapter I., the Foundation and Extension of the Persian Empire, by the late G. Buchanan

Gray of Mansfield College; II., the Reform of the Athenian State, by F. E. Adcock, professor of ancient history in the University of Cambridge; III., Athens under the Tyrants, by F. E. Adcock; IV., the Outer Greek World in the Sixth Century, by P. N. Ure, professor of classics, University College, Reading; V., Coinage from its Origin to the Persian Wars, by G. F. Hill, keeper of coins and medals, British Museum; VI., Athens: the Reform of Cleisthenes, by E. M. Walker, provost of Queen's College, Oxford; VII., the Reign of Darius, by G. B. Gray and M. Cary, reader in ancient history in the University of London; VIII., Marathon, by J. A. R. Munro, rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, and E. M. Walker; IX., Xerxes' Invasion of Greece, by J. A. R. Munro; X., the Deliverance of Greece, by J. A. R. Munro; XI., Carthage and Sicily, by R. Hackforth, fellow and lecturer, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; XII. and XIII., Italy in the Etruscan Age, A, the Etruscans, by R. S. Conway, professor of Latin in the Victoria University of Manchester, and S. Casson, fellow of New College, Oxford, B, the Indo-European Communities, by R. S. Conway; XIV., Greek Literature from the Eighth Century to the Persian Wars, by J. B. Bury, regius professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge; XV., Mystery Religions and Pre-Socratic Philosophy, by F. M. Cornford, fellow and lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge; XVI., Early Greek Art, by J. D. Beazley, professor of classical archaeology and art, Oxford, and D. S. Robertson, fellow and lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Thereupon there follow the elaborate bibliographies, three chronological notes (on the date of Cylon's *coup d'état*, on the reign of Bardiya [Smerdis], and on the chronology of the campaigns of Darius immediately after his accession), and good indexes. In a list so comprehensive there ought to be food for palates of very diverse tastes. Let us see what may be said of such portions as the properly limited space here given may permit.

In general the classical periods here covered not only exceed in space the Oriental, as indeed they should, but are also handled with a touch far more sure. England's tradition of classical study stands her again in good stead, and though there are differences here or there in breadth or in detail, in acumen, or in slow-moving apprehension, there is no real weakness. These men who write were brought up in Greek and Latin and have spent their lives at it. The results are as might be expected. Far less strong and satisfactory is the representation of the Oriental side, and it seems a pity that some first-rate Orientalists of Germany could not have been called to do a piece. G. Buchanan Gray was indeed a first-rate Oriental scholar, but his chief interest was in the Hebrews and when this work on Persia, left unfinished at his lamented death, was done he was also busy with his learned and suggestive *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, which has been posthumously published. Highly, most highly, though I valued all his work, it is idle to pretend that the chapters in this

book are adequate. They are thin, much too brief, and too often argumentative on details rather than flowing in narrative. His judgment, usually sound on everything that he touched, seems at times to have failed in important decisions. He writes soundly and well on the person of the prophet Zoroaster and his religion, yet adopts the date 1000 B. C. for his age, abandoning the well-supported date 660–583 B. C. I can not but think that this is due solely to ill-founded reliance upon Eduard Meyer, whose justly distinguished reputation is too often made a final resort by many.

The Persian Wars are well done, for the hands of masters are in the work. Munro is even so bold as to challenge the universally accepted date of the battle of Marathon, and to make it 491 instead of 490 B. C. (p. 232 ff.), but his co-worker Walker refuses to follow him, and I believe justly. The argument is much too weak. Munro is more clever in dealing with the long-debated question of the size of Xerxes's army. Most of us are content to say that the total of 1,800,000 given by Herodotus is impossible, and let it go with rough conjectures to the effect that the number could not possibly have exceeded a greatly diminished one. Munro, on the other hand, presents a most ingenious and suggestive solution depending upon a supposed blunder of Herodotus in confusing the myriarchs with the six generals-in-chief, and by this stroke reduces the number to 360,000 (p. 271 f.). The solution seems almost too good to be true, so great is the relief which it gives. Munro also boldly attacks the problem of the 1207 ships of the Persian navy and partly by means of suggestions from Tarn (*J. H. S.*, XXVIII. 207) reduces the total to 660 ships of the line or a grand total of 730 (p. 276). I commend these speculations to the consideration of scholars both in history and in Greek literature. As to the battle in general, for verve, eloquence, and a sense of its glory we may still profitably read George Grote.

Chapter V., on coinage, was written by Hill, who is certainly one of the greatest living authorities in ancient numismatics. Yet I make bold to say that it is sadly disappointing. It is extremely brief, and does no real justice to Lydian coinage. Its one redeeming feature is a good bibliography.

As one would expect, Bury writes finely of the Greek literature of the post-Homeric period, and sums up Hesiod, and the lyric and elegiac poets who followed him, in the judgment that none of them had learned Homer's secret. "None of them had his greatness of spirit, none of them his power of telling a story; much less could any of them create immortal figures, like Nestor and Odysseus and Penelope and the witch Circe and, portrayed by a few touches, Helen, so curiously attractive" (p. 480).

But I must cease, leaving to the diligence of many, and the judgment of the few, the discovery of the treasures in this big and impressive volume. They will find much indeed of instruction and of stimulus, let us hope also that they may feel the call for others to go on with the study of this great period. It is not exhausted.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward. By THOMAS FRANCIS CARTER, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Chinese in Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1925. Pp. xviii, 282. \$7.50.)

THE material which made it possible to write a volume about the early history of printing in China, came from two places. One is a room some nine feet square, in which, about the year 1035, somebody packed away ten solid feet of books, after which the entrance was bricked up and concealed by wall-paintings. Three hundred years later, the libraries of another community of religious establishments were destroyed, the books cut or torn to pieces and scattered about over the bodies of the slain custodians. After these two episodes, it ceased to rain in that part of the world. Nothing more of consequence to us happened thereabouts until the twentieth century, when the Central Asian deserts became the goal for a new school of archaeological explorers.

The fate which had kept these books, and many other things, unchanged for centuries, hid them away again for another twenty years, some in unopened packing cases in two famous museums, until the man came along who combined acquaintance with the languages in which they were written with the imagination to perceive the features which make them interesting to the readers of 1925. And then, to prove her capriciousness, fate removed the author before he could know how admirably his task had been accomplished.

This is a belated notice of the late Professor Carter's *Invention of Printing in China*, but the delay makes it possible to point out one thing about the book which earlier reviewers could not know. They welcomed it enthusiastically, finding it both scholarly and interesting. They could not foresee how generally it has awakened the imagination of those who have had the good fortune to look into its pages.

The knowledge that the Chinese printed long before movable types were evolved in the Rhine Valley has been a matter of record for many years, in places where people who are interested in such things rarely look. Even the announcement that the John Crerar Library in Chicago possesses some of this earliest printing failed to reach the American academic world. Now, all that Professor Carter actually contributed was confirmatory evidence, in amazingly greater quantity than anyone could have supposed to be in existence. What he did, however, was much more important than unearthing new facts, for he presented that evidence in such convincing form that it has, in a twelvemonth, been accepted as a part of the stock of American historical information. The concrete proof of this is the fact that at least three instructors who conduct an "Introductory History" course have inserted in their notes a reminder to tell their students next year that printing was invented in China, with certain entertaining facts drawn from Professor Carter's pages.

One other thing about this volume is of interest to professional historians. It has added, unless all the signs fail, a section and perhaps a chapter to the annals of historical writing. Already, the story of the use made of the documents which Professor Carter brought to public attention is in its way quite as instructive as the other stories of how they were hidden and how they were found, or of the ancient lore which they record. He barely scratched the surface, in hunting for examples of printing among the greater mass of hand-written documents. There can be no telling how long the next interval will be, before another person equally qualified to carry on the investigations will take up the task.

The importance of the work done by Professor Carter, as scholar and as popularizer, is beyond question. The recognition of this, without qualification, does not carry with it the implication that he has said a final word. His main thesis, upon which he relied for the effectiveness of his appeal to current interest, is fundamentally unconvincing.

This thesis is, that the invention of printing by the Chinese was the origin of the industry which has done so much to make possible modern European life. The Chinese, beyond possibility of doubt, were printing in the seventh century. They experimented with movable types in the tenth century, and used them enough to satisfy themselves—as twentieth-century Westerners are slowly perceiving—that metal letters are not the best solution of the problem of how to make many books cheaply. There is also plenty of evidence that the Chinese and Europeans knew a great deal about each other during those, and succeeding, centuries. Later, soon after the year 1450, books began to be made with movable type in the Rhine cities. These facts are curiously like those which constitute so many genealogical records; the beginning and the end are securely established, but there is an absolute blank intervening.

If Professor Carter were here to maintain his position, the point might be worth arguing. As he is not, those who can not accept his thesis may as well recognize that it is really of not the slightest consequence. The essential thing is that the fog has lifted from what was regarded as a hazy legend of printing in China long before Gutenberg. The typographic horizon has receded to more than twice its former distance, revealing a clear and distinct vision of many new things, none of which appear to have made the slightest impression upon human events. The use to which the new thing was put, and not the priority of date, is what makes for historical significance.

G. P. W.

Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse. Publié avec la Recommandation de la Société Général Suisse d'Histoire et sous la Direction de MARCEL GODET, Directeur de la Bibliothèque Nationale, HENRI TURLER, Directeur des Archives Fédérales, VICTOR ATTINGER, Éditeur, avec de nombreux Collaborateurs de tous les Cantons. Volumes I. and II. (Neuchâtel: Administration du Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse. 1924. 420 Swiss fr. for the set.)

THIS monumental work will have six volumes in quarto of about seven hundred pages of close print each. Two volumes are out, and the rest will be printed serially in issues of about eighty pages each. The letter G has been reached, and the third volume nears completion. There is a German edition, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, issued by the same firm. The print is small, but excellent. Illustrations, while not luxurious, are very well made and appropriately chosen. Some are in color, reproducing glass windows, pictures of historical events, manuscripts, *et cetera*.

The work is comprehensive, and there are articles for important events of any kind in which Swiss people are interested or involved, as also for any personality which directly or indirectly was connected with Swiss affairs. For instance there is a good article on the "*Alabama Affair*", decided by arbitration in Geneva (1873). One of the rooms of the city hall of Geneva is still called the "*Salle Alabama*".

The articles on various localities are always rich in substance and relevant, especially those concerning cities which are by their location and history centres of international activities. Most of the principal cities have had that honor at one time or other: St. Gall in the early Middle Ages; Zurich especially since the Reformation; even more so perhaps Basel, Bern, since it became the federal city, Geneva, a bone of political contention long before it became the "*Rome Protestante*" and long after, and to-day the seat of the League of Nations. By the articles which have already been published, *Bâle, Berne, Fribourg, Genève*, we can anticipate what the others will be, and that is very good. The article *Bâle* seems particularly fine, presented as it is under its manifold aspects, geographical, political, historical, commercial, artistic, literary, scientific, religious, etc., the illustrations adding much to the value of the text.

Naturally the scholar will look there for reliable information on institutions specifically Swiss, like *Capitulation, Corps Francs, Académies* [Suisses], the *Gentilshommes de la Cuiller* (those men who did in Savoy and Geneva what the catholic "*Ligue*" did on a larger scale in Paris)—and he will find it. Some of these institutions have had quite a bearing on outside affairs; rather striking is the article *Armée* by Major de Vallières, showing how in early days it was for a time actually the Swiss who instructed the other countries in warfare. (See also other articles in this group, like *Guerres de Bourgogne*, or *Bérésina*).

Another interesting group is that of the martyrs of political freedom in Switzerland. William Tell—or his legend—has not yet appeared; but Bonivard, of Byronian fame, Major Davel, Berthelier, and others have.

Constantly one runs across unusually interesting figures, like Abauzit, the sage of Geneva in the eighteenth century, a man of great learning, who corresponded with Newton (and the latter bowed before his wisdom), and was equally respected by Voltaire and by Rousseau, who considered him the Cato of his time; like Gustave Ador, the great statesman; like Agassiz, later of Harvard, and Arnold Guyot, later of Princeton, before they came to continue their careers in this country.

There is no doubt that most American public or scientific libraries will wish to own this work, either in French or in German.

The writer has noticed very few inaccuracies or omissions. The book on Calvin is by the American Walker, not Welker; in the article on the Red Cross, one is surprised not to find a mention of the excellent book by A. François, *Le Berceau de la Croix Rouge* (Geneva, Tullien, 1918). Is it not out of proportion with other parts of the work to give the great mathematician Euler only a very short notice in the Euler family? The same would apply to the famous painter Böcklin. But probably the editors thought that such international figures would be adequately treated in less special encyclopaedias.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuern Zeit. Von Dr. LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1926. Pp. xix, 333. Bound, 18.50 M., unbound, 16 M.)

Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte der Einzelstaaten des Mittelalters und der Neuern Zeit. Von Dr. FERDINAND FRIEDENSBURG. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1926. Pp. viii, 196. Bound, 16.50 M.; unbound, 14. M.)

As the preface and title-page indicate, Dr. von Ebengreuth's book is the second edition of a work originally published twenty years ago, and now enlarged to include material that has appeared in the interval. The illustrations of the first edition are retained—one might wish that they had been increased in number, and that the engravings, which form a not large proportion, might have been replaced by more accurate photographic reproductions.

This volume attempts to provide something much more thorough than a mere introduction. The encyclopaedic style of the text marks it as intended for the scholar rather than for the dilettante. No mean task has been set in trying to afford an oversight of the coinages of the troubled

years of Europe's dark ages and of the war-filled period which followed, but the facts presented show again and again that it is during such times, when other sources are few and obscure, that the coinage of a people or a period offers evidence that can not be neglected.

But if the author may be said to have sacrificed readability for the sake of weight of content, the careful plan of the volume, indicated by the outline, and the completeness of the thirty-six-page index should make reference very easy. Extended bibliographies occur at the end of each paragraph, affording opportunity to compare the author's conclusions with those of other writers. The exhaustiveness with which this is done throughout will be found admirable for some purposes; it would have had greater effectiveness if the more important of the citations had been indicated by asterisk or otherwise, thereby utilizing the compiler's knowledge of the comparative merits of the writings referred to.

By treating the coinage of these periods (*a*) in its outward form, (*b*) from the stand-point of its minting, and (*c*) from the point of view of the collector, there have been brought together a mass of generalizations which make manifest the wide knowledge of the entire field possessed by the writer. The sections devoted to minting methods, to bracteates—those thin, foil-like issues, which seem so at variance with all modern criteria for desirable media of circulation—and to the study of coin hoards, are especially worthy of mention. The latter half of the volume treats of the history of money and of its significance for the history of those who used it. The concluding portion considers the economic laws governing the issue of these currencies, and the conventions which have grown out of these laws.

Dr. Friedensburg's book is a pendant to the fore-going, and tries to be specific where that is general. This is perhaps the more difficult problem of the two, but it can hardly be said to have been met with equal effectiveness. To compress a notice of the coinage of the Byzantine Empire into two pages is well-nigh impossible. The treatment of the coinage of the United States occupies page 166, and although the amount of information given is impressive, there are such slips as "das Wappen mit den 'Strips and Stars'" and the misstatement that "Die Konföderierten Staaten haben von 1861 bis 64 in derselben Weise wie die Union, aber mit sitzender 'Liberty' geprägt und auch ihrerseits viel Papiergeld ausgegeben".

The collotype plates are hardly up to the usual standard, and while any selection of what should be illustrated from such a mass of material would be open to criticism, the metal might have been indicated, and some other selection made for our country's coinage than a Rosa Americana two-pence (assigned to Maryland).

SYDNEY P. NOE.

Lanfranc, a Study of his Life, Work, and Writing. By A. J. MACDONALD, M.A. (London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 307. 12 s. 6 d.)

Nor the least of the results of the Norman Conquest was its effect upon the English Church. The introduction of Norman feudo-vassalism and the application of Norman political genius and discipline to English governmental problems were paralleled by ecclesiastical reforms and the appointment of Continental clerics to English prelaties. Chief among these clerics and most largely responsible for bringing the English Church into the broad and swiftly flowing current of European church life was Lanfranc, Italian by birth and early education, Norman in his clerical training and career, friend and counsellor of the Conqueror. It is with the nineteen years that Lanfranc was archbishop of Canterbury, rather than with the seventy—or thereabouts—that he passed on the Continent, that this biography deals; yet enough is told of his work in law and dialectic, of his years in the humble and hardworking monastic community at Bec, and of the important part he played in the revival of learning in Normandy to show what manner of man he was whom William made primate of England as soon as Stigand could be deposed. In the chapter devoted to the controversy with Berengar, Mr. MacDonald shows a poor opinion of Lanfranc's treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, "a halting, amateurish attempt", and his intellectual sympathies are clearly with Berengar. He feels that Lanfranc's alleged success in this had nothing to do with his subsequent promotion, it "exerted little more influence upon his career than the rôle of a witness in a lawsuit upon the fortunes of ordinary men".

The story of Lanfranc's tenure of the archbishopric is the story of the reconstruction of the English Church. Lax as to life, flabby as administrators, negligent as pastors—such is the opinion one receives of the Saxon clergy. As a first step toward remedying unwholesome conditions Lanfranc secured recognition of the primacy of his see, and next he introduced the practice of holding church councils as reforming agencies. The agenda were carefully prepared, canonical authority for proposed reforms was laboriously amassed, and no phase of ecclesiastical practice that called for correction was disregarded. As might be expected from the former prior of Bec and abbot of Caen, Lanfranc gave much attention to monasticism, "but he loved other things more—a strong administration and the episcopal organization", and his interest in the monastic revival was tempered by zeal for diocesan authority. In dealing with married clergy he disregarded Gregory's decree requiring them to leave their wives: the law of celibacy was to apply in the future, it was not made retroactive.

Lanfranc's share in the great building programme of the Anglo-Norman prelates; the rules he laid down for the guidance of the monks of Christ Church; the assistance he received from friends and former pupils

at Bec; the high esteem in which he was held in Scotland, Ireland, and Normandy as well as in his own province, all receive due attention; so too do his relations with Gregory VII., with the Conqueror, and with Rufus. The chapter on the York controversy calls for special mention, and the appendix with which that chapter is supplemented. Mr. MacDonald absolves the archbishop of the charge of using forgeries to gain his point, and urges that in his main contention he was fully warranted, though his arguments were dubious and disingenuous.

At times the dignified style of the narrative lapses into dullness and the details of description over-crowd the picture, but the care and thoroughness with which, in scholarly wise, the author treats his subject place us in his debt. The reviewer questions the accuracy of the translation of Orderic's phrase *in ipsa aetate* (p. I, n. 2), and regrets also that the index is little other than a list of personal and place names.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

Humanism and Tyranny, Studies in the Italian Trecento. By EPHRAIM EMERTON, Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University, Emeritus. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1925. Pp. vii, 377. \$4.00.)

THE title of this scholarly book led the reviewer, obviously without due warrant, to anticipate the pleasant task of appraising a study of the affinities between humanism and tyranny or at least between the humanists and the tyrants of the Trecento. When the book arrived he discovered to his dismay that he had undertaken to evaluate a work on medieval political theory (pp. 25-284) accompanied by some writings of Coluccio Salutati in defense of liberal studies (pp. 287-337).

The central and most valuable part of the book contains in translation Coluccio's treatise on the tyrant, Bartolus's treatise on the tyranny, a contemporary account of the struggle between the tyrant Francesco dei Ordelaffi and Cardinal Albornoz, the Ordinances of Albornoz, and an essay by Bartolus on Guelfs and Ghibellines, with introductions and elucidations by the learned translator. All this material, showing how theory followed upon the rise of the tyrannies, holds together admirably and will prove of great service to students of medieval political philosophy and of value even to those interested in the *mores* of the Italian Trecento. Of the group the lawyer Bartolus seems by far the keenest and most realistic. His crisp observations are often illuminating, as, for example, "this is not a matter for a jurist to consider, since no man can be punished for his thoughts" (p. 128).

The letters and essay of Coluccio defending secular studies against the monastic point of view, appended to the writings on tyranny, seem to the reviewer—*pace* the venerated Harvard master, who is fond of Coluccio—of no particular significance. They reveal a learned timidity

and might have appeared in the tenth or the eighteenth century. (Cf. Allen Johnson, *The Historian and Historical Evidence*, p. 103.) Coluccio harps constantly on the idea (shared by Petrarch himself) that poetry is essentially allegorical. A sample of his line of argument will show his quality as a champion. "Even if you consider the Song of Songs according to the letter, what can you find in the poets more erotic or more in the pastoral style—or even equally obscene or dealing more frankly with the nastiness of lust?—a book which, when you come to think of it, should relieve all poets from the charge of filthy language or of risky detail of invention" (p. 335). This is rather hard on Solomon. Surely John of Salisbury's defense of the classics in his *Metalogicus*, with its "quia otium sine litteris mors est" is more robust and captivating. And are not Gratian's arguments in the *Decretum* for the study of pagan literature less forced and at least as convincing?

The editor's introductory essay on the Fourteenth Century (pp. 3-21) is a brilliant exposition of the temper of the thirteenth century with the contrasted break-up in the fourteenth, which is characterized by "the stirrings of what I have called Revolt" (p. 20). The Italian tyrants barely squeeze into the picture. Humanism is introduced, toward the end, with these words: "It needs but a moment's reflection to perceive how closely these social and religious changes were connected with that great awakening of the human spirit to which we give the characteristic name of Humanism." The reviewer regrets his inability to agree. What had the development of monarchical power, the subsidiary rise of parliamentary institutions, the philosophy of Ockham, the assertion of the independent validity of the great vernaculars, to do with humanism? Were they not the expression of deeper and less sophisticated forces?

The robust and unobtrusive scholarship of the learned editor and his grasp upon the analogies of the medieval tyranny with modern bossism and present-day dictatorships in Europe are a constant delight. There is no index.

G. C. SELLERY.

Islam and the Divine Comedy. By MIGUEL ASÍN. Translated and abridged by Harold Sunderland. (London: John Murray. 1926. Pp. xxv, 295. 12 s.)

AN English edition of Professor Asín's *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, due to the initiative of the Duke of Berwick and Alba at Lord Balfour's suggestion, is a capital event to English readers in cultural history. It gains in value by coming six years after the original work with Asín's rejoinder to his critics now in the European reviews at our disposal.

The issues which this outstanding volume must continue to raise, alike in the Old and in the New World, are large and deep. They cut into the strata of psychology, philosophy, and theology, as well as history and

literature. They start a question more fascinating still—the poet's *ultima ratio*. That poet is “degli altri onore e lume”, and his theme is man. Did not Dante say himself of his art “subjectum est homo”?

When Asín took for his theme *La Escatología Musulmana*, he turned the battery of Arabic scholarship on a central issue in the story of human evolution, the relations of Eastern and Western civilization, and all that these words involve. He threw out a challenge which will reverberate in this “debatable land” because he virtually claims Christendom's “sommio poeta” as a Sufi, and links him, in a chain which defies destruction, with that Grand Master in Islam of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Shaykh al Akbar Ibn u'l ‘Arabi, Muhiyyu'l Din (Revealer of Religion) on the shores of the Mediterranean, a potent name at this very hour from Morocco to Damascus.

There is no space here to follow Asín's closely woven argument, though the reader should refer to his masterly but much earlier *Aben-masarra y su Escuela* (origins of the Spanish Muslim philosophy, 1914) where in the steps of his master Ribera, Asín, with characteristic modesty, began himself to disentangle this knot of psychology and literature. Ribera is the choregus of the band of Arabic scholars who are exploring this rich mine and who himself in his “contestación” of this work before the Royal Academy of Spain graciously assumes here the disciple's rather than the master's place. It was Ribera who revealed the Sufi sources of Raymond Lull in his *Orígenes de la Filosofía de Raimundo Lulio* (1899). Asín himself has determined the relation of such masters in Moslem philosophy as Avempace, Al-Ghazali, and Averroes, and has dealt in valuable monographs with the actual psychology of Islam as well as with the baffling history of the Muhammadans in Spain.

The reader should realize too that a single verse of the Koran is the trickle of the well from which this mystic flood of thought and art has sprung. It tells us of Mohammed's “Izra” (Night Journey from Mecca to Jerusalem) and his “Mi'raj” (Ascension hence to the Three Worlds which are identical with those of Dante's vision). These are still, to orthodox Islam, the crowning occasion of worship in the Moslem sacred year. They present the mystic experiences of the Great Prophet himself, as elaborated in the “Traditions” (Hadiths) of the Koran. They recur in the experience of Ibn ‘Arabi himself. The works of the Revealer of Religion circulate from the presses of Cairo and Constantinople throughout the Moslem world. But mystic Islam, during the long six centuries which yawn in time and space between the East and West, the ancient and the modern age, wrought in thought and art, in verse and prose, in science and in vision, sometimes in ironic mood, oftener in devotion, a bridge which spans that gulf.

Now Asín rests and fixes the bewildered student's eye upon the keystone in this bridge. He reveals the startling fact that throughout these ages the seers had one design—the fusion of inherited traditions and

experienced visions in a psychology which was their own, a philosophy of Aristotle (neoplatonized) which they recreated, a theology of Islam which they transformed and transfigured. But this keystone holds together and relates the mass of Moslem legendary matter which sprang from and gathered round its germ in the Koran, its mystical developments in Islam, and its antitype in the legendary lore of Christendom. As concerns the realm of art, the grand architectural lines of the design are enriched with ever accumulating decoration, until they are crowned by the creations of Ibn 'Arabi, a mystical philosopher and poet who seems no other than Dante's other self.

The actual contents of Asín's work are: first, the analysis of the various versions which the legend assumes through six centuries and their interpretation in the hands of the Moslem mystics; secondly, the comparison of these with the *Divina Commedia*; thirdly, an account of like legends in Christendom; and lastly, the conclusion to which he is compelled, that, what a supreme poet can owe to any other soul, is due in Dante's case to Moslem rather than to Christian sources. "There is more in a single canto", says Asín, "from Moslem sources than in the whole of the *Commedia* from his predecessors in Christendom."

Asín has been content to dissect his case with an anatomist's knife; he has not given us the new synthesis of Dante's works which his research reveals. But it is not in the *dissecta membra* of analysis that he finds his solution. He insists on the spirit rather than the matter of his revelations. The startling identity in substance and structure of these traditions and of Dante's vision is altogether overshadowed by a deeper concord in Ibn 'Arabi's and Dante's creations, a concord which has its foundation in experiences of the soul. These two men, of whom the former died within twenty-five years of the other's birth, passed through the same crisis in their life and art. Both stood before the bar of judgment in their own day for sins of the flesh which they are charged with having disguised in their creations as symbols of the spirit. Dante is still charged to-day by his English exponents with gross inconsistency in his art and insincerity in his life. The parallel between their art, its real formulation and its true interpretation, is the point which awaits the student's attention. Asín reveals an absolute parallel between their answers from the standpoint of spiritual experience—Ibn 'Arabi in his "Revelations" or Conflicts and Victories (*Futūhāt*), in his "Interpreter" (*Tarjumān*), and in his "Treasures" (or Communings) of Divine Love, Dante in his *Convito*, the *Canzoniere*, and *Vita Nuova*—the single theme of all of which is the same New Life.

That issue is but one of many, which Asín's researches transfer to another court of justice. Greater issues, however, than this are at stake, although to change the metaphor, such scholarship as his may well claim to have "upturned rich germinating spices" in this soil of Spanish-Arabian art, which awaits, he tells us, much patient spade-labour.

Time alone can show how this first installment of research will affect the outlook in other fields than that to which Asín confines his present work.

What was Dante's real source? Was it an experience of his own, which derived from a source common indeed to Islam and Christendom, open to all ages, but peculiarly open in an age when intuition was more active than intellect? This theology of the East, with its room for reason and mystic speculation by the side of creed, has its significance for the theologian; this philosophy of the unconscious, its meaning for the metaphysician; this study of multipersonality, a message to the psychologist. We think of Dante's "modo tutto fuor del modern' uso" (of his way, beyond the wisdom of to-day). There is a future as well as a past, in this touch of East and West.

The English title of the book suggests perhaps some such conclusion as his Bollandist critic (in *Analecta Bollandiana*), who understands Asín's idea to be that "the great epic of Christendom is throned within mystic Islam as in a mosque barred to Moslems but consecrated to Christian worship".

"The sphynx awaits", as Scartazzini, its most literal exponent, was wont to reiterate, "its Oedipus". That is true surely in many ways of what Witte once called the "Art of Misunderstanding Dante". But readers who steep themselves in Asín's discovery will, if they are already saturated with the *Commedia*, exclaim, to borrow Shelley's line: "Behold a wonder worthy of the rime." Professor Asín has here broadcasted in the terms of scholarship that "New Light" which Dante vouchsafed in the *Convito* and began to serve as the bread which men must use if they would sit down at his high table to consume the courses of that "Banquet". These pages tell us that the Moslem mystics were moved like Dante in their lifetime to "rise on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things". They reveal the secret stairs toward

L'amor che muove il sole, e le altre stelle.

They show us those God-intoxicated souls of Islam on the path

"Of him who, from the lowest depths of hell,
Through every paradise and through all glory,
Love led serene, and who returned to tell
The words of hate and awe; the wondrous story
How all things are transfigured except Love."

S. UDNY.

The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216 to 1360. By G. R. GALBRAITH, M.A., Ph.D., Member of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XLIV.] (Manchester: University Press; London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1925. Pp. xvi, 286. 12 s. 6 d.)

DOMINICANISM, with its seven hundred years of multiform activity in the Church, the world, and the universities, offers richer yields than any other field of medieval historical investigation. Scholars are beginning to realize this and so we find in our own day an increasing literature on the subject, even in English which has been lamentably behind other languages. Dr. Galbraith's study is as fine a piece of finished work as we possess in any language. Not only does she lay under contribution the known data on the subject of which she treats, but she has unearthed much precious information of which we never dreamed. Only once do we not agree with her deductions and that is when with unwarranted subjectivism she essays to tell us what St. Dominic would do in the world to-day.

The purpose of this splendid study is to give us an idea of the gradual growth and the internal functioning of the Dominican Order along the lines laid down by its first legislators during the first century and one-half of its existence. Of course we know that St. Dominic never wrote a rule adopting, on the command of the pope who followed in this the injunction of the second Lateran Council, the so-called rule of St. Augustine which is nothing else than a letter written by St. Augustine to a body of women who sought to lead a cloistered life. Certain customs, *consuetudines*, were taken over from the Premonstratensian Order, with whose legislation Dominic was familiar. Jordan of Saxony, the second general, wrote down these explicitly declared wishes of Dominic, but this first written code of the order has been, it would seem, irretrievably lost. The third general, St. Raymond of Pennaforte—outstanding canonist of the Middle Ages and father of the casuistic method in the teaching of moral theology—drew up a rule which is still in force and which is expanded, as need and occasion arise, by the enactments of the general chapters enjoying full legislative authority. Because the ordinations of the Dominican general chapters are binding on the friars, and because the third acceptance by a chapter of such an ordination, or *inchoatio*, incorporates it officially and authentically in the *corpus* of the Dominican code, it is easy to see why a study of the progressive legislation of the order is not only highly interesting but also deeply instructive.

Just what the law-making genius of the friars of the few first generations was is plainly evidenced in these pages—in fact Dr. Galbraith vouchsafes us *acta* of chapters which so far have escaped notice. To make plain who the legislators of the order were, what prerogatives they enjoyed, and how they exercised them, forms the subject of several solid

chapters on the various officials of this institute. If we keep in mind that the application of the Dominican common law devolves on the provincial in his province and the prior in his convent it is easy to understand the writer's solicitude to set forth fully their juridic standing in the Dominican scheme. Incidentally, the learned author pays high tribute to the founder who did not believe in multiplying laws unnecessarily. The history of the Dominican Order and the work of Dr. Galbraith make it abundantly plain that democratic ideals prevailed in medieval times where we should least expect to find them—in a monastery where men took a vow of obedience to a superior. But, as the author says finely, the greatest glory of this code is that, though not so idealistic as that of the Franciscans, it still through its sweet reasonableness was supremely workable and strikingly modern. And despite the capitular legislation of seven hundred years the order has not departed from the basic ideals of its founder. Therefore Dominic still lives in the code of his followers—and that code has never been torn by schism or any other notable internal dissension. We need a serious study on the legal mind and genius of Dominic Guzman who, as Hauck says in his *Kirchengeschichte*, was none the less a sharply defined personality for all his statesmanlike outlook and activity.

If all future works on the Dominican Order are done with the care, competency, and conscience of Dr. Galbraith's study we may hope to be introduced into one of the most suggestive religious institutes of the rich Middle Ages.

THOMAS M. SCHWERTNER, O.P.

Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England. By C. L. KINGSFORD. [The Ford Lectures, 1923-1924.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1925. Pp. vii, 216, map. 15 s.)

THE cryptic title of this book is explained in the preface, where, after accounting for a certain discursiveness of topic and treatment, the author says: "But I had always before me two main ideas: the one, that the truth about fifteenth-century England had been distorted through the prejudice of chronicles and Tudor historians; the other, that the truth could only be discovered by the study from different sources of the Fifteenth Century as the seed-time of the future." The first lecture investigates the prejudice which Shakespeare took over from the second edition of Holinshed's chronicles, the work of a "syndicate" which drew heavily upon the tendenciously Tudor and Protestant Hall. The sixth and last lecture makes specific and detailed examination of the operation of a similar prejudice against the good name of the murdered Suffolk, whose memory is cleared of the stain upon it which appears, for example, in the *Second Part of Henry VI*. Incidentally the reader may gain from these lectures fresh knowledge of the immortal *genus* politician.

The promise of the period comes out in the middle group of four lectures, entitled English Letters and the Intellectual Ferment, Social Life and the Wars of the Roses, West Country Piracy: the School of English Seamen, and London in the Fifteenth Century. There is much detail and much too of the flavor of the times. "The fifteenth century and its politics are to us remote, but when we are thus brought into contact with the everlasting element of common humanity we begin to understand the past. [The author interjects a bit of professorial wisdom.] Identity in difference and difference in identity might be described as two of the chief problems for the historian. It is easier to see the difference than the identity; but without a sense of the latter all study of history, whether political or social, is vain" (pp. 29-30). The "element of common humanity" comes out sharply in these four lectures. The disturbances wrought by the Wars of the Roses did not seriously affect the growth of wealth or of civic, religious, and private building, the increase of schools, or the growing employment of English. Here again the operation of sixteenth-century prejudice is revealed.

The lecture on piracy shows the existence of much callous roguery. The captains of Devon and Cornwall were hand and glove with the ordinary citizens and even men of property of the West Country, to prevent the suppression of the pirates (the captains), who preyed on friend and foe, native and foreigner. The commissioners appointed by the government to prosecute the pirates and their accomplices were themselves frequently participants or "stockholders" in piratical enterprises. The author finds some consolation in the by-products of these malodorous exploits. "Notwithstanding . . . , we must recognize in these West Country pirates that same hardy and audacious spirit which a hundred years later inspired their descendants to nobler achievements in a greater sphere" (p. 106).

The lecture on London examines the political manoeuvrings of the guilds and the trading companies (who make straight the way for the Tudor adventurers) and shows the wealthier ones, as usual, dominating the city. But much of this long and instructive lecture, which covers nearly forty pages, is given over to a "fancied perambulation" of the city, its secular buildings, churches, and larger and smaller houses. The author also furnishes a map he has made to show the wards and principal structures. An enormous amount of specialized lore is utilized in this lecture.

Professor Kingsford draws his material largely from "less familiar and so far as possible unprinted sources" (preface). Illustrative *pièces* from the Chancery proceedings which supplied the bulk of the material on the pirates are given in the appendix. The book is extraordinarily erudite. The index leaves something to be desired; the first two tests the reviewer made yielded negative results.

G. C. SELLERY.

Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements. By LOUIS ISRAEL NEWMAN, Ph.D. [Columbia University Oriental Studies, vol. XXIII.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1925. Pp. xxvii, 706. \$7.50.)

THE author believes that Jews and Judaism had much more to do with what from one point of view are called reforms and from another heresies in Christian history than is generally recognized. He endeavors to demonstrate this by investigations of various such movements in the Middle Ages—the Cathari (Albigenses), the Waldensians, and the obscure Lombard sect of the Passagii—and in the Reformation period, for which he selects as typical figures John Huss, Zwingli, and Servetus, with more summary observations on Luther's debt to Judaism and the Hebraic features of American Puritanism. Future volumes are promised, on the Jewish foundations of Christianity and on the convergence of modern Christianity and Judaism. "Jewish influence", or "Judaizing", in his use of words, includes the Hebrew studies of Christian scholars, the recourse to the authority of the Bible (of which the Old Testament has always been an integral part) by sects and parties that fell out with ecclesiastical orthodoxy or supremacy, the doctrine and order of the Protestant reformers, and the Old Testament type of Puritan religiousness.

On these and many other subjects (including the Inquisition) he has accumulated a mass of information, not always relevant and not remarkably accurate. The volume is an instructive illustration of the kind of "research" that can be done by the aid of card catalogues and bibliographies without any substantial capital of learning, and of what happens when it is done in that way.

For exemplification we may take the "investigation" (pp. 511-609) of Servetus, "anti-Trinitarian Judaizer", "the foremost figure in the early years of the modern anti-Trinitarian or Unitarian movement".¹

By a flagrant anachronism (p. 522) Servetus is said to have gone "beyond even the current Socinianism". Now, Servetus published his *De Trinitatis Erroribus* in 1531,² and the *Dialogi de Trinitate* in 1532, seven or eight years before Faustus Socinus was born (1539); the latter was a boy of fourteen when Servetus was burned (1553). The doctrines which long after became current under the name Socinian diametrically contradict the position of Servetus on the nature of Christ's sonship. The Racovian catechism expressly rejects it as *merum humanum commentum*.

Servetus's theories of the constitution of the Godhead are not easy to define. Even an intelligent misunderstanding of them requires more than a superficial acquaintance with the transient phase of philosophy to which he was addicted, and a first-hand knowledge of the history of doctrine, heresy, and controversy, from the Fathers to the Reformers. But on the

¹ See also p. 608 f.

² On the same page we are told that "the book was disseminated widely in Italy where Laelius and Faustus Socinus doubtless perused it".

crucial issue between Christianity and Judaism, the deity of Christ, there is no room for misunderstanding.

The *Restitutio* begins with three fundamental propositions: 1, "Hic [sc. the Jesus of the Gospel narrative, 'the man who was flogged and scourged'] est Jesus Christus"; 2, "Hic est filius Dei"; 3, "Hic est Deus". How literally he means these words is shown by such amplification as, "Christus vero est naturali nativitate Deus, naturaliter genitus de substantia Dei" (p. 16);³ or, "Dicitur vere Deus, substantialiter Deus, cum in eo sit deitas corporaliter" (p. 14). Silence is eloquent when nowhere in this hundred-page "investigation" of Servetus does Dr. Newman give the smallest intimation of the contention of Servetus, consistently maintained and passionately affirmed, that Jesus Christ was God. He was convinced that by his conception of the nature of Christ's sonship he was establishing the complete deity of Jesus Christ against the "trinitarians" who made him only an incarnation of one of the "Persons" of their Trinity, and restoring the primitive and true doctrine of the Trinity.⁴ He quotes Augustine:⁵ "Genuit Maria, non genuit filium Dei, genuit filium hominis", and exclaims, "Horresco ad hanc blasphemiam, quod Maria non genuerit filium Dei". By an incomprehensible mis-translation of this passage Dr. Newman extracts from it that Servetus "does not shrink from a condemnation of the doctrine of the Virgin Birth as blasphemy" (p. 601)! This is not the only place where Dr. Newman flounders in the most elementary of Latin. Servetus writes: "Ut hodie Judaeos et Muhammetanos pluries seipsos baptizantes [performing frequent ritual ablutions]⁶ videmus"; Newman renders: "We see today many Jews and Mohammedans becoming baptized" (p. 514),⁷ and learns from it "that Servetus was aware of Jewish and Moorish conversions to Christianity". The quotations in the foot-notes swarm with transcriptional and typographical blunders. Evidently, in this university publication, the proofs were at no stage read by anyone who knows the Latin language.

Errors in what are politely assumed to be matters of common historical knowledge are numerous, frequently ludicrous, and sometimes imaginatively elaborated. The first printed Septuagint (1518), from the famous press founded by Aldus Manutius in Venice, becomes "a Greek Bible published at Aldine in 1518" (p. 461). The following is more recondite: "In the national sanctuary, at Caroccio [*sic*], there was an imitation of the Ark of the Covenant with Christian emblems. White oxen drew the Ark", etc. (p. 243). It is not quite so innocent when the well-known passage in the preface to the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes, comparing the Vulgate in the middle column on the page, with the Septua-

³ *Substantia* in its ordinary non-metaphysical sense.

⁴ See especially the *Apologia ad Philippum Melancthonem*.

⁵ This quotation, for which Newman gives no reference, is in *Restitutio*, p. 39.

⁶ The context is clear (*Restitutio*, p. 530).

⁷ Cf. p. 527!

gint of the Greek Church on one side and the Hebrew of the Synagogue on the other, to Christ between the two thieves, is declared to be "part of a general campaign by certain illiterate and suspicious monks to arrest the growth of the Hebraic movement"! (p. 94).

Finally, there are not a few slips in matters of specifically Jewish learning, as in the attribution of the Targum on the Psalms to Onkelos (p. 556); or "Rabbi Nathan's" Hebrew Bible (p. 100); there is a nest of them on page 92.

There is a full, and so far as I have had occasion to use it, satisfactory index.

GEORGE F. MOORE.

Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction. By JAMES ARTHUR MULLER, Ph.D., Professor of Church History, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xvi, 429. \$4.00.)

It is rather surprising that Stephen Gardiner has had to wait so long for a biographer. He was, after Wolsey and Cromwell, the most important personage in the political retinue of Henry VIII. and during the closing years of Henry's life the most influential man in England. Though he suffered a temporary eclipse under Edward VI. he stepped at once, upon Mary's accession, from the Tower to the highest place in the gift of the crown and, so long as he lived, was her prime minister. Unless we except Laud he was the last of the great English ecclesiastical statesmen. The son of a cloth-maker of Bury St. Edmunds, he became in his time a doctor of both laws, a principal secretary, a bishop of Winchester, an ambassador to France, and ultimately a lord chancellor. In addition to all these he had a witty and engaging personality and showed a mastery of colloquial English greater perhaps than that of any sixteenth-century statesman. And yet up to this time nothing more pretentious in the way of a biography of him has appeared than Dr. James Gairdner's brief account in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and Mr. Mullinger's sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Dr. Muller has done much to make good the deficiency, so much that one could wish he had done more. He has drawn a very attractive and convincing picture of Gardiner's character. He has explained, it may almost be conceded that he has justified, Gardiner's religious position throughout the various changes in the official creed which lay between Henry's famous divorce case and the return of England to the Roman fold under Mary. It would perhaps be demanding too much of him to demand much more in the space to which he has limited himself or to which his publishers have limited him. But it is questionable if an adequate biography of a man so intricately involved in so many complicated situations can be set forth in a little over three hundred pages.

Gardiner's religion was very likely the most important matter in his career, but it was by no means the whole story. Students of political institutions will naturally turn to his biography for information upon the compass of his functions as principal secretary, as privy councillor, as chief of the conservative faction in the House of Lords. He happened to occupy all of these positions at a very obscure yet very important period of their development. But Dr. Muller ignores all considerations of this sort. He is also quite distressingly brief on foreign affairs. In his last chapter he asks us to believe that Gardiner was a "diplomat of unrivalled knowledge of Continental politics, and Continental personages", but there is little in the book itself to substantiate this conclusion. So too he pronounces Gardiner "a party chief skilled in all the Tudor methods of marshalling majorities", but we are told little about his partizans and nothing at all about his technique. If the facts are at hand to establish the generalization Dr. Muller should have set them forth. Not enough is known about party chiefs and the marshalling of majorities under the Tudors to justify the suppression of any morsel of pertinent data.

Of Gardiner's private life, of his relation to contemporary art and letters, or of his attitude toward some of the outstanding economic problems of his time, such as the carrying trade and the enclosure movement, Dr. Muller says little or nothing. It is doubtless a good deal easier to ask questions about such matters than it is to answer them, but one does not feel sure that Dr. Muller has seriously considered their importance. The book gives the impression of having been written around Gardiner's surviving letters and papers and of having ignored or slighted all those matters to which these letters and papers do not allude. There is, however, no lack of evidence of careful and painstaking workmanship. The foot-notes, discreetly removed from the view of the casual reader, are scholarly; the bibliography is useful, and the list of Gardiner's extant writings valuable. We can not be persuaded that Dr. Muller has exhausted the possibilities of his subject, but he is evidently well qualified to do so if time and grace be given him.

CONYERS READ.

La Mère des Guises, Antoinette de Bourbon, 1494-1583. Par GABRIEL DE PIMODAN. Nouvelle édition. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1925. Pp. iii, 426. 20 fr.)

THIS is a second edition of a book published in 1889. The occasion of the new edition was the death of the author, the Marquis de Pimodan, Duc de Rarecourt Pimodan, a descendant of Antoinette de Bourbon. He lived on his estates in Lorraine, serving as mayor of his village and representative of his canton in the Conseil Général for thirty-five years. During that time he published eight volumes of poetry, four volumes on historical subjects, a novel, and a drama in verse.

This work is extremely well documented; an appendix prints 28 unpublished letters from Antoinette de Bourbon and 45 addressed to her, besides a number of other *pièces justificatives*. The book itself gives, in 250 pages, a strong picture of the life of the mother and grandmother of two men who played large parts in the bloody drama of the last forty years of the sixteenth century in France.

The picture which the author gives of the life of a princess of Joinville and a duchess of Guise is drawn with a loving hand, as for example, "Good seigneurs like the Guises found none but sympathetic populations grateful for the good they did, there was no jealousy of them, nay more the vassals of the Guises were proud to have for seigneurs such great princes". "They lived happily in submission to paternal authority."

At Joinville, Antoinette de Bourbon and Claude de Guise "led a life almost royal". "The Duke's ambition was to have the finest stables in the world, and there were in them never less than a hundred to six-score horses." And it became a riding school for poor young nobles. In the surrounding forest the duke hunted and flew his hawks, presiding afterwards at dinner served at seven large tables. Music for social and religious ceremonies was furnished by four choristers and four musicians. To look after the health of the household the duke had two physicians, a surgeon, and an apothecary. For his personal service he had three secretaries, six valets, a barber, an usher, a glovemaking, and a hacquebutier to keep the arms in order. So it is not astonishing that, without counting the maids of his wife, he paid wages to a household of more than a hundred.

Out of this luxurious and splendid household came Francis of Guise, one of the great generals of France—though the author seems unaware of the unquestionable evidence that the king was really responsible for the capture of Calais and the duke an unwilling agent of the strategy of his master.

The book makes plain the hereditary religious feeling of the house. The mother-in-law of Antoinette entered a convent and her religion was of that hard character which was to fill France with intermittent bloodshed for forty years.

When the insurgent peasants crossed the Rhine in 1525 to spread the cause of "the Justice of God" into Lorraine, the princess nun thus addressed her sons, "Hurry, cut, slash, crush all who oppose your arms. . . . Do not fear to be cruel. . . . Heresy is like gangrene, it must be treated with iron or fire". Does not one seem to be reading Luther, "Against the Thievish, Murderous Hordes of Peasants"?

PAUL VAN DYKE.

The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834. By HOSEA BALLOU MORSE, LL.D. Four volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xxi, 305; vii, 435; 388; 426. 70 s.)

OCCIDENTAL students of China have for the past several years been the grateful debtors of Dr. Morse for his *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*. The three volumes of that excellent work narrate the story of the relations between the government of China and the governments of Western countries from the abolition of the East India Company's official monopoly of British trade with China (1834) through the downfall of the Manchu dynasty (1911). The four volumes of this new work carry the story one stage—and a long stage—farther back. The new work is, however, quite different from the earlier one. It does not attempt to present a narrative based upon an examination of all the important material on the subject, but is frankly a summary of the records of the East India Company as these are preserved in the India Office. These records are full and their only important gaps are 1705-1711, 1743-1744, 1748, 1752, and 1754-1774. Dr. Morse gives many of the documents *in extenso*, some of them in the body of the text, and others in appendixes. For the most part, however, he has summarized them, making of them what is rightly called in the title a chronicle. There are almost no references to other material than that contained in the records. There is, moreover, little attempt to weave the abundant information into an orderly and readable narrative: the volumes are a chronological compilation. They are, therefore, not for the general reader. They contain, however, a mine of information on the intercourse of Western peoples with China during the two centuries which they cover. They are, naturally, concerned chiefly with British trade. The kind and the amount of imports and exports, the names, by years, of the company's ships in the China trade, and the organization of the British at Canton for the conduct of the commerce, are detailed very fully. There is, too, ample material for the institutions which the Chinese developed for the conduct of the commerce, the lordly *Hoppo*, with his superintendency of trade, the steps by which there came into existence the *co-hong*, the guild of merchants to which was given the monopoly of foreign commerce at Canton, and the various regulations under which that commerce was conducted. Much light, too, is shed on the trade of other countries with China. Especially is this true of that of America, and while no great alteration is made in the story as we already know it—as it is found, for example, in the reviewer's monograph on early relations between the United States and China—there is much corroborative material, for in the later years of the East India Company's intercourse with China Americans were important competitors and it was the inroads of these energetic seafarers upon British commerce which provided the critics of the company with one of their arguments for the abolition of its monopoly. There is, too,

much information on the attempts of the British to establish diplomatic relations with China, a number of documents being given in full on both the Macartney and the Amherst embassies. There appear prominently, too, the conditions which helped to bring on the first two wars between Great Britain and China and the treaties of 1842 and 1858-1860. Chinese and British ideas of justice were different, the Chinese contending that the entire group of British traders, or at least their head men, should be held responsible for any injury to a Chinese, even when that was accidental, and that for every life taken a life should be exacted, and the British holding for individual responsibility and differentiating between injuries purposeful and accidental. Conflicts were, accordingly, very frequent; trade often suffered, to the loss of both peoples, and when the treaties were negotiated extraterritoriality seemed to both parties to promise relief. One finds, too, expressed quite early the wish that the British seize or be given possession of some island off the southern coast where they would be free from many of the annoyances to which they were subjected at Canton, a suggestion which bore fruit later in the cession of Hong Kong.

The mechanics of the volumes leave little to be desired. The print is clear, the binding good, there are interesting illustrations from contemporary paintings and drawings, and there is a very full index. For many years to come the work will be standard for purposes of reference and research.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

The Letters of Queen Victoria. Second series. A Selection from her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal between the Years 1862 and 1878. Two volumes. Edited by GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE. (London: John Murray; New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1926. Pp. xxv, 637; xii, 690. £ 2 12 s. 6 d.)

THE peculiar interest attaching to these letters becomes at once apparent as one realizes that during the sixteen years which they cover, years in which the British government was dealing with problems of the very deepest significance in domestic, imperial, and foreign affairs, the personal influence of the queen must have been at its height. Not only was she thrown on her own resources by Prince Albert's death, but her natural inclination to play a real part in the conduct of affairs was strengthened by a determination to live out the voluminous "gospel" which the prince had left behind. This determination was rooted both in a firm belief that the gospel offered the last word in political wisdom, and in a superstitious feeling (clearly fostered by Uncle Leopold) that the happiness of the "beloved Angel" might be affected by the extent to which his policies were carried out. The somewhat neurotic condition which the skeptical will deduce from this state of mind—a condition aggravated if not

engendered by agonizing grief and unflagging attention to affairs of state—persisted for several years in a painful and pathetic form. "I feel", she wrote, in June, 1863, "like a poor hunted hare"! Yet it enabled her to claim in the fullest degree all the advantages derivable from feminine weakness, and operated as a limitation upon the activities of her advisers rather than upon her own. In particular it drove her to a seclusion which, on the one hand, imposed delay upon her ministers by keeping them and their state papers constantly on the roads to Windsor, Osborne, and Balmoral, and, on the other, gave her time for studying and intervening in matters which her advisers would usually have preferred to settle for themselves. Again, whatever her private sense of loss, the weakness and loneliness of which she incessantly complained are not observable in her public life. Her faculties, well drilled and well matured, were unimpaired by age; old friends of the prince, such as Granville, stood ready to serve her in a sense only too personal; while the marriages of her children were still enlarging the circle of Continental royalties with whom she could carry on "private" correspondence. And certainly she was strong in her convictions as to her functions and abilities. "Her Majesty", wrote Disraeli, in February, 1867, after a discussion on cabinet reorganization, "said that in her present state of health she really had neither inclination nor energy sufficient to educate boys for such offices as War and Admiralty". But no lack either of inclination or of energy appeared when the "education" of a prime minister or foreign secretary seemed requisite.

The letters covering the queen's ceaseless contests with her leading ministers show that the working of the cabinet system still conformed rather less to theory than has sometimes been supposed. For example, in Palmerston's last Cabinet Granville seems to have acted as the servant and agent of the queen, sending her confidential reports on the proceedings and divisions of opinion in the Cabinet, and on the positions assumed by individual ministers; advising her as to the best means of dealing with his chief; and receiving her suggestions as to the tactics that her sympathizers should pursue. Yet both he and his mistress might have pleaded in justification the tendency of Palmerston and Russell, "those two dreadful old men", to commit the country to measures which neither the Cabinet nor Parliament would have been willing to approve. No doubt, too, they felt some of the justification that men derive from success, especially in connection with the Schleswig-Holstein war. The queen, while conscientiously deprecating, as the "great Prince" had taught her to do, the grateful congratulations of her English and German friends on what was believed to be her personal success in keeping England aloof from the war, could not resist patting herself a little on the back. "It IS satisfactory", she wrote King Leopold in June, 1864, "to see that my *efforts* were not unavailing."

Fortunately, perhaps, the queen's opportunities for such self-congratulation were infrequent, and scarcely arose at all in connection with anything outside the field of diplomacy. Indeed one feels that she failed, through rigid conservatism and through lack of insight, to obtain even such influence as she might properly have had in domestic and imperial affairs. How far she lived behind her times is shown in such incidents as her suggestion that the proper way of dealing with the Fenian disturbances was through the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the severe reproof of the Archbishop of Canterbury for encouraging the conversion of the Scots to Anglicanism. How little she cared to concern herself with current domestic politics unconnected with the army or the Church is apparent in her confessed lack of knowledge or conviction even on the matter of parliamentary reform. Her activity in matters military and ecclesiastical is an old story; but these letters supply us with some half-comic and half-pathetic instances of the considerations governing the choice of England's spiritual leaders. Outstanding is Disraeli's apparently sincere objection to the appointment of Archbishop Tait as a man possessed of "a strange fund of enthusiasm, a quality which ought never to be possessed by an Archbishop of Canterbury". For all this it would be a mistake to assume that these volumes are not of value for the study of developments at home and in the colonies. For the queen was constantly working to secure ministerial stability, and to allay the growing feeling in the Commons against the Lords; while her advisers kept her copiously supplied with information and advice on matters for which she cared little if at all.

But the interest of most readers will centre, as did that of the queen herself, on the documents dealing with foreign affairs. Those relating to years for which the Record Office papers have not been (till very recently) available supply many a stone to fill out the half-completed mosaic with which we have had to content ourselves so far; and even for the earlier years the pictures are decidedly enriched. As for Queen Victoria, it may be said that her foreign policy in general stands the test of examination rather well. True, she had at times to be curbed or spurred, as at others she curbed or spurred her ministers: true, she could view German or Italian unification only from the standpoint of the dispossessed minor royalties. But, blind as she was to the movements of her time, biassed, impressionable, and passionate withal, she none the less followed the main lines of policy that tradition and experience had long marked out. Peace and non-intervention save where the interests of the nation were obviously concerned; support of European equilibrium and opposition to encroachments on the Low Countries or the routes to India; principles of this tried and well-worn sort were the main determinants of her policy. And, when aroused by the threatened violation of such principles, capitals and italics could hardly suffice to express the queen's readiness to fight. "Though *all* the *other* POWERS should stand *aloof*", she wrote,

in April, 1867, when Belgium seemed in danger, "England in such a case MUST NOT stand aloof."

Finally it must be noted that the panorama from Windsor's round tower embraces a good deal of Continental landscape. A number of letters from the Crown Princess Victoria and other Prussian royalties give freshly colored pictures of persons and conditions at the focussing point of European politics. None of these pictures is more intriguing than that of the princess herself in her relations with Bismarck, "the wicked man". Now she is reviling him, now declaring him a "myth" (this in December, 1877), and now acting as his mouthpiece. She is impatient of suggestions that the Chancellor, in suggesting England's seizure of Egypt, has any *arrière-pensée*.

The editing is admirable. The task of making, from the vast accumulation of papers at Windsor, a selection which would mirror in faithful proportion the developments of the day, and enrich, without too greatly overlapping, the mass of documents already accessible in print, was clearly no easy one. But Mr. Buckle's volumes hold, edify, and amuse the reader from end to end. The picture of the Queen of England, unwillingly embarked from Osborne on a windy day, conferring on a very sea-sick Sultan (later to be associated with "Bulgarian atrocities") that highest award for Christian chivalry, the treasured Garter, will do all three. No doubt Abdul Aziz, forgetting for the moment certain recent Gallic blandishments, which were forgotten neither at Osborne nor at Downing Street, felt himself, as on a previous occasion, "*touché jusqu'aux larmes*".

HERBERT C. BELL.

Die Rheinpolitik Kaiser Napoleons III. von 1863 bis 1870 und der Ursprung des Krieges von 1870-1871. Von HERMANN ONCKEN.

Three volumes. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1926.

Pp. xix, 121, 382; 591; 550. 45 M.)

THIS is a capital contribution to historical knowledge. Apart from the great and still unfinished French official publication, *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871*, nothing has yet appeared of equal importance for the study of the international politics of the decade preceding the Franco-German War. For these three volumes consist of a rich collection of documents bearing upon the policy of Napoleon III. towards Germany from February, 1863, down to August, 1870, taken from the Prussian, Austrian, Bavarian, Württemberg, and Baden archives, and from certain unpublished memoirs and diaries. It is above all the correspondence of the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors at Paris that has been most copiously drawn upon; and in view of Napoleon III.'s inveterate habit of carrying on his most important negotiations behind the backs of his own ministers by direct dealings with foreign diplomats, and in view of the exceptional intimacy and confidence which both he and the empress at times accorded to Count Goltz, the Prussian representative, or

Prince Metternich, the Austrian ambassador, the reports of these diplomats may be said to outrank in importance, for the understanding of the emperor's policy, the correspondence of the French Foreign Office as given in *Les Origines Diplomatiques*.

This is decidedly a work with a thesis. This fact comes to light in the choice of the documents to be printed or to be omitted; in the critical foot-notes; in the titles of the sections into which the work is divided; above all in the narrative of 121 pages in the first volume, which attempts to set forth the conclusions to be drawn from the new materials. The thesis is, in brief, that the grand goal of the foreign policy of Napoleon III. was always to steal as much as possible of the German Rhinelands. Far from being the man of generous and disinterested international ideals, the doctrinaire and even quixotic champion of the principle of nationality, the emperor merely continued under an altered form the classic policy of Richelieu, Louis XIV., the Convention, and the first Napoleon, with the triple aim of winning the Rhine frontier, keeping Germany divided and helpless, and thus establishing the French hegemony over the Continent. Behind all the mask of pompous, humanitarian phrases, amidst all the changes of his restless and to contemporaries unfathomable policy, the emperor "thought only of how, by what new means adapted to the circumstances of the time, he could most surely approach this goal". Napoleon's aggressive and perfidious policy, his perpetual plots against a peaceful and inoffensive neighboring nation were the real causes of the War of 1870 and of the revival of that Franco-German antagonism which has ever since had such fateful consequences for the peace of the world.

This view marks a reaction to a conception of Napoleon III. which was very widespread sixty years ago but which in recent times has seemed pretty well abandoned. It goes far beyond the position even of Bismarck's official historiographer, Heinrich von Sybel, who threw the blame for the events of 1870 more upon the French people than upon their ruler. It stands in sharpest contrast to the view of Émile Ollivier that, except in some moments of panic and aberration towards the close of the reign, the foreign policy of Napoleon III. was supremely disinterested; that on the northeast he would have desired for France, at the most, a slight rectification of the frontier imposed upon her by her enemies in 1815 (the recovery, *e.g.*, of the boundaries of 1814); that as to the Rhine frontier, "he never thought of it". We have to do, then, with a set of documents selected to prove an extreme thesis, and, it must be added, with an editor who combines a total blindness to the blemishes on the German side of the record with an attitude towards everything French that shows only too clearly the effects of the late war.

The documents here published begin with the Polish crisis of 1863, which for the first time gives Professor Oncken a chance to indict Napoleon for the crime of *lèse-Allemagne*. Prince Metternich's now famous

reports relating the assuredly astonishing overtures which he received at that time from Napoleon and Eugénie are printed more fully than ever before; but it is hard to agree with the editor in believing that Napoleon cared nothing whatever about the Polish cause but was driven into intervention solely by lust for the German Rhine. The Schleswig-Holstein crisis is passed over very briefly, as furnishing little incriminating evidence, nor is there much that is new here in regard to Gastein or Biarritz. It is characteristic that Professor Oncken has the courage to believe that Bismarck reported to his king the whole truth about his dealings with Napoleon at Biarritz, and that he brands as "legends" the stories about Bismarck's insidious offers to the emperor at that time (Belgium, Luxembourg, or French Switzerland), although most people will probably continue to hold just the contrary of both these opinions.

The documents become more copious from the time when the clash between the two great German powers grew imminent and, in the face of an anxious or excited public opinion in France, Napoleon was forced to adopt a more active policy in the German question. On the events of 1866 the materials here printed are extraordinarily interesting: especially on Napoleon's dealings with Austria on the eve of the war, on those unofficial proposals for a Franco-Prusso-Italian alliance (emanating from Prince Jerome Napoleon and his circle) of which Bismarck tried to make capital in 1870, and on the negotiations between Napoleon and Goltz during the weeks after Sadowa by which the new status of central Europe took shape and Bismarck's triumph was sealed. Even more interesting, however, are the documents that fill most of Oncken's second volume, bearing upon Napoleon's three subsequent attempts to gain "compensations" for France to offset the enormous gains of Prussia. The genesis of the famous "Benedetti Treaty" may be said to be fully revealed, now that the evidence of the *Origines Diplomatiques* and the Cerçay papers is supplemented by the Prussian official correspondence. The new documents show, notably, that after the rejection of the first French demand for compensation (on the Rhine) it was Bismarck himself and Goltz who pointed the French to Belgium and Luxembourg, as they had done many times already in the past; so that it was scarcely an exaggeration if the French later maintained that this ill-fated project for a secret treaty was "at least as much Bismarck's work as Benedetti's".

But probably the most valuable portion of the work is that which deals with the Franco-Austro-Italian alliance negotiations of 1867-1870. Approximately five hundred pages of documents are given bearing upon this subject, which down to only a few years ago was still shrouded in mystery. On the circumstances leading immediately to the outbreak of war in 1870, on the other hand, Oncken offers little of much interest, except some highly colored reports of Metternich from Paris, which are indeed pretty damaging to the reputation of Napoleon, Gramont, and Ollivier, but which may not necessarily represent the last word in the interpretation of their conduct.

These volumes suffer from all too frequent inaccuracy in the reproduction of texts, especially those in the French language, an inaccuracy that sometimes produces comic results, as when (I. 27) Drouyn de Lhuys is made to hail the envoy of victorious Prussia with the words, "Vous êtes couvert de lanciers" (obviously "lauriers"). The editor's narrative and his critical comments are likewise often inaccurate about facts: on occasion he even manages to state just the opposite of the truth, as when he says (I. 20) that "Bismarck Ende Dezember 1863 aus dem Abgesandten des Kaisers, General Fleury, das Stichwort der Rheinlande herausgelockt hatte". The whole plan of this work, moreover, may be criticized on the ground that the editor has not offered all the important documents available to him that might illustrate Napoleon's German or Rhenish policy, but only those documents that might seem to fit in with his thesis about Napoleon's hankerings for the German Rhine or his evil designs towards Germany in general. The basis of selection seems decidedly arbitrary. If all the documents relating to the Franco-Austro-Italian alliance negotiations are pertinent, why are not all the documents relating to the Hohenzollern candidacy for the throne of Spain (a subject very much minimized here)? In general, it seems impossible to agree with the author's claim to have discovered the true key to Napoleon's foreign policy and to have brought the question about the origins of the War of 1870 to a final conclusion. No really adequate interpretation of the aims of Napoleon's foreign policy can be gained without a study of the first as well as of the second decade of his reign; without considering, in the period treated in this work, the totality of his foreign relations (as is done in the *Origines Diplomatiques*) and not merely certain aspects of his relations with Germany; without considering also those sides of the picture that are, one might almost say, studiously neglected in this work, namely, Bismarck's long series of insidious overtures, traps, and provocations towards France. In short, the three volumes here under consideration contain a mine of extraordinarily rich historical material, much of which has hitherto not been utilized; they throw light on a host of diplomatic transactions of that momentous decade; they can scarcely fail to impair the more favorable conception of Napoleon III. which has developed in recent years; but it will remain for more objective historians to strike a just balance between the equally exaggerated views of writers like Oncken on the one side and Ollivier on the other.

R. H. LORD.

Life and Letters of W. T. Stead. By FREDERIC WHYTE. Two volumes. (London: Jonathan Cape; New York and Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1925. Pp. 345, 368. 36 s.)

WILLIAM THOMAS STEAD was the most distinguished of the many well-known victims of the *Titanic* disaster of April, 1912. For younger people, throughout the English-speaking world, modern history began

with the events of the summer of 1914. It is only those who were of mature years, participating to some extent in the intellectual and social life of the two or three decades preceding the Great War, who can possibly realize how stormily Stead was waging "War against War" and "fighting for peace", while he was the chief journalistic apostle of Britain's supreme naval power, and the man who above all others proclaimed the gospel of a world redeemed through the prevailing influence of the English-speaking race.

It was from Mr. Stead that Cecil Rhodes had caught the vision of a vast South African extension of the areas "painted British red", and ruled under the superior principles and methods of the British colonial system. And it was largely due to Mr. Stead's influence that Andrew Carnegie built the Peace Palace at the Hague in the ardent hope that the threatened Great War might be averted by the adoption of arbitration and armament reduction, with the gradual evolution of a United States of Europe.

W. T. Stead was the son of a Congregational minister in the north of England and entered provincial journalism while in his teens. He was intensely religious in a personal way, and in politics he belonged to the radical wing of the Liberal party. With burning convictions and unquenchable ardor, he supported the Gladstonian crusades against Lord Beaconsfield and the Tories, in the period of the Bulgarian atrocities, the Russo-Turkish War, and the Congress of Berlin. John Morley was editing the *Pall Mall Gazette*, at that time the most notable afternoon London newspaper. An assistant editor was needed, and Stead, who had now made his reputation as a brilliant writer on the *Northern Echo* at Darlington near Newcastle-on-Tyne, was offered the position. He came to London in 1880, aged thirty-one; and he and Morley together conducted what was undoubtedly the most influential paper in the United Kingdom. Mr. Morley left journalism three or four years later to enter upon his eminent career in Parliament, and Mr. Stead was made editor-in-chief.

Although journalism supplied the agency through which he sought to influence public opinion, Stead was always the political and moral crusader rather than the vendor of news, the interpreter of events, or the mere supporter of party policies.

While editing the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Stead wrote a series of articles called "The Truth about the Navy". He created a violent agitation in Admiralty circles and in Parliament, and the episode led to important practical improvements that will have given the editor a permanent place in naval history. At the instance of General Booth and the leaders of the Salvation Army, the *Pall Mall Gazette* was used by Mr. Stead to expose the white slave traffic; and this crusade, although extremely sensational and bitterly controversial in its details, was of world-wide consequence in its effects upon domestic legislation and upon international efforts to abate a serious evil.

In that period Mr. Stead was known as "pro-Russian". He had great sympathy for the efforts of the Russian people to find safe paths of transition from inherited absolutism to modern freedom. As his first personal venture in Continental experience, he went to St. Petersburg and succeeded in interviewing the tsar. His letters from Russia, appearing in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, also took book form. He remained warmly pro-Russian in his attitude during the rest of his life.

Disagreement with the owner of the *Pall Mall Gazette*—who was not in sympathy with the crusading campaigns of the editor, and with what seemed to be utter lack of prudence from the standpoint of the newspaper's business office—led to Mr. Stead's abrupt resignation. He had formed the idea of a monthly periodical which should be largely devoted to his own writing upon contemporary affairs, while also summarizing for his readers the views that were finding expression in other periodicals, particularly those of foreign countries. At that time there was much less space given in newspapers to international news than has been the case since the Great War; and the new periodical, which made its appearance at the beginning of 1890 and was called the *Review of Reviews*, was an immediate success.

Mr. Stead at once encouraged and promoted the founding of an *American Review of Reviews*, which, however, after a year or two of more complete co-operation, adopted a wholly independent course, although maintaining a certain relationship with its English contemporary. After a year or two, the English *Review of Reviews* became rather the organ of Mr. Stead's personal views and active interests than the impartial exponent of world discussion. But it throbbed with vitality, and it never lacked human interest, though frequently controversial, and relentless in its antagonisms.

The authorized biography of W. T. Stead appears in two ample volumes, edited, compiled, and written by Frederic Whyte. The work has been done diligently and with intelligence. It is admirably well balanced and impartial in its attempt to portray the character and the relationships of an altogether extraordinary personality. It is plain, however, that Mr. Whyte has been overburdened by a mass of available material. For forty years Stead had expressed himself constantly in print. And when he was not writing for publication he was engaged in correspondence of a significant sort with public and private persons in many countries, so that hundreds of thousands of letters came under Mr. Whyte's editorial surveillance.

This was the same kind of task that John Morley encountered in writing the *Life* of Gladstone. In that case, however, William Stead, jr., the eldest son of W. T. Stead, had spent two or three years in doing the preliminary sifting and sorting for Mr. Morley. Conscientious biographers of Theodore Roosevelt, in like manner, have the same experience. They are baffled by the mountainous areas of highly pertinent data. Mr.

Whyte does not belong to the new cult of biography led by the facile and charming Strachey, who is followed vainly by crowds of impudent and fatuous scribblers. The present author has made a solid and enduring contribution to the literature that deals with the personalities and topics prominent in British life, during the period of twenty years preceding the Boer War with the dozen years that followed it.

The various estimates of Mr. Stead that are compiled by Mr. Whyte are rather contradictory and confusing. Having acquitted himself of this effort, so largely documentary, Mr. Whyte could doubtless after an interval of three or four years disregard the evidence in the case, abstain from quoting miscellaneous obituary judgments, and write a convincing and readable biography of W. T. Stead in brief chapters entirely apart from the Stead letter-books, the files of newspapers and periodicals, and the accumulated opinions of friends and enemies.

While the parallelism was not very close, it may be well to suggest to American readers that the career of Stead in England as journalist, reformer, and man of innumerable vagaries bore resemblance in several ways to that of Horace Greeley, whose tragic death in the presidential campaign of 1872 occurred when Stead—a youth of twenty-two—was beginning to attract the attention of journalists in Newcastle and Leeds by the articles he was contributing to the Darlington paper of which he was soon afterwards to become the editor. As a journalist, Stead was the leader in England in adopting what were called American methods. He believed in the sensational appeal, although in subject-matter and in motive he was serious enough. It was his influence as interviewer and journalist that sent Gordon to Khartum, and that achieved many other things noteworthy in their day. That he was a man of genius, of unlimited courage, of abounding faith in moral forces and spiritual destinies, and of an ever-impelling vision of a world made safer and better for all nations, there can be no doubt whatsoever.

ALBERT SHAW.

Bismarck und die Einkreisung Deutschlands. Band II. *Das Französisch-Russische Bündnis.* Von OTTO BECKER. (Berlin: Carl Heymann. 1925. Pp. xx, 316. 15 M.)

THIS second volume of Dr. Becker's series illustrates in their fullest development the characteristics impressed upon the writing of German diplomatic history by the war and its outcome. In the controversy over the question of what faults in German diplomacy contributed to the catastrophe, Becker is ranged with the most orthodox Bismarckian faction, holding that the original sin was committed by the first chancellor's successors in discontinuing his Reinsurance Treaty with Russia. Had this pact been renewed while the Russians were still willing to prolong it, which is the principal thesis of this book, the Franco-Russian alliance would have been at least indefinitely postponed. In the scale of errors

leading up to Germany's encirclement, the rejection of England's advances is given only second place to this failure.

Following the eulogistic *Bismarcks Bündnispolitik* (1923), maintaining that the treaty with Russia was the cornerstone of Bismarck's policy, this volume covers the period of Caprivi's administration. To strengthen its conclusions the author has combed the Austrian archives and the published sources and secondary works in German, though paying scant attention to those in other languages. The result is an account which weaves each incident related and each document cited into a wearisomely bitter indictment of the "New Course". The general impression made by it is that a case set up by such involved argument can not be incontestable.

Without attempting here to follow all the ramifications of this argument, one may venture to remark that Germany's relations with Russia were bound to be affected in some degree by the facts as to her treatment of Russia's interests. And it can hardly be maintained that Russian interests in the Near East had prospered during the treaty's life. Becker does not strengthen his case by showing that the Russian government's willingness to prolong the treaty was in great part due to its renunciation of former aims in Bulgaria as a reaction to its recent setback there, leading it to divert the country's expansive energies toward the Far East. The need of foreign loans to prosecute such enterprises was bound, since Bismarck's closure of the German market, to drive Russia into closer relations with France. Moreover, as later developments showed, Russia's Asiatic venture could not permanently dispense Germany from facing the problem of her real attitude toward the clash of Russia's interests with those of Austria and England over the Balkan Peninsula and the Straits. What, in Becker's opinion, this attitude should have been is indicated in a sentence of super-Bismarckian Machiavellism: "Germany had good reason for encouraging Russia by a treaty into a snatch at the key to her empire; for such a snatch would afford us an excellent opportunity to take up with England the rounding out of our African possessions" (p. 80). The question *qui trompe-t-on ici?* arises with a vengeance! Becker further recurs to his theory of Bismarck's solution of the problem, advanced in his earlier volume, which consists in letting Russia have the Bosphorus, and England the Dardanelles (pp. 266-268). By this ingenious device he triumphantly reconciles the Reinsurance Treaty with the Anglo-Austro-Italian accord of 1887 and absolves Bismarck of the charge that, by the latter accomplishment, he "took away from the Russians with one hand what he had given them with the other" (p. 4). The consideration of how the other powers concerned would react to such a policy seems hardly to enter the author's restricted nationalistic field of view. The success of a "policy of exploitation of existing differences", as he aptly characterizes Bismarck's system (p. 189), however masked by inconsistent treaties, must be somewhat limited by the complaisance of its dupes.

The foregoing remarks are by no means to be taken as a condemnation of the work under review or of the spirit in which it is written. In its field, for some time to come, the controversial method not only is inevitable, but possesses certain advantages. While Becker falls short of providing the "standard work" on German foreign policy, with which he is credited by an admiring reviewer, he has made, by his industry and acuteness of observation, an important contribution toward the eventual sound historical treatment of the subject.

J. V. FULLER.

The Times und das Deutsch-Englische Verhältnis im Jahre 1898.

VON KARL OTTO HERKENBERG. (Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte. 1925. Pp. 143. 5 M.)

THE title of this little monograph indicates precisely the scope of the work. After a brief introduction sketching the status of the foreign relations of Great Britain in the few years immediately preceding 1898, Herr Herkenberg proceeds to outline the attitude of the *Times*, and somewhat incidentally that of the British government, principally by quoting extensively from editorials and occasionally from news-despatches, especially from those transmitted by the *Times* correspondent in Berlin. He arranges the items which are the subject of such quotations in three chronological groups. Those coming within the period from the beginning of 1898 to the middle of the summer include the German establishment at Kiau Chau, the West African question, the Chinese loan, the German naval programme, Wei-hai-wei, and the Spanish-American War. Then follow as *intermezzi* the Cretan issue, Bismarck's death, and the tsar's call for a peace conference. The events taking place from the middle of the summer to the end of the year, which are the subject of comment, include the German activities at Manila and interest in the Philippines, railroad concessions in Shantung, African questions, and the Kaiser's journey to the Near East.

Interspersed with the quotations from the *Times*, quotations which are given in the original in an appendix, are brief comments and a running sketch of affairs to link them together.

In his conclusion Herr Herkenberg sums up his impressions of the attitude and course both of the *Times* and of the British government. He decides that the seizure of Kiau Chau aroused great anxiety in Britain, an anxiety magnified by a fear that British economic interests might suffer even as far as the "rich hinterland of the Yang-tse-Yiang district". A rapprochement with Germany, sincerely desired and worked for by Chamberlain alone among the members of the government, was tentatively sought by Great Britain only as an expedient to avert possible Oriental injury and not as a lasting policy. The *Times*, Herkenberg believes, was unwilling to see anything that tended toward a real understanding, to say nothing of an alliance; whenever the government seemed

to be verging in that direction the tone of its editorials changed from the friendly attitude manifested as long as there was no too close relation. German statesmen were deceived by England's attitude and continued for a long time to think that there had been a sincere effort on the part of Great Britain to reach an understanding.

One of the most instructive portions of this book is the foreword written by Martin Spahn. Herr Spahn makes it clear that the work is one of those calculated to prove that Germany was not only not directly responsible for the war in 1914, but that no indirect war guilt can attach to her. Moreover, he brings out the fact that one may form a pretty shrewd guess as to what was going on in European chancelleries by a study of newspapers, coupled with a perusal of the utterances of public men in places of authority. He points out that the correspondence published in *Die Grosse Politik* confirms the contentions of Herkenberg, whose manuscript was prepared before the appearance of volumes XIII.-XVII., covering 1898 and the period immediately before and after that year. Spahn also makes some interesting comments on German post-war historians and writers such as Haller, Wolff, Eckardstein, Fischer, Marcks, Salomon, and Franke. Most of them, he thinks, have failed to grasp many of the essential factors of the situation.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE.

Sarajevo: a Study in the Origins of the Great War. By R. W. SETON-WATSON. (London: Hutchinson and Company. 1926. Pp. 303. 18 s.)

The Serajevo Crime. By M. EDITH DURHAM. (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1925. Pp. 208. 7 s. 6 d.)

THESE two volumes, from very different points of view, and with very different technic, supplement each other nicely, giving opposing arguments somewhere between which lies the golden truth.

Mr. Seton-Watson, long a champion of the Serbs, follows the plan, familiar during the war, of concentrating his attention on the perfidies of Berchtold and the complicity of Germany. "By deliberate action, often thought out to the smallest details, Vienna and Berlin had by 23 July created a diplomatic situation from which nothing short of a miracle could have saved Europe, and the main responsibility for the outbreak of war must therefore rest upon their shoulders" (p. 289). Of France or Russia he says very little, as they do not fall within the scope of the subject as he has chosen to treat it. Miss Durham, on the other hand, veteran and intrepid traveller in the Balkans, and a champion of the Albanians, concentrates her attention upon the Serbian provocations of Austria, the dark conspiracies of the Serbian "Black Hand" plotters, and the vengeance wreaked on them by M. Pashitch in the famous Salonika Trial of 1917. "Austria was right when stating that the threads of the crime reached to Belgrade" (p. 200).

Mr. Seton-Watson writes as a scholar and in delightful form; yet every statement is buttressed with references to documents or private conversations with Yugoslav friends. The most valuable part of his book is that in which he traces the development of the Yugoslav revolutionary movement. His contention is that it developed mainly on Hapsburg soil in large degree because of the drastic methods of Austro-Hungarian misrule, and that Serbia was therefore not largely responsible for the agitation which inspired the series of murders which culminated at Sarajevo. His contention is based on a thorough acquaintance with Yugoslav literature and on what he was told during a recent trip to Bosnia by persons who were more or less acquainted with the agitation and the crime. But is it not dangerous to give full credence to what these men say ten years after the events? Are they not likely greatly to exaggerate their own part and that of Bosnia in a movement which ultimately resulted in the creation of the Yugoslav kingdom? Most of Mr. Seton-Watson's charges against Berchtold's "perfidy" and "dishonesty" are well founded, though occasionally his zeal overshoots the mark. He is misled in thinking (pp. 207, 221, 227) that the Austrian ambassadors abroad received a copy of the Austrian Ultimatum on July 20, by supposing it was telegraphed; it was sent by courier; his picture of Count Szápáry, "with this secret explosive in his breast", talking to President Poincaré at St. Petersburg can hardly stand. To note the points in which I can not agree with his conclusions condemning Germany and exculpating Serbia would exceed the limits of this review.

Miss Durham eschews foot-notes and writes with righteous indignation. She has conveniently summarized all of the evidence (and some of the gossip) tending to show that M. Pashitch and the Serbian government were aware of a plot to murder the archduke, and did nothing effective, either to prevent the murderers from crossing over from Belgrade to Bosnia to commit the crime, or to warn Austria of the danger, or, after the deed, to bring to justice the Serbian officers who had aided and abetted the murderers. Here she is on solid ground and is supported by the extraordinary revelations of M. Ljuba Jovanovitch, which Mr. Seton-Watson can not bring himself to accept unreservedly. Her most valuable contribution is her very full account of the Salonika Trial of 1917. This resulted in what appears to be the judicial murder, by M. Pashitch's Radical party, of the Black Hand leader, Dragutin Dimitrijevitich and a couple of fellow victims. Among the alleged charges against him was an attempt to murder the prince regent of Serbia. But it is believed that one of M. Pashitch's real reasons for wishing to seal his tongue for eternity was the fact that he, though an officer of the Serbian general staff in 1914, had participated in the plot to murder the Austrian archduke. Miss Durham has printed long extracts from the *procès-verbal* of this trial, difficult enough at best to elucidate, and hitherto made almost inaccessible because M. Pashitch is said to have had the original printed record

confiscated and so far as possible destroyed. Unfortunately this Salonika Trial has become a kind of Serbian Dreyfus Affair, in which personal reputations, partizan politics, and the relations of civilian and military authority are so involved and obscured by lying and counter-lying, that it is difficult to judge how far to follow Miss Durham's *J'Accuse*. Mr. Seton-Watson, while exposing in the *Slavonic Review* her minor inaccuracies, does not controvert her account of the Salonika Trial, though it is the newest and most important part of her book; nor in his present volume does he do so, preferring to leave this thorny topic to a larger work on the origins of the Yugoslav state.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

La Marine Française dans la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918. Par A. THOMAZI. Volume I. *La Guerre Navale dans la Zone des Armées du Nord.* Volume II. *La Guerre Navale dans l'Adriatique.* (Paris: Payot. 1925. Pp. 263, 247. 27 fr.)

THESE volumes, of most painstaking and sound construction, are by one of those rare appearances, a professional sailor with a signal talent for historical investigation and expression. Captain Thomazi, who acted as chief of staff to Vice-Admiral Ronarc'h, commander-in-chief of the French naval forces in the north, resigned from the service at the close of the World War in order to devote himself to writing the annals of the French navy in that war. In his sympathetic preface to the book the vice-admiral, on the whole entirely complimentary, ventures to make one criticism which is characteristic of the activities which Captain Thomazi had to record. Vice-Admiral Ronarc'h says:

The subject, moreover, is no easy one to handle, for the inevitable reason which renders seamen so little loquacious, namely, the necessity of using technicalities, though not too many. Commander Thomazi has certainly not erred in this direction; in fact I am tempted to say that he has not made enough use of technicalities, which opinion I appeal to his old friendship to pardon. I believe that it would have been wise to explain to his readers exactly in what consisted the difficulty of fighting the German submarines, because, apart from a few combats with destroyers and torpedo-boats, one may say that this fight was the sole form of naval warfare in the localities covered by the author.

It is possible that this stricture is fair, so far as actual descriptions of such technical matters as mine-barrages are concerned. On the other hand technic formed so very important a subject in the World War that most chroniclers are content to leave such mechanical details to experts and special reports. Captain Thomazi, for example, includes in his book a list of works and documents consulted, which readers are at liberty to refer to. It is evident that he is afraid of having been rather too meticulous, for he expresses a doubt whether his readers will not consider his book a jumble of varieties, and, apart from the bottling-up of

Zeebrugge and Ostend, a record of "great projects and small actions". But, since the heavy fighting forces of the French navy were stationed in the Mediterranean, it was inevitable that the lighter forces were limited largely to opposing the enemy's submarine and destroyer attacks, to safeguarding the movements of troops, and to the capture of enemy ships.

In the long run a rather drab, uneventful, and yet killingly wearing business it was for the most part, yet well done, and animated by a cordial spirit of co-operation with the British fleet, especially the "Dover Patrol" under Admiral Bacon. Captain Thomazi enumerates with justifiable pride its results. Explaining that major operations were denied to the French forces in the northern zones, he says:

But what was the chief problem of the (French) navy in the neighborhood of the English Channel? Before all else to guarantee the safe passage across the Channel of the British troops who were to fight on French soil, as well as their supplies and the provisions destined for the Allied armies and the French people. Well, more than six million men were taken across without the loss of a single one at sea; more than a million sick and wounded were transported back to England; twenty-five thousand transports left Folkestone or Dover for Boulogne or Calais, and only twelve failed to arrive. Moreover one hundred and fifty thousand merchant vessels passed the Downs, a hundred thousand cruised the French coast between Antifer and Dunkirk, and the number of those sunk by submarines, by mines, or by accident was less than sixty. If the phrase "command of the sea" has any meaning, it could not better be applied than to this region, the most important of all in the intensity of its traffic, the centre of which was less than fifty miles from the German bases.

As is known, the patrol of the French and British was very efficient. The enemy's submarines ventured many attacks, but very few succeeded. The work of mine-sweeping, patrolling the sea, and escorting troop-ships left little opportunity or time for offensive action, but the plan of attack on the Belgian ports was in process of making, though it could not be carried out until 1918. The important if subsidiary part taken by the French forces in this enterprise has been almost entirely overlooked. Captain Thomazi gives the story in detail, without claiming to share full honors with the British.

This volume will probably remain the classic record of the activities described by the author, and invaluable to the naval historian.

In his second volume Captain Thomazi shows a clearness of vision, as well as a lack of national and professional bias, characteristic of the true historian, and this truth-seeking poise of mind has guided him to the real mission of an eye-witness chronicler, namely, the painstaking and meticulously documented record of the events as they happened, with great reticence in the apportionment of praise and blame. Like the author's first volume describing operations in the northern zones, the present one is invaluable.

In the agreement signed in February of 1913 between the British Admiralty and the French naval General Staff, the former pointed out that, while there would be, in the event of war with Germany, co-operation on its part in the Mediterranean, yet the northern waters would be the decisive theatre of naval operations, and therefore the Admiralty could not promise any help inconsistent with the concentration of all necessary forces in those waters; but that the policy of the Admiralty would be to maintain in the Mediterranean a force reasonably powerful enough to defeat the Austrian fleet in case it issued from the Adriatic. This was a promise of a somewhat academic nature, and in fact the British, both politically and militarily, up to the actual breaking out of hostilities, retained for themselves, in their conversations with their possible allies, complete liberty of action. But our author points out that the British were fully conscious of the moral responsibility incurred in regard to France, whose coasts might, without the co-operation of the British fleet, fall into the hands of Germany; and he ascribes to this moral conviction the notification by Mr. Asquith's government to Germany, issued more than twenty-four hours before the ultimatum relative to Belgium, that no attack upon the French littoral nor French commerce would be permitted. "Our negotiators", says Captain Thomazi (p. 14), "had reason to trust in the good faith of our future allies", a statement which contrasts agreeably with the classic phrase, "perfidie Albion!". The event proved that the rôles of the two fleets were played in accordance with the agreement of 1913: "The field of operations of the two fleets shall, generally speaking, be distinct, the French fleet operating in the western part, and the British fleet in the eastern part of the Mediterranean." In case it should be necessary to reduce the British fleet to such an extent that it would not be a match for the Austrian, combined action was provided for. "The remaining warships will be united with the French fleet in time of war and will be under the orders of the French commander-in-chief, it being understood however that they may be recalled to England at any moment if circumstances demand."

One of the most important functions of a fleet is to keep open the lines of communication, and this was particularly essential for France in the early days of the war, for the transport of her troops stationed in northern Africa. When this was successfully accomplished, and the romantic episode of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* had passed into history, it was necessary to contain the Austrian fleet in the Adriatic, so that it could not pass the Dardanelles, with the connivance of Turkey, and attack the naval forces of Russia in the Black Sea, Austria-Hungary having declared war on Russia. For this purpose, and to destroy the Austrian fleet if possible, the French made ten raids into the Adriatic from various bases, the destroyers and particularly the submarines earning laurels by their intrepid attacks upon such well-defended ports as Cattaro and Pola. The torpedoing of the dreadnaught *Jean Bart* finally showed the danger of exposing capital

vessels in minor operations, without compensating advantages, and the blockade of the Adriatic continued *à distance* thereafter.

The appearance in Mediterranean waters of German submarines and the entrance of Italy into the war both changed the course of events, the former annoyingly, the latter vitally. A new agreement between Great Britain, France, and Italy was drawn up, placing the supreme command of the Allied naval forces, in case Italy declared war, in the hands of the Italian admiral the Duke dei Abruzzi. This was in April, 1915, though Italy did not declare war until May 23 of that year. The result of the combined action of the French and Italian fleets was soon the entire mastery of the Adriatic, though no important operations were recorded. Even the carefully planned bombardment of Durazzo accomplished little, so far as rendering it unfit as a base for the enemy was concerned.

Captain Thomazi, while a master of detail and presumably of accuracy, possesses also a pleasing style, which may be recognized whenever the subject permits, as in his description of the submarine actions, and particularly of the epic hide-and-seek game between the Allied fleets and the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, in which the two German vessels, proceeding east on August 4, passed within 8000 yards (a killing range!) of the British *Indomitable* and *Indefatigable* in a perfectly calm sea, the latter going west with a view to preventing the Germans from joining their home fleet in the event of war. In grim silence and without saluting the two deadly enemies crossed each other, the British nonplussed, the Germans to hurry on through the Middle Sea to a triumphant entrance into the Dardanelles. Only a slight delay in the declaration of war by Great Britain prevented the German cruisers from being blown out of the water and history from being changed, perhaps vitally.

Both this volume and the former, describing the French operations in the north, are inadequately provided with maps and plans.

EDWARD BRECK.

Survey of International Affairs, 1924. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, Director of Studies in the British Institute of International Affairs and Professor of International History in the University of London. (London: Humphrey Milford. 1926. Pp. xiv, 528. 25 s.)

Is it possible to write contemporary history? Mr. Toynbee in this, his second volume in the *Survey of International Affairs* series, has, as the Right Honorable H. A. L. Fisher says in the preface, "supplied an affirmative answer". This *Survey* combines in a peculiarly happy manner a factual summary of international events with an objective interpretation which in almost every instance skillfully avoids even a suggestion of partizanship.

This volume is not limited rigidly to the calendar year 1924, nor does it attempt to cover all of even the major international developments of that

year. Instead, the author has wisely selected for the first half of the volume, part I., three large general topics under the heading World Affairs. These are: Security and Disarmament, the Movement of Population, and the Third (Communist) International and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The history of each of these is treated thoroughly not for a single year but in the case of the first for six years, the second for five years, and the third for two years. This method of treatment was adopted because in the initial volume, *Survey of International Affairs, 1920-1923*, there was no room for adequate discussion of these fields. But what was primarily a device dictated by consideration of convenience has resulted in much more satisfactory accounts of these significant developments than would otherwise have been possible.

The reviewer, who has had occasion to make a special study of the events and propaganda and counter-propaganda which led up to the so-called Japanese Exclusion Act in 1924, was delightfully surprised that Mr. Toynbee has been able not merely to state the facts clearly and succinctly but somehow to catch the spirit of the movement as a whole and to understand much better than any save two or three Americans the underlying forces which resulted in action so offensive to Japan.

The second part of the volume is divided into two general sections: (1) Western Europe: the Allies and Germany; (2) Central, Eastern, and Northern Europe. The first of these is, as in the case of the three topics previously discussed, a general treatment of the relations between Germany and her former enemies for the period from the occupation of the Ruhr, January 11, 1923, until the end of 1924. In it, Mr. Toynbee with scarcely a vestige of British *Tendenz* traces those developments which so happily resulted in the Dawes plan and the establishment of a basis for genuine rapprochement between France and Germany.

The second section is more in the typical style of an annual survey. The chief factors in the foreign affairs of Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Little Entente, Poland, the Baltic states, and the Scandinavian states are briefly summarized.

Part III., devoted to Tropical Africa, deals with (1) the Rectification of Frontier in Jubaland between the British Kenya Colony and Italian Somaliland (1919-1925) and (2) the Defining of the Boundary between French Equatorial Africa and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1919-1924). The appendixes contain the texts of the more important documents for the year.

Many significant developments are excluded from the volume on the ground that they are not strictly international. For example, in his treatment of the movement of populations Mr. Toynbee excludes as "an internal affair of the British commonwealth" the ticklish problems created by the emigration of British subjects of Indian origin to Kenya Colony and the Union of South Africa.

Limitations of space have excluded from this volume and reserved for the next (the *Survey for 1925*) "the record of the numerous and important technical activities of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization, and likewise the record of international relations on the American Continent (apart from the Immigration Question)". The next volume will also deal with the "history of the Islamic World from the points where the sixth volume of the *History of the Peace Conference of Paris* leaves off, and the history of the Far East and the Pacific from the close of the Washington Conference, which was the terminal point of the *Survey for 1920-1923* in this field".

Every student of international affairs owes to Mr. Toynbee and to the British Institute of International Affairs a debt of gratitude for their unique *Survey of International Affairs*.

JAMES G. McDONALD.

International Politics. Volume II. *Europe and the East*. By NORMAN DWIGHT HARRIS, Professor of Diplomacy and International Law, Northwestern University. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 677. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR HARRIS describes his book as a "study of the relations of Western powers with Eastern states and of Asiatic politics" from 1850 to date. In another place he describes his intention to be the presenting of a "study of European expansion and intervention in Asia and the Pacific Ocean in one concise and readable volume". The book consists of an introductory chapter and sections on the Near East, Middle East, and Far East, respectively. The Near East has three chapters comprising slightly more than 100 pages. India receives three chapters with a total of 112 pages. To China, Japan, and Korea are devoted 96, 34, and 39 pages, respectively. A concluding chapter on the New Pacific has 54 pages. Thus in a little over 600 pages the author attempts to comprise the outlines of the history of about two-thirds of the population of the world for eighty years.

The three sections above mentioned can be read separately, there being little or no interrelation. This fact is significant, for it seems to reveal that the author has canvassed a field of study in which he has failed to find any real unity. Europe is not a unity; Asia is not a unity; and when one resolves both Europe and Asia into their actual unities and seeks to describe the relations of each to all the others, the extent of the permutations and combinations is very great—too great to be comprised in one cover or appreciated by the mind of any historical student who has yet attempted it. The task is further complicated by the attempt to leap the barrier of the most recent chronological limits to which historical writing may safely go and attempts a narrative of events so recent as to be still almost current. The combination is one likely to mislead the uncritical reader, for the earlier part of each section is based on reasonably authori-

tative sources, while the latter part trails off into a field where relatively few of the sources are surely dependable.

Notwithstanding the spread of the subject the author is inclined to sweeping generalizations which weaken confidence that he has mastered his facts. There is a fine optimistic strain in the declaration that the "brotherhood of nations is becoming a reality", but when one reads that the mandate system has "assured small communities with limited resources and incompetent government of the protection and assistance necessary to enable them to develop into self-supporting autonomous states" and then turns to the latest news from Damascus, one wonders. Again, the author links India, Korea, and the Philippines, and declares that "an honest effort will be made to prepare the people to take over the administration of their own affairs as soon as conditions permit".

The book is based on blue books and other secondary sources. The monographic literature, which in the past ten years has become almost voluminous and which at many points has changed the traditional interpretation of events of a half-century ago, is almost entirely ignored. The only original source which the reviewer has noted is the Rockhill papers, which appear fully to support the suspicion long held that the Hay doctrine of 1899 was in fact the Rockhill doctrine.

Europe and the East is based on prodigious reading, some research, and not much reflection. Minor errors, such as calling the Boxer protocol the "Treaty of 1901", are numerous.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer. VON GEORG FRIEDERICI. Erster Band. (Stuttgart: Perthes. 1925. Pp. xiii, 579. 12 M.)

For thirty years, yet with interruptions, the author informs us he has busied himself in the preparation for the issue of this volume. While affirming that a certain advantage may have arisen from this long period of special investigation, he likewise admits what may seem to be a probable disadvantage, leading him at times to appear to be inconsistent in his interpretations. He has attempted however to keep in close touch with the best results of the many investigators.

Friederici himself has long been known as one of the most careful of German students whose researches have carried them far into the field, wherein interesting problems richly abound, touching all phases of early geographical discovery and exploration, touching the early occupations and the beginnings of European settlements in newly found lands, particularly in the New World.

His general theme is the character of discovery and settlement in America by the Europeans, and he deals with problems relating to the

geographical features of the continents and their adjoining islands, relating likewise to the characteristics of the native occupants. He next turns to a consideration of what he calls the character of the discoveries made by the Spaniards, then to a consideration of their first acquaintance with the American coast regions, and to their succeeding conquests and their entrance into the interior regions. A concluding chapter he titles "Die Technik der Konquista", which deals with the methods they employed.

An equally detailed but similar consideration of the early French and English occupation of their respective parts of the New World will doubtless follow later. Such a volume could not fail to be received by students of the period with an interest quite equal to that which this volume is certain to evoke.

The mass of information which the author has been able to crowd into his first and second chapters particularly, his employment of a style of presentation at all times instructive and entertaining, is certain to insure his work a place of great importance in the literature of the period. Here indeed, as in succeeding chapters, he has supported his presentation with a wealth of citation from early and recent writers. There is scarcely a phase of the geography of the New World which has been overlooked in the plan followed for a description of its many significant features, and he gives due consideration to the influence exerted by the same on those peoples who came to explore and to occupy.

He has a kindly word for the natives touching their manners and customs, their personal traits, their political, industrial, and military activities, and by way of comparison he is not over-complimentary in references to the Spanish conquerors. The chapter wherein the author gives brief consideration to the beginnings of western European geographical expansion, in particular to Spain's awakened interest therein, serves well the introductory purpose intended. It appears to the reviewer that rather too much support is given to the idea that there prevailed the thought of seeking a water route to the Indies of the East by way of the West which culminated in the Columbus enterprise. Why longer hold to this theory? We have a clear statement, prior to 1492, of his purpose. His general estimate however of Columbus the man, at the same time admitting the many uncertainties concerning his life, is excellent.

The reviewer does not know where to point to a volume more satisfactory in its treatment of a subject so fraught with almost infinite details than is this new volume in the Oncken series, long and favorably known among great historical series.

E. L. STEVENSON.

Guide to British West Indian Archive Materials, in London and in the Islands, for the History of the United States. By HERBERT C. BELL, DAVID W. PARKER, and others. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1926. Pp. ix, 435. \$3.00.)

THE purpose of this guide is to list and briefly indicate the content of official archive materials of the British West Indies for the history of all English colonies in America and the colonial system to 1775, and of the relations of the British West Indies to the United States to 1815. While all relevant material is listed, the indications of content of original correspondence and entry-books become detailed only with the year 1711, since the *Calendars of State Papers Colonial* give detailed descriptions of such papers to 1712.

The work is divided into two main divisions: (1) the guide to the Colonial Office Papers in the Public Record Office for each island arranged alphabetically, for which Mr. Bell is mainly responsible; (2) a guide to the archives in each of the islands, also in alphabetical order, mostly compiled by Mr. Parker.

The Colonial Office Papers were already inventoried in Professor Andrews's *Guide to the Public Record Office*, but the present volume describes those relating to the West Indies and their relations with the northern colonies and the United States in much more detail. The work is intended to be used in connection with Andrews's *Guide*, to which it continually refers. The papers relating to each island are listed under eight classes: (1) original correspondence with the Board of Trade; (2) original correspondence with the Secretary of State; (3) entry-books of despatches from the Board of Trade; (4) entry-books of despatches from the Secretary of State; (5) acts; (6) sessional papers, being transcripts of minutes and journals of colonial councils and assemblies; (7) shipping returns, or naval office lists; and (8) miscellaneous papers. The first four are described for the period 1711 to 1775 at considerable length, affording guidance to West Indian internal history as well as to wider relations; for the years 1775-1815 the description is briefer, referring primarily to trade relations with the United States. The last four classes are listed, generally without comment, from their beginning to the end of 1783 with occasional extensions. Public Record Office papers which often relate to the West Indies but are not listed in this guide are the "Plantations General", "Board of Trade, Commercial", and the "Board of Trade, Journal"; these have, however, been adequately treated in Andrews's *Guide*. Record Office material has been far better preserved and, in general, is more nearly complete than the island archives. Besides official material, there is a brief description of the West India Committee's papers. Brevity forbids mention of the multiplicity of matters treated; it is obvious that the sources indicated are indispensable to investigations in West Indian constitutional, industrial, social, intercolonial, and international history. A good index affords aid in correlating data.

The inventory and description of archives located in the islands proved an arduous and at times impossible task owing to sad neglect, dirt, decay, disorder, and devastations by fire, hurricanes, rodents, and insects. In many respects Record Office transcripts are more nearly complete and almost always better preserved, which relieves the tragedy of destruction in the islands. Certain records, however, are unique, such as inventories of estates in Antigua and Jamaica; material relating to Loyalists in the Bahamas; wills, marriage and slave records; plats of grants; vice-admiralty records; and some correspondence with colonial agents. As much of the material in this division of the *Guide* is from the period after the Revolution, descriptions relate primarily to trade relations with the United States. Jamaican archives are by far the best preserved, most nearly complete and valuable. They include marriage and vital statistics; conveyances; probate records; records of slaves and manumissions; laws; civil, vice-admiralty, and prize court records; assembly journals; council minutes; parochial, local, and miscellaneous records; inventories, crop accounts, and a few log-books. Judicial records are particularly rich but disorganized and in rather bad condition. The procedure for securing access to documents or obtaining transcripts is given for each island.

The only errors observed are: Palson for Paxson (pp. 39, 68); suspending for suspending (p. 52); 1752/3 for 1732/3 (p. 57); instructions for instructions (p. 166); and for Peisby (p. 247) the reviewer's reading of the manuscript was Peisly. A work of this character and difficulty is necessarily the result of several investigations: besides those of Mr. Bell and Mr. Parker, special mention should be made of the labors of Mr. Pérez in Jamaica and of Miss Penson and Miss Moodie in London. To such labors investigators will be grateful for a book that should conserve time, expense, and energy. Its examination alone is instructive on the functioning of the old empire and problems of economic readjustment occasioned by the secession of the United States.

FRANK W. PITMAN.

The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents. By JAMES A. WILLIAMSON. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 234. 12 s. 6 d.)

THIS volume, in some respects a sequel to the author's *English Colonies in Guiana* (Oxford, 1923), deals with the genesis and development to 1660 of British settlements in the Lesser Antilles "primarily from the standpoint of politics and institutions, as a study in the working of proprietary government in relation both to the colonist and to the mother country". It is closely related to C. S. S. Higham's *Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 1921), and his articles on the Leeward Islands Assembly (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLI. 190, 366). Based on a comparison of all available sources, chiefly manuscript, and particularly chancery proceedings, Mr. Williamson has written a highly critical

monograph that checks and partially supplants the narratives of Edwards and Schomburgk.

The settlement of the Caribbee Islands witnessed a change in motives from the quest for gold, a Pacific passage, and barter with native races, to zeal for agriculture and trade in staples. It was Thomas Warner, of Guiana experience, who made the first settlement, at St. Christopher, in 1623-1624. That the company of the *Olive Branch* touched Barbados and claimed it for England as early as 1605 is shown to be mythical. The attempts to colonize St. Lucia in 1605 and Grenada in 1609 were authentic but unsuccessful. The first authentic settlement was that of Sir Thomas Warner at St. Christopher in 1623-1624. Barbados was first settled by William Courteen in 1624 or 1625. Both Warner and Courteen then sought noble patronage to give their settlements legal status. The Earl of Carlisle, acting for Warner, secured proprietary patent to all the Caribbee Islands including Barbados. The Earl of Pembroke, acting for Courteen and other merchants, secured patent to certain islands also including Barbados. Barbados thus became the subject of bitter controversy between the Carlisle and Pembroke or Courteen factions. Much of the volume is a critical examination of the intricate phases of this long and sometimes militant quarrel. Charles I., declaring that the trouble arose from a confusion of Barbuda and Barbados, decided (1629) in favor of Carlisle's claim to Barbados, notwithstanding Courteen's priority of settlement. Carlisle then proceeded, through lieutenants and syndicates, to colonize Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat; St. Christopher was divided with the French. Tobacco and trade promoted rapid settlement.

Proprietary government, the author concludes, was on the whole efficient and shielded the islands from some of the impractical experiments of the northern colonies. But it was tyrannous and grasping. Mr. Williamson relates the navigation regulations, which were taking form, to circumstances generally overlooked, *e.g.*, pressure of English customs-concessionaries accounts for the "staplizing" of trade in English posts, the "enumerating" of tobacco, and the suppressing of its culture in England; or again, Royalist rebellions in Barbados and elsewhere in 1649 partially account for the Navigation Act of 1650, the forerunner of the more famous act of 1651, which perpetuated a wartime exclusion of shipping from Holland—a Royalist base. The Civil War period was marked by endless contention between the second earl's trustees and his creditors. Between them the islands were mercilessly bled, and proprietary government fell into disrepute and decay. Colonial assemblies arose, and London associations of planters supported by Parliamentarians agitated annulment of proprietary patents and the institution of crown colonies. This goal the Commonwealth realized at the end of the bloodless Royalist rebellion in 1652, when it replaced the proprietary régime with governors, councils, and assemblies at Barbados, Antigua, St. Christopher, Montserrat, and Nevis. Even at this period the colonists repeatedly opposed the

principle of complete parliamentary control, an unwitting forecast of the constitutional issue of the late eighteenth century (pp. 174-175).

The economic and social changes attending the shift from tobacco to the more lucrative sugar industry are briefly set forth to explain the rise of a "planting interest" that knew its business in politics as well as trade, and eventually had the energy to buy its freedom from rival and hopelessly indebted proprietors. Various conveyances made while proprietary rights were in abeyance might have been voided by a revival of proprietary government. Thus it happened that, when Charles II. reaffirmed the validity of Carlisle's patent, the planters launched a victorious campaign for its annulment. Barbados and the Leeward Islands became royal colonies June 13, 1663, by an Order in Council in accordance with which each colonial assembly granted the crown a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. export duty, from which the crown undertook the compensation of various proprietary interests.

FRANK W. PITMAN.

A History of Economic Progress in the United States. By WALTER W. JENNINGS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economic History in the University of Kentucky. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1926. Pp. xvi, 819. \$4.50.)

THIS is by far the most comprehensive and voluminous of the numerous economic histories of the United States that have appeared since Professor Bogart's initial venture some twenty years ago. Very little in the way of interpretation has been added to that pioneer work, but new sources of material have been discovered and each succeeding writer piles the heap of facts a trifle higher. That is conspicuously true in the present instance, and the publisher's announcement, that this volume of over eight hundred pages "may almost be styled monumental", is no exaggeration. One should add that the solidity of the text is not broken by illustrations, tables, and diagrams, such as were used by earlier writers to make a still untried intellectual diet more palatable for the not-always inquiring student mind. Consequently the mass of undiluted information presented is almost formidable, and the book barely escapes transcending the limits of a class-room manual—which we assume it was intended to be—and becoming a work of reference.

The author has succumbed to the danger that confronts all zealous and industrious collectors of data, the danger of recording his facts in an agglutinative rather than a synthetic order. The syllabus to which he worked was well considered and excellently arranged, and has been so consistently followed that there are few if any repetitions; but the structure of the book is mechanical instead of organic. As a result the reader must do much of his own correlating and trace for himself the interplay of forces between agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, commerce,

finance, and other forms of economic life that makes society a living thing and not a wax-work.

It would be ungenerous, however, to lay too much stress upon this point in judging a book that was evidently written to perform a purely informational function. We shall probably have to wait at least one more generation for our economic Keyserlings and Spenglers. Not until one of these arrives will any of the manuals between Bogart and Jennings be out of date, and pending his coming an appraisal of their respective merits must be largely quantitative. By that measure this latest product is undoubtedly the best.

Some passages, illustrated by well-chosen quotations from contemporary writers, give a vivid and interesting picture of the more romantic phases of our economic development, but in general a certain roughness of style, which abounds in stereotyped phrases and disconcerting ellipses, detracts from the literary effectiveness of the book. The author views our national progress with exuberant optimism, although he occasionally denounces evils with the uncritical fervor of a social evangelist. A confirmed pessimist would probably demur to the statement (p. 740) that the United States is a country where "people by the millions are actually suffering, dying from the lack of the necessities of life". Nevertheless the author's intention is excellent and his exaggeration is obviously rhetorical. This tendency to abandon the dispassionate style of the historian for the platform manner manifests itself in other places, and results in a looseness of statement that requires some caution of the reader. For example, when the author declares (p. 593) that "the skill of the American worker is probably greater than that of any other worker in the world" he presumably means output. He claims too much for the inventive genius of our nation when he says (p. 423) that the automobile "was not made a possibility until George B. Sheldon, of Rochester, New York, patented his successful internal combustion engine in 1895". It would be possible to cull from the text a sheaf of similar doubtful or erroneous statements, which suggest the disposition to hasty expression which the author's manner of writing confirms.

Nevertheless the book is an excellent one—in the becoming. It needs some revision, more rewriting, and still more ripening, but it has in it the making of an exceptionally useful, and indeed important, work. As it stands it is a valuable source of reference—the more so because the author so frequently cites his authorities in the body of the text, which they encumber somewhat but where they can not be overlooked. We hope that Professor Jennings will resharpen his quill and keep at it.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

The American Wool Manufacture. By ARTHUR HARRISON COLE, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics, Harvard University. Two volumes. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xix, 392; iii, 328. \$7.50.)

A MONOGRAPH in two volumes of the history of a single American industry is a novelty. The example set by Professor Cole's book is not likely to be soon or often followed by other writers, but we may well wish it might be if that would give us not only the quantity but also the quality of product which he supplies.

The first volume covers the American wool manufacture from its beginnings in the colonial period, through the era of the small factory, extending to 1830, and the period of the developed factory, 1830 to 1870. The second volumes studies the changes in the industry since the Civil War and provides in its appendixes not only an extensive bibliography (pp. 301-314), but also a description of the processes of manufacture which might well be read as an introduction to the book by those who are not familiar with the subject.

The author's method may be illustrated by an enumeration of the topics which he treats in the relatively brief section, some sixty pages, devoted to the colonial period: the wool supply, technical equipment, industrial organization, extent and quality of colonial production, trade in wool manufactures, colonial encouragement, British interference. This list of topics suggests that feature of the author's treatment which appears in all parts of the book and which is so important in any essay of the kind as to deserve especial recognition. He studies the wool manufacture as a living thing, with organs and functions in vital relations; he is not content to supply the annals of bare fact, but is looking always for the logical relations between the facts which make them appear consistent and intelligible. Cloth the colonists must have, and did make for themselves mainly in the household with the simple implements and processes inherited from their English ancestors. With this technic, with a local supply of wool of poor quality, with a very restricted local market for the product, development beyond the household stage with a limited handicraft manufacture was impossible, and the colonists depended on the mother country for the finer fabrics and for the cheaper grades used in the plantation colonies. The author is unquestionably right in minimizing the importance of English restriction of the colonial woolen industry.

In 1760 there was not as yet in the colonies a wool-working factory, in the sense in which the author uses that term (I. 219, note), "a complete or nearly complete mechanical equipment for turning raw wool into finished cloth, and an organization in which the proprietor is occupied with management alone, and the workers with supervision of actual manufacturing operations". In the second part of the book the author traces the changes after 1760 culminating in the establishment of the Hartford enterprise of 1788, which grew into a complete factory and, though it

afterwards failed, was the first in a series which increased rapidly in number after 1807.

In this period the author has occasion to describe in detail the development of power-driven machinery, and emphasizes the particular importance of the Goulding card, patented 1826. In the praise which he accords the American wool manufacture for its independence in technical improvement (*cf.* preface, p. ix) he appears to the reviewer to belittle the progress made in other lines, even in the cotton manufacture, but particularly in metal-working and wood-working. With the rise of factory production the author begins the detailed study of the organization of the market, and of the labor and capital which has each its separate history from now on. He gives separate chapters to the decline of household production and to an analysis of the factory as it was in 1830: the character of the representative establishment, the volume and geographical distribution of factory production. The concluding part of the first volume continues these topics for the period 1830-1870, and faces that feature of the developed industry which has made it the despair of the ordinary student, namely the extraordinary diversity of its products. It is necessary to distinguish not merely woolens and worsteds, but also different kinds of each, and to analyze the effect on the fortunes of American industry of the rise of the new styles. In the period since 1870, covered in the second volume, the wool industry, like other American manufactures, was transformed by the new agencies of transportation and communication. The author provides an interesting chapter on the tariff, which he finds of significance merely as a passive factor, and studies such characteristic features of the developed organization as are indicated by chapter-headings of differentiation, large scale operation, and large scale management. None but an economist could treat these topics. The "spread" between them and the industry in its early stages is enormous; and the author has accomplished a difficult task in meeting so well the demands made on him by the problem of the wool manufacture in the many phases of its development. He has shown the patience and the critical discrimination of the historian in gleaning his material from many scattered sources, including official documents, a considerable number of newspapers, and some business records in manuscript. It is not a criticism but a characterization of his work to say that on the whole he writes as the economist rather than the historian. He places himself within the industry, and looks out from it, looking for things which are of particular interest to the economist. Things social and political are on his horizon; he is not in the middle of them. Further contributions to the subject which he has so well treated will now best come from the historian, who looks at the wool manufacture from without, and who on some topics, particularly that of labor, must describe what he sees before we can be sure that all sides of the subject are before us.

CLIVE DAY.

Les Provinces-Unies et la Guerre d'Amérique, 1775-1784. Par FRANCIS P. RENAUT. Volumes I. and V. (Paris: Graouli. 1924, 1925. Pp. 430, 260. 40 fr., 32 fr.)

THESE volumes are the first two in a series of six devoted to the Dutch participation in the war of the American Revolution. Volume I. is entitled *De la Neutralité à la Belligérance, 1775-1780*, and Volume V., *La Propagande Insurgente: C. W. F. Dumas, 1775-1780*. Both of them make pleasant reading; particularly chapters I., II., IV., VI., XI., and XVI. of volume I.; and chapters VII., IX., and XIII. of volume V. They are based on extensive and intelligent researches conducted in the Hague, London, and Paris. Renaut is in fact the first writer to make adequate use of the primary sources. F. Edler relied on copies found in American libraries, while F. W. Van Wijk made too much of the pamphlets published from 1775 to 1780.

Even the casual reader, however, will note that Renaut has gone to a new extreme, that of neglecting secondary works published since 1875 in Holland and America. The result has been a number of errors which are likely to puzzle the reader until he reaches the bibliography at the end of each volume. Renaut says, for example, that he based his description of the Dutch constitution on despatches by La Vauguyon and Yorke. A more reliable source would have been Blok's standard work on the history of the Netherlands, or even Edmundson's recently published text-book. Renaut was mistaken in asserting that in the eighteenth century the power of the stadholder was derived from articles IX. and XVI. of the Union of Utrecht (I. 43). In the year 1579 no provision was made for an official who would some day be stadholder of all the seven provinces. Renaut also makes a mistake in the foot-note on page 42, where the order of precedence among the seven provinces is quite wrong. Holland did not fight against Spain for fifty years (p. 41), nor were the majority of the Dutch people Protestants during this war (p. 43). The number of delegates to the States General was not fixed (p. 43), and the clergy in the province of Utrecht had lost its former political power since the sixteenth century (p. 47). On page 70 the strength of the Dutch army and navy is exaggerated, while on page 90 the writer overestimates the possible effect of the arrival of the Scots Brigade in America. Furthermore, the Dutch were not so indifferent toward the Americans in 1776 as Renaut alleges (pp. 120 and 134-135).

Whereas Van Wijk used contemporary pamphlets too extensively, Renaut has neglected them almost entirely. On page 256 he refers to an anonymous pamphlet and gives a despatch as his source. A more efficient method would have been to read the pamphlet itself. The numerous pamphlets published in the Dutch Republic from 1775 to 1780 are after all an important source of information, for they reflect public opinion in that country. Important also is the correspondence of such men as Van der Capellen, most of which has been published. Renaut, in contrast with

Jameson and Edler, has been careless with his foot-notes; the majority of them are inadequate, especially those on pages 67, 79, 383, 392, 403, and 411 of volume I. It is not sufficient to refer to a certain page in some volume of documents, without giving the title of the document in question. The reference in the bibliography to Jameson's well-known article on St. Eustatius is surprisingly faulty, for both the title and the author's name are wrongly given. Again, in contrast with several American writers, Renaut has not taken proper pains with the spelling of Dutch words. On page 8 of each volume he gives the wrong Dutch equivalent for England, France, and States General. Other errors are found on pages 202, 204, 210, 215, and 317 of volume I. It may also be noted that pages 66-70, 72-74, 162-186, and 188-196 in volume V. are identical with pages 189-193, 200-203, 258-282, and 298-306 in volume I.

A. HYMA.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations. Three volumes. Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING, Ph.D. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1925. Pp. xxxii, 2228. \$15.00.)

THIS is a work of the highest importance to students of the diplomatic history of the Western Hemisphere. The period covered is from the beginning of the movement of independence in 1810 to the dissolution of Great Colombia in 1830. The papers, by far the greater part of which have never before been published, are conveniently arranged in chronological order under the head of the country of origin. First and most important come the communications emanating from Washington. They contain no startling revelations, nor will the most careful examination of them result in any important revision of accepted views. But they do not for this reason lack interest. They include a number of great state papers, hitherto but little known, and as a whole they tell an engaging, consistent, forceful diplomatic story. The remaining space, about six-sevenths of the total, is devoted to communications received in Washington from other countries, European as well as Latin-American. Some of the European correspondence, relating to Florida, recognition, the Monroe Doctrine, and the status of Cuba and Porto Rico, has already appeared in print. There is enough of the new however to throw all these subjects into bolder relief. The correspondence from Latin America is at once the most novel and the most varied in quality. With the exception of a number of formal, colorless reports, none of it has previously been made public. It comes for the most part from men without experience or training in diplomacy. It is unsophisticated, free from finesse. It is fresh, genuine, matter-of-fact. Though it is not highly literate, it is always informing. Too often it is somewhat discursive, and sometimes it

reveals a lack of sympathetic insight. But it is never perverse, nor is it ever dull. It will be read throughout the continent with absorbing interest.

The selection of the documents must have been an arduous undertaking. It was necessary, first of all, to examine an enormous mass of correspondence comprised in more than four hundred manuscript volumes in the archives of the Department of State. Then followed the more difficult task of making a choice as to what should be included. Assuming that the editor was limited as to space, there is little ground for questioning his judgment on this point. On the contrary, his selection seems to have been made on the whole with a fine discrimination. Another might have made a slightly different compilation, but in any case the exclusion of important matter would have been inevitable.

Among the materials excluded were important documents relating to the Panama Congress, such as Clay's instructions to the delegates of the United States, the presidential pronouncements, Sergeant's letters from Mexico, and possibly other correspondence in the archives at Washington. Inasmuch as the work was destined to come from the press at the moment when the republics of the New World were preparing to celebrate the centennial of the Panama Congress, the occasion would have been peculiarly appropriate for the publication of all the documentary material to be found on the subject. Other rejected matter, as for example parts at least of the voluminous correspondence of Baptis Irvine, who represented the United States in Venezuela at a crucial period, should prove quite as interesting and as pertinent as much that was included. In certain instances gaps occur for which the editor is in no way responsible. Some papers appear to have been destroyed in connection with the British occupation of Washington in 1814, and others were extracted from the archives and never replaced. This was the case with the letters of Joel R. Poinsett written from Argentina and Chile between 1810 and 1814. They were returned to Poinsett in 1818 by direction of President Monroe, and it is possible that they may yet come to light. Even if none of the lost correspondence should be found, enough of value could be gleaned from the rejected material to form a supplementary volume. With this might be included the reports of naval officers, considered by the editor as not falling within the scope of the publication. The suggestion may be regarded as gratuitous. But it does not imply on the part of the reviewer a lack of appreciation of a work which is after all so useful, so well conceived, and so splendidly executed.

JOSEPH B. LOCKEY.

Life and Letters of Rear Admiral Stephen B. Luce, U. S. N. By Rear Admiral ALBERT GLEAVES, U. S. N., LL.D. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1925. Pp. xii, 381. \$4.00.)

ALL the world loves a sailor, but, though the average American has always basked in the deeds of American tars, he has never possessed more than the vaguest knowledge of the technical development of the navy.

For this reason it happens that Stephen B. Luce, who was a singularly important factor in this development, and so recognized by all naval experts, and who will ever be a beloved and admired figure in navy tradition, has remained practically unknown to his fellow-countrymen, who are so beholden to him. It happens too that Luce, though he did more than his full duty in war as a junior officer, accomplished his two paramount tasks, namely, the introduction of a sound system of training for seamen, and the establishment of the Naval War College, in time of peace, when the public at large is wont to take little interest in military matters.

Born in 1827, of a Massachusetts colonial family, at Albany, whither his father had shortly before removed, Stephen Bleeker Luce became a resident of Washington in his eighth year, and in 1841, four years before the establishment of the Naval Academy, was appointed by President Van Buren a midshipman in the navy, in which he was destined to serve the rest of his life, since, after retirement, he was "an active and interested member of the faculty of the War College for a period of nine years".

The author rightly enumerates among the characteristics of Admiral Luce his complete moral and physical bravery, his intrinsic refinement, courtesy, and culture, his love of action and adventure, his aggressiveness tempered by a high sense of justice and self-control, his love of tradition and conservatism, which, however, was never allowed to influence either his quick perception of the path to progress or his determined embarkation on that course. His conservatism had its foundations partly in the traditions of his blood, Puritan on one side and Dutch on the other, and partly because he was bred by the routine of the old-fashioned sailor in sailing ships. But, as our author says in his introductory remarks: "The many changes in the material conditions of the Navy during Admiral Luce's sixty-seven years of service never threw him behind. He kept himself always just ahead of the crest of the successive waves of progress and reorganization that swept over the Navy during what is called the transition period which followed the two decades of stagnation and demoralization succeeding the Civil War. 'His horizon was always ahead of him.'"

Luce firmly believed that a sailor could be made only at sea in sailing ships, and upon that doctrine, that the efficiency of the navy would be a hundred per cent. increased if every officer and man were a trained seaman, his new training system was founded. It was but a wholesome growth of the interest out of which grew his book on *Seamanship*, his especial talents as a ship-handler under sail unusually qualifying him for this work. It is the strict truth to say that Luce completely changed the character of the American naval seaman, who, when Luce entered the navy, and for many years after, was, as Admiral Staunton says in the United States Naval Institute *Proceedings* (May, 1926), of the "beach comber" variety. "We older officers all remember the type—gallant, brave, loyal, good sailors aloft, but victims of drink—reliable in the absence of alcohol, but unreliable in its presence; . . . men who had spent their lives at sea, who had no traditions of home, no trace of home influence, many of them

foreigners." It was a period of hard drinking and hard fighting in the service, "when men were allowed to go ashore only at long intervals, and were brought back to their ships sodden with liquor, maimed and bruised and insensible, and were hoisted over the side like so much beef" (Gleaves). Few of the crews of those days could read or write. This was the deplorable state of things when Luce set himself the arduous job of cleaning up the American sailor, physically and morally. He saw at once the necessity of training him by some methodical plan, and, while his efforts characteristically attracted but little attention at first, his ideas gradually took hold and became the fixed policy of our Navy Department, with the result that practically no foreigners now serve in the American navy, and that even "raw recruits are developed into men of self-respect and independent character, with a sense of fearless devotion to duty".

Many years before his death (1917) Luce had the richly earned satisfaction of watching the harvest of his efforts, significantly described by Admiral Staunton (see above) in the following incident: "I saw twenty years ago a large body, several hundred bluejackets, from the squadron in which I was serving, following one of the chaplains about over the Acropolis at Athens and listening to his descriptions of the monuments and glories of ancient Greece. Observers—not Americans but foreigners—thought it a most remarkable thing for sailors to do."

Though a religious man, Luce was devoid of cant. He was an enthusiastic advocate of wholesome sports for sailors; in fact he regarded them as an important part of his system, as a stimulus to morale. The writer remembers hearing some American tars who fought at Santiago stress the effect of the sporting spirit among the several gun-crews of the same ship, who were not only trying to send the enemy to the bottom, but also to make a better record than their mates in the next turret. It is this spirit among American sailors, largely due to Admiral Luce, which has never been understood by foreigners, who freely prophesied in 1898 that the American sailors would refuse to fight and even desert at the first crack of an enemy gun.

The admiral's second most important task, the establishment of the Naval War College at Newport, was in many ways a more difficult one. Whereas there was no great opposition to his proposed reform in the training of the personnel of the navy, the proposal to erect a kind of post-graduate college for officers ran counter to all the old-fogyism in the service, which could not understand how such a lover of sails and sheets as Luce could allow himself to be carried away with their very opposite, theory and science. He himself, in one of his War College lectures, has told how the idea crystallized in his mind. It was in 1865. "Charleston fell into our hands just as General Sherman said it would, by severing her communications. There was, then, I learned, such a thing as a military problem, and there was a way of solving it; or what was equally important, a way of determining whether or not it was susceptible of solution. The lessons to be drawn from this experience are that the Secretary of the

Navy should have, if only in justice to himself, a staff of naval experts to lean upon, that this staff should be attached to and made a part of his office, and be under his immediate supervision; and that the members of this staff should be prepared for staff duty by a special course of study. In other words, the Civil War demonstrated conclusively the necessity of a War College and a general staff. We have the one; let us now have the other without more ado."

"Thus", says Admiral Gleaves (p. 102), "was conceived the idea of the War College, but it was twenty years before it became a reality; and then only by perseverance that never faltered. A Naval War College was Luce's goal, and through years of rebuffs and discouragement he never desponded. As was said of Lord Fisher, he made his way with extraordinary independence of mind and directness of aim through obstacles that lay in his path from those who had no political backing and no conventional arts. He respected nothing that was old because it was old, and he feared nothing that was powerful because it was powerful."

As to the success of this, his second great accomplishment, it is enough to say that the Naval War College is the admiration of the world. The effect of the absence of such an institution in time of emergency can easily be seen by reading of the flounderings of the British Admiralty during the World War.

It must have been a delightful task to write the life of a man like Luce, and Admiral Gleaves has turned out an uncommonly readable and illuminating book.

EDWARD BRECK.

White Servitude in Pennsylvania, Indentured and Redemption Labor in Colony and Commonwealth. By CHEESMAN A. HERRICK, Ph.D., LL.D. (Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey. 1926. Pp. vi, 330. \$4.50.)

THIS book should be welcomed by all students of American colonial history, for the subject under consideration is far more important than the scanty supply of organized literature now in our libraries would indicate. It is now more than twenty-five years since anything approaching a systematic account of indentured labor has been published. At that time three monographs, following one another within a few years, were published describing this form of labor in the three colonies in which it was most important: Virginia was treated by Ballagh, Pennsylvania by Geiser, and Maryland by MacCormac; but the limited edition of the study on Pennsylvania has since been exhausted and the present volume is therefore especially timely, for in that colony the institution of indentured service formed a more important part of the economic system than in any other colony or state. And Dr. Herrick's book is by far the most comprehensive, thorough, and exhaustive study that has yet appeared. And well it may be, for the author tells us that it has been in process of formation and development for twenty-eight years, that "it has been twice rewritten

in its entirety. Some parts of it have been written four times. It has become an intimate, almost sacred, part of the writer's life".

Moreover it is more than an account of indentured service; it is a complete sketch of the founding of a settlement colony. The original grant to William Penn, the concessions to the settlers, the propaganda to attract settlers, the laws that governed the immigrant and the servant, the network of laws that governed contracts, the sale and marriage of servants, and the relation of the whole system to the mother country, to the Revolution, and to the final separation, are all adequately described.

The colonial problem of Pennsylvania was somewhat different from that of the Southern colonies where slavery was the principal form of labor. The English, Scottish, Irish, and German immigrants who settled in Pennsylvania began manufactures early. It was settled after the initial difficulties in New World colonization had been overcome and this fact no doubt had its influence in perpetuating this form of servitude for more than a century after the founding of Pennsylvania. It was in part to satisfy the demand of an industrial community with diversified production that the indentured labor system here assumed such proportions. One reason for its continuance in Pennsylvania was the sentiment that was here formed against slavery but which tolerated this milder form of servitude as a necessary evil. In fact the people of Pennsylvania were the first to oppose slavery; it was in a German Quaker meeting in 1688 that the first anti-slavery memorial was issued; and this agitation against slavery and the importation of negroes was a constant source of friction between the colony and the mother country from the beginning of the settlement until the Declaration of Independence. But the institution of white servitude continued in Pennsylvania until about 1820, when it died a natural death. In the struggle between the two systems—slavery and indentured labor—the former triumphed because life service was cheaper and better adapted to the economic needs of the South. After the long agitation against slavery had ended in the conflict that left such deep wounds upon the social and economic life of America, and the historian came to place his estimate upon the past, it was but natural that the more violent form of human misery should receive undue attention to the neglect of the milder system of bound service. Dr. Herrick's work should do much to give the future historian material for a better balanced account of the labor question in our early history.

The volume is well annotated, with numerous quotations from, references to, and photographs of original material from American archives and the Public Record Office in London. Fifty-four pages are devoted to appendixes containing extracts from laws, sources, bibliographies, illustrative material, and an appendix.

KARL F. GEISER.

History of North Carolina. By SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE, LL.D.
Volume II. *From 1783 to 1925.* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton. 1925. Pp. xv, 1449, 19. \$9.50.)

THOSE who know Captain Ashe can only feel admiration for the long period of devotion he has shown to the history of his native state. It has been a persistent and loyal labor of love, inspired by the determination to give North Carolina a complete and patriotic history, which she did not have before his work was done. In view of this condition the work is a state blessing. It makes it at last possible to turn to its ample pages and find what happened in most of the incidents of North Carolina history, and that is something that could not be done in the past. His work has been done with commendable industry and his statements are trustworthy. From his own point of view the book is good history.

In these days histories are written for two principal purposes. They are designed to serve as storehouses of information out of which other writers mine precious metals, or they are written to supply to serious-minded men interesting and informing reading that ministers to the culture of the individual and the promotion of a general knowledge of the experience of the men of the past. Captain Ashe's book must be measured by these two standards. It may serve the future historian through the discovery of new information and the correct interpretation of facts; or it may reveal what is the true significance of North Carolina as a state among the states and make the reader understand it.

It may be that Captain Ashe wrote with the idea that his book would serve each of these ends. If so, he has not succeeded; for he has not produced a striking or very original study of North Carolina history, nor has he presented us an attractive popular history. This does not mean that he has not introduced into his pages a mass of facts, nor does it mean that his sentences are not pleasant reading. As an old newspaper man he has the faculty of writing clearly what he attempts to say. But to fill the requirement of a people's history he should have organized his materials better, making his chapters topical, and striking for a general and significant characterization of North Carolina. The wonderful progress of the state in later times has grown out of the liberation of the energies of the class that had a middle position in the years of slavery. It is the upward reaching of the new democracy, now in its second generation since the Civil War, that has remade the industrial life of the state into the similitude of other American states and in doing so has given North Carolinians aspirations they never before entertained. To the reviewer it seems that the author is oblivious of this important fact.

The method he has followed may be called panoramic. He unfolds a screen, running it off section by section, with a neat and pleasant picture painted on each section, each coming chronologically, and each presented with little relation to the thing that went before. In reading the book the reviewer has received many pleasant impressions. He has learned that

things have happened and he has had before his eyes the names of many worthy men, with little glimpses of their activities. But for him as a new scene rolls on the screen the preceding always rolls off. In the end he is forced to reflect that he has not learned a great deal about North Carolina as a community. It must be that this state, like others, had policies that grew one out of the other and gave character to her history. He would have been glad if these policies had been presented as phases of the state's history, political, social, industrial, literary, and what not.

Captain Ashe is evidently most interested in the phase of North Carolina history that deals with the Civil War, in which he was himself an active participant. Fully conscious of the eminent part the state took in that struggle he has set out to relate it without stint, and without boasting. He puts the contribution of the state to the Confederate armies at one hundred twenty-five thousand, "a number larger than her voting strength". She gave more men to the Confederacy than any other Confederate state by 22,942. Accepting his estimate that the entire Confederate army contained only six hundred thousand men, we see that the state furnished more than one-fifth of them. He follows these men in all their campaigns with a loving glance and ample tribute. He does the same for the state's contribution to the American Expeditionary Forces in the World War. For this act of devotion few will blame him.

His warm spirit dwells with equal emphasis on the trials of reconstruction. He sees them from the Southern standpoint, perhaps not enough from the other side as well; for Reconstruction had its two sides, as all other questions have. On the side of the men who tried to impose on the South an unnatural form of government there was a great deal that was bad, but there was something good, too; and the historian who has detachment will find and describe it. Captain Ashe does not conceal his feelings in the matter.

JOHN S. BASSETT.

A History of Louisiana: Wilderness, Colony, Province, Territory, State, People. By HENRY E. CHAMBERS. Three volumes. (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society.¹ 1925. Pp. xv, 727, lxv; 395; 388. \$35.00.)

DESPITE numerous defects this is an interesting and useful book. It would have been much more interesting and infinitely more useful had the effort and money expended on volumes II. and III. been utilized in perfecting volume I. This contains, besides preface and introduction, a narrative of Louisiana history to the election of Governor Fuqua (1924); an appendix, containing a list of Louisiana officers in the Confederate army, a sketch of General LeJeune of the Marine Corps, an alphabetical list of Louisiana authors, and the rather inadequate index for all three

¹ It is important that readers should be made aware that there is no connection between the publishing house which has seen fit to assume this name and the American Historical Association. Ed.

volumes. The other two volumes are a sort of "Who's Who in Louisiana". Both the inclusions and the omissions engender the suspicion that most of the subjects paid a certain sum to have their "write-ups" included, with an additional fee for a portrait. How else can one explain a full-page picture of a lad who died soon after entering college? As these sketches are thrown together without any system, alphabetical, chronological, geographical or other, these two volumes are well-nigh useless.

While the frequent repetition of such moving-picture captions as "Came a time", "Return we now", etc., is rather monotonous, the style of volume I. is interesting and usually clear, though often rather florid. In the main this volume is an accurate account of the development of Louisiana from wilderness to state. Such chapters as America's First Melting Pot, Early Government in Louisiana, Early Colonial Industries, Life when the State was Young, Schools and Lotteries, etc., are particularly interesting and useful.

Louisiana's contributions to civilization are summarized in the introduction. One is surprised to find that while Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske and Brander Matthews are claimed for Louisiana, by virtue of having been born in New Orleans, no mention is made of such genuine and eminent Louisianians as the historian Gaillard Hunt, the diplomat James B. Eustis, the scientists Chaillé, Matás, and Coates.

Some of the more glaring errors call for a word. Jay's fruitless negotiations (1785-1787) with Gardoqui are referred to (p. 350) as "the great John Jay treaty". Chapters LIX. and LX. are a futile attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of the unsavory James Wilkinson. Mr. Chambers seems to think that there has been a conspiracy to besmirch this lily of patriotism. All the obloquy, he avers, arose from Wilkinson's purely Pickwickian oath of allegiance to Spain, when Wilkinson was a private trader in Kentucky. Apparently the author is not familiar with the results of the researches of Professor Cox in the Spanish archives, which revealed that Wilkinson, while commander of the American troops in the Southwest (1804), solicited and accepted a pension from the Spanish authorities in West Florida, promising to ascertain and reveal to them the plans of President Jefferson (*American Historical Review*, XIX. 794-812).

Since the occasional foot-notes cite only a few of the sources used, it is regrettable that there is no bibliography. The reader would like to know, for example, just what documents constitute the basis of the excellent account of the "Colfax riot". Again, the absence of a bibliography and the lacunae in the list of Louisiana authors leave one wondering if Mr. Chambers has deliberately ignored such works as Fleming's *W. T. Sherman as College President* and Lonn's *Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868*.

The press-work is only mediocre. While a few of the illustrations in volume I. are purely imaginative, most of them are authentic and useful. Typographical errors abound, the worst being the title of the picture on

page 128, which is given as "The old Place d'Arms [*sic*] of [*sic*] Drill Ground", instead of Place d'Armes or Drill Ground.

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

History of Ohio. By CHARLES B. GALBREATH. Five volumes. (Chicago: American Historical Society. 1925. Pp. lii, 710, 832, 464, 464, 466. \$35.00.)

ONE concludes the examination of this work with the feeling that the publishers are misrepresenting their product, in the name the organization has taken, in the title given the work, and in attributing it to the pen of Mr. Galbreath. In the first place a firm engaged in publication for profit has taken a name—"The American Historical Society"—which implies an association of historical scholars. By the choice of a name closely resembling that of the American Historical Association it is probable some purchasers were deceived as to the character of the publication.¹ In the second place the title of the work—*History of Ohio*—is misleading. Of the five volumes three are composed of brief sketches of living citizens of Ohio or of those recently deceased. This use of biographical sketches as a device for marketing a so-called history has been repeatedly employed in Ohio. Finally the historical portions are the product of several pens, without much evidence of editorial supervision. For example, in the section of the first volume devoted to the Colonial and Revolutionary Period is a chapter written by President Morgan of Antioch College to describe the work which has been accomplished in the Miami Conservancy District for flood control as a result of the flood of 1913. It is true President Morgan was the chief engineer of the Miami Conservancy District and therefore particularly qualified to write upon this subject. Some other contributed articles are not without some historical value because of the author's experience. There is one by William C. Mills, director of the Archaeological and Historical Society, on the archaeology of Ohio; another by Harry C. Shetrone, curator of archaeology for the same society, on the Indian history of Ohio; an article by O. T. Corson, a former state superintendent of schools, on the Ohio Public Schools; and a brief one by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton on the Woman's Suffrage Movement. It is difficult to believe that the incorporation in Mrs. Upton's chapter of a story of an illiterate colored woman and that person's speech on Woman's Rights was a part of Mrs. Upton's contribution. Whether or no, it illustrates a tendency to resort to the bizarre in the choice of subjects, or to appeal to the reader's love of the sensational. The apportionment of space in the narrative is often fantastic. One of the best chapters, apparently the work of Mr. Galbreath, that on Ohio in the War of 1812, a chapter which shows some little evidence of familiarity with recent historical writing and which is written in a praiseworthy tone of fairness, is marred by the insertion of a five-page account (a fifth of the

¹ See note on p. 143.

space given to the war) of the execution of one of Perry's seamen for desertion. In the chapter on the Mexican War the author devotes one page to a meagre statement of the causes of the war, four to regimental records, and three to the case of Victor Gilbreath, a bugler from Ohio. The Gilbreath case, that of a soldier executed for a breach of discipline, is a relic of Whig propaganda against the war. As here employed it may interest curious readers, it can not possibly serve a useful purpose in the history of the Mexican War. Wars and incidents of adventure dragged out from old histories and quoted in wearisome detail occupy a disproportionate place. Ohio's part in the anti-slavery movement receives the emphasis it would have had a generation or two ago. There is the old exaggeration of the influence of the slavery clause in the Ordinance of 1787. "In view of the fact that John Brown was for the most of his life a resident of Ohio" the author chooses to give fifty-five pages to his activities, for the most part in Kansas and Virginia. The Ohio canals are put off with less than two pages of scattered statements. One more case will illustrate the methods of composition and of the handling of historical evidence. There is a chapter on the origin and authorship of the Ordinance of 1787; more than half is a compilation of the opinions of others, in every case from sources easily accessible.

Galbreath's *History of Ohio* will not add to the author's creditable record as a worker in Ohio history. In most respects it is a hasty, unorganized, uncritical compilation. The acknowledgments in the preface and the internal evidence as to the nature of the work leave the impression that Mr. Galbreath had little share in the actual compilation and still less in the editorial supervision. The fact that such a publication can find a profitable market is monumental evidence of the backwardness of Ohioans in writing their own state's history or in standards for the books which shall have a place in their libraries. Historians of Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Indiana must wonder what is the matter with Ohio. Mr. Galbreath thinks that it is a remarkable tribute to a certain Ohio history that no effort was made to supplant or supplement it for forty years. May not this same fact, and others which might be cited in an account of the histories of Ohio, be an evidence of the low state of culture in the oldest community of the Old Northwest?

ELBERT J. BENTON.

Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest. By GRANT FOREMAN.
(Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark. 1926. Pp. 349. \$6.00.)

THE book suggests a three-reel motion-picture film of the southwest frontier of the United States from 1817 to 1847, with a brief introductory glimpse of the period preceding 1817. Set against the background of Fort Gibson and Fort Smith there are commercial possibilities for the film world in its 350 pages. Across the screen would pass such personages as Washington Irving, Andrew Jackson, Sam Houston, Zachary Taylor,

Jefferson Davis, John Howard Payne, Francis Scott Key, Thomas Nuttall, George Catlin, Captain Bonneville, General Henry Leavenworth, Colonel A. P. Chouteau, Albert Pike, Colonel Henry Dodge, Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, Colonel Mathew Arbuckle, and with them such frontier Indian figures as Black Hawk, Sequoyah, John Ross, Clermont, and Black Beaver.

Outside of the notables in the picture would appear that splendid galaxy of then unconquered plains Indian tribes: Osage, Pawnee, Comanche, Kiowa, with others still further in the background, and with the Cherokee and Creek migrations crossing the Mississippi river and piling up against the horizon of western plains.

The United States undertook, in the Southwest, to solve a threefold problem of extreme difficulty in the period covered: to pacify the wild plains Indians; to project upon their border a forced migration of 60,000 Indians from east of the Mississippi; to control the Texas-Mexico situation in a manner satisfactory to its own people.

In other books are many snapshot pictures of the southwestern frontier. Mr. Foreman's achievement is the production of a series of pictures making a complete story of persons and events in that region for the period assigned. His materials are largely drawn from the original sources in the archives at Washington, and he is quite evidently embarrassed by the wealth of them for his one-volume story. Since there is too much to present in full he has emphasized striking episodes, such as the bloody feud between the Osage and the Pawnee-Kiowa-Comanche alliance; the ventures of Sam Houston into frontier politics and war; the miseries of the Colonel Henry Dodge expedition; the first peace with the plains tribes; the elements of Indian trade and the beginnings of navigation and of agriculture. Mingled with the main current of his story are items of important scientific information needed to-day by the weather prophet, the medical profession, the botanist, zoologist, ethnologist, and sociologist in their studies. Samples of these items are the self-support in building and in agriculture of frontier military commands; the years of great rainfall and of severe winters; the destructive flies (probably the familiar green-head) which destroyed cavalry commands; the habits of prairie chickens and passenger pigeons; the malarial fever which smote the early military expeditions; the status of relations between the wandering wild men of the plains and their red neighbors passing into the farm phase of Indian life.

One of the most important threads of information in Mr. Foreman's book for the historian and ethnologist of Indian tribes in the central and northern plains is found in his discussion of the name "Pawnee" and the location of these people and their cognate tribes. The statement on page 116 that the name "Pawnee" was applied generally to the prairie Indians of the Southwest sheds new light, if true, on the Coronado and other expeditions. The relations of the four Pawnee bands living in Nebraska with their relatives the Wichita and with their enemies of the Southwest

is especially interesting. The statement that the Pawnee of the Platte ravaged the Kickapoo tribe living on the Canadian border, and that the Kiowa secured brass buckets prior to 1833 by trading with the Pawnees who secured them from white traders in the Platte region, are both of special interest. Coronado reports the Quivira Indians as living in grass houses. Mr. Foreman shows that corn-stalks were also used in the construction of Wichita homes.

There are some errors, proof-reading mistakes which should not have got by. The most important error from the historian's point of view is found on page 17, where the old account of the Spanish expedition under Colonel (not captain) Villasur is printed (as drawn from secondary writers) indicating that Villasur's command was destroyed by the Missouri Indians in what is now Saline county, Missouri. This old version of Villasur's objective and place of destruction (derived from French frontier rumor and tradition) is now completely superseded by accurate information derived from the Spanish archives, in part by Baron Marc de Villiers of Paris and published in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* at Paris in 1921, and in part by the researches of Dr. A. B. Thomas of the University of California. The first of these documents was translated by the writer of this review and first published in America in 1923. The second was first printed in the *Nebraska History Magazine* in 1925. These two documents show beyond any doubt that the Villasur expedition never went to Missouri; that it reached the valley of the Platte in Central Nebraska in August, 1720, and was there destroyed by Otoe and Pawnee warriors.

ADDISON E. SHELDON.

MINOR NOTICES

The Historian and Historical Evidence. By Allen Johnson, Professor of American History, Yale University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926, pp. 179, \$2.00.) This attractive little book on historical methodology was prepared for future writers of history and also for the intelligent reading public which would like to know how to discriminate between histories and histories (preface). The "physiology" is necessarily and avowedly *Bernheimische*, but the author has his own accent, catchy, recent illustrations, the new psychology, and an easy and zestful manner of writing. The book is so interesting that one may be sure the author enjoyed doing it.

Technically speaking the volume presents *Heuristik*, stresses *Kritik*, touches on *Auffassung*, and ignores *Darstellung*. The author's preference is for chapters VI. and VII., the Nature of Historical Proof and the Use of Hypotheses, where the "psychology of perception and testimony" is drawn upon. He makes it clear that the historian can never reach mathematical certainty but only a high degree of probability (p. 141) and that he makes free use of hypotheses. Following the more sceptical principles

of Langlois and Seignobos, the author criticizes Bernheim for his willingness to accept the testimony of a single, unexceptionable witness which fits into "dem uns sonst bekannten allgemeinen Zusammenhang der Thatsachen" (*Lehrbuch*, 1908, p. 533; not p. 368 as the text avers on page 145, note). The author argues his point cogently and helpfully (pp. 145-146), but really overdoes it, for Bernheim guards his position most carefully (pp. 533-536). Moreover, if an author who deceives us once is rightly suspect (p. 81), is nothing to be conceded to one who has never deceived us? Contrariwise, Mr. Johnson seems a bit unsceptical in the confidence he reposes in public documents (p. 149).

Chapter V., the Evolution of Method, is not essential, but it will help to interest an intelligent novice in the fascinating ancestry of the problems of methodology. In the brief list of writings in English space might have been found for Henry Johnson's remarkable chapter I., What History is, in his *Teaching of History* (New York, 1915).

Some slips of author or printer have been caught. The *Rerum Britannicarum . . . Scriptores* are faultily cited (p. 16). G. J. Voss (p. 101, note), Ch. de Smedt (p. 129), Ernst Bernheim (p. 137) are given incorrectly. *Propädeutik* is misspelled (p. 126, note). The form of footnotes (e.g., pp. 82, 84) should be standardized. Things-in-themselves are not supposed to stimulate anything (p. 141). The Bible does not say that where your treasure is there *shall* your heart be also.

Nonobstante, this is a learned, witty, and stimulating book. It should be put into the hands of all graduate students in history. Undergraduate majors ought to be required to read it and professors should run through it of an evening when the pipe is drawing well.

G. C. SELLERY.

History and Historical Problems. By Ernest Scott, Professor of History in the University of Melbourne. (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. 219, 6 d.) Those familiar with Professor Scott's *Short History of Australia* will not be surprised to find in this volume the same attractive, vivid style and fine scholarship that characterize the earlier work. It consists substantially of a series of lectures given to audiences made up largely of history teachers, and deals with topics of general interest such as the purpose of history, the principles of historical inquiry, and the relation of history to geography, physical science, education, and patriotism. Upon these and many other kindred problems, the author presents his reflections and observations in a manner calculated not only to awaken the interest, but to clarify the thinking and sober the judgment of the reader.

His comments are marked not so much by novelty as by sound sense and judiciousness. He finds it easy to shift his point of view and consider a question from several different angles. The various aspects of a subject, as, for example, the great-man theory of history, the amount of space to be given to wars, or how much the political factor should be

weighted, are given consideration with extraordinary impartiality. No claim is made, however, to complete freedom from bias. "To be altogether unbiassed", he writes, "is to be negative. . . . The test of dependableness, indeed, is not the absence of bias, but the presence of good faith. . . . It is this good faith which makes sound history, not the dehumanizing of the historian by making him deciduous in respect to opinions, feelings, sympathies, and aversions."

By weaving into the discussion many apt quotations (for which happily exact references are given) much of the best thought of previous writers on the topics treated is brought together in brief compass. As a whole the volume will serve as a useful introduction to historical studies and a stimulus to the writer and teacher of history.

H. P. GALLINGER.

Saturated Civilization. By Sigmund Mendelsohn. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xix, 180, \$1.75.) The cyclical theory of historical change propounded by Greek philosophers and reappearing from time to time in the writings of thoughtful scholars is a familiar and attractive theory. Mr. Mendelsohn restates this theory in his book *Saturated Civilization* and maintains that our present industrial machine-culture is at a surfeit of material progress and is approaching a stage of saturation which is the first step toward decay.

Modern civilization is unlike earlier cultures in that it is practical and rational. Compared with the degradation of laboring masses in the Middle Ages, the working classes of our Western civilization show greatly improved status. Expanding trade and commerce, constitutional government, popular suffrage, compulsory education, and trade-unionism have invested labor with power and prestige. But the elevation of labor has impaired economic productivity to an extent which genius for mechanical invention has not been able to offset because the invention of each new labor-saving device, far from displacing labor, does in the long run increase the demand for labor by opening up auxiliary fields of production. Our system of transportation is over-expanded, credit is over-extended, and the high tension of industrial life has over-strained our social and economic organization. The limit of mechanical inventiveness has been attained because no fundamental improvements in mechanical principles have been made. Natural resources are being exhausted and human energy has turned to the production of non-essentials, luxuries, and material indulgences. The beginnings of social deterioration are seen in relaxation, shorter hours of labor, and increased leisure.

The book is useful and stimulating as a challenge to that superficial optimism which currently regards our present social order as the be-all and the end-all of human attainment. There is much repetition in the book. Evidence supporting the author's hypothesis is not well organized and he misses entirely many significant sources of evidence which would support his theory. The book does not bear favorable comparison with

Flinders Petrie's compact but logical argument from historic facts which in his *Revolutions of Civilizations* he presents to support the same sort of theory in which Mendelsohn is interested.

F. STUART CHAPIN.

Ranke's Begriff der Weltgeschichte. Von Gerhard Masur. [Beiheft 6 der *Historischen Zeitschrift*.] (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1926, pp. 133, 5.80 M.) In a brief introduction, Masur discusses the difficulties inherent in the conception of "Weltgeschichte", and in the presentation of a history of world-history writing. He follows this with a sketch of the development of "Weltgeschichte" from the beginning of Christian thought to the time of Ranke. The remaining two-thirds of the book is devoted to an analysis of Ranke's ideas in regard to world-history. For students who find some difficulty in coming to close quarters with current discussions of the problems of historiography in German writers, this book may be recommended as a clear and succinct statement of fundamental ideas. The "Einleitung" should, in particular, be of service to those whose philosophical training has been limited.

The compression of the discussion in Masur's book rules out the possibility of making either an epitome or a criticism of his argument in a brief space. As a substitute, attention may be called to one or two points of particular interest. The author points out (p. 111) that Ranke did not make use of the concept of evolution. This was not because he failed to recognize the interest in the conceptions of development set forth by Herder or Hegel, but because for him they possessed no absolute validity. In direct opposition to the emanistic ideas of Herder, Savigny, and Grimm, he emphasized the fact that states do not grow like organisms, but that, for the most part, their form is dependent upon historical circumstances, and on the character of historical individuals. It is well to remember, in presence of discussions going on at the present time, that the background of Ranke's effort to state "what it was that actually happened" was the existence of a type of "history" which rested upon the abstract method of genetical analysis.

The conflict in Ranke's work between the idealistic and scientific tendencies in the thought of his time is brought out in another significant statement (p. 127). "Ranke's world-history", Masur says, "is the last great historical presentation in which we find Christian thought expressed in its relation to the basic philosophical concepts of German idealism. At the same time, it is the first world-history in which the attempt is made to build up an historical continuity empirically, taking into consideration the results of the development of historical studies. From the diversity of these two basic elements arise the contradictions which we believed we ought not to conceal. . . . In Ranke, historical science (*Wissenschaft*), in its purest and strongest form, was permeated with a religious and philosophical content. . . . Unconsciously, Ranke's world-history owes its teleological continuity to a cement of super-historical conceptions."

F. J. T.

History of Arithmetic. By Charles Louis Karpinski, Professor of Mathematics, University of Michigan. (Chicago, Rand, McNally, and Company, 1925, pp. xii, 200, \$2.00.) This work will be of interest to the bibliographer, the teacher of arithmetic, and the student, but to the first of these alone will it be of value. The list of American arithmetics published before 1800 is the only one of much importance to appear in print, and assuming that more care has been taken in its preparation than is shown in the rest of the work it will serve a useful purpose. For the bibliographer, too, a considerable number of the facsimiles will be helpful despite the fact that most of them are poorly executed.

For the teacher of arithmetic, who is in need of precise information that he can pass on to his pupils, the book has altogether too many errors to be a safe guide. From the considerable list observed by this reviewer it is impossible in the space allowed to give more than a random selection. For example, the Chinese did not call their computing rods "sangi"; if by "Chiu-chang" is meant the well-known *Arithmetic in Nine Sections* (K'iu-ch'ang Suan-shu), Chinese scholars do not generally assign it to the first century B. C., as stated; the date for Mahavir (p. 45) is a century out of the way, as the context shows; the Arabs did not enter Spain in the year 772 A. D.; the date given to the Treviso arithmetic (p. 110) is eight years too early; and "million" is said to appear for the first time in print in Borghi's work of 1494, although it is found in the Treviso book of 1478.

To the pupil who wishes a rapid glance at some of the interesting features in the development of arithmetic, and who will not use it as a work of reference, the book will probably do but little harm.

The Faliscans in Prehistoric Times. By Louise Adams Holland. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. V.] (Rome, American Academy, 1925, pp. 162 and 13 plates, \$2.50.) In a little district near Mt. Soracte north of Rome lived the ancient Faliscans, a tribe which obstinately continued to speak a dialect closely akin to Latin even though surrounded by Etruscans for centuries. The first scientific search for prehistoric remains of this people was begun by Italian scholars, Pasqui, Cozza, and Mengarelli, a little more than twenty years ago; now Miss Holland has gathered together the material available in this present study. Naturally the work is almost wholly concerned with burials and objects found in tombs.

Although no village or necropolis has been found in the district studied, it seems evident that the area was already inhabited in the Neolithic and Bronze periods; but whence the people came no one can say with confidence. The earliest cemeteries discovered belong to the Iron Age, within which the authoress distinguishes three periods. In the first, cremation burials alone are found, deposited in *pozzi* with local handmade pottery of dark *impasto*. The second has burials in both *pozzi* and *fosse*. The pottery is still of local origin but the wheel begins to be used in its

manufacture, while reddish ware and painted ornaments also have been discovered. Inhumation was practised in this period side by side with incineration, showing, it is believed, the influence of an immigrating stock, which possibly came from the Apennines across the Tiber. In the third period the trench, often with a chamber attached, becomes the ordinary form of tomb, and inhumation the dominant method of burial, without, however, driving out incineration. Naturally the objects found in graves are now more numerous and elaborate, including imported vases and their local imitations.

Miss Holland has fortunately been able to illustrate her book in part with the Faliscan pottery in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Although she has intentionally left out studies of imported objects, red-figured pottery, and the later terra-cottas from temples, her book will be of interest and value to those who are concerned with the prehistoric remains in Italy, until such time as more discoveries and larger studies make a more complete account of the Faliscans possible.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

England and the World. Arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. [Unity Series, VII.] (London, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. 268, 10 s. 6d.) This volume of the Unity Series begins with the suggestion that the megalithic culture of the Avebury and Stonehenge era was continuous with that of Iberia, France, and Scandinavia, and that the early societies of these regions were outposts of Egyptian and Cretan civilization. Dr. Carlyle's suggestive essay on medieval English and Continental affinities (to 1500) omits, unfortunately, any discussion of common economic traits. The period since 1500 is divided rather arbitrarily into centuries; there is a recognition of the many disruptive tendencies, but the interdependence and the peaceful relations are emphasized here as elsewhere in the book. The governing principle of England's foreign policy since the sixteenth century, the balance of power, is curiously described as an effort on the part of England to checkmate any Continental power which "threatened to annihilate Europe" (Gooch, p. 114). Succeeding chapters deal interestingly, though not always convincingly (*e.g.*, see p. 179), with England's relations to the New World, to the East, and to "backward" peoples. Chapter XI., on England and the League of Nations, emphasizes the part played by the Empire in laying the foundations of internationalism by achieving "so great a variety of combinations between local and larger patriotisms" (Marvin, p. 236). In the concluding chapter, a sort of pedagogical appendix, the author looks forward to the time when "in a concrete and perfectly simple manner we shall have initiated [among children] the habit of looking over the frontier, and scouting for signs of a kindred humanity" (Gould, p. 244).

In this quotation and in the name of the series in which the book appears we find by implication the purpose of the authors. The avowed object is "to envisage the unity of European history" (Carlyle, p. 48); to

"seek some principle of unity in history" (Grant, p. 76). "The moral of our rapid survey is that we are living in a world whose parts are connected with one another by a thousand visible and invisible threads; . . . and that the perils which beset us can only be overcome by the joint endeavors of men and women of good will in every land" (Gooch, p. 152). These conceptions determine the selection and interpretation of facts. Some may question the validity of the purpose, but within the limits of their objective and of the space at their command, the authors have produced an excellent volume.

WITT BOWDEN.

Traffic Ways about France in the Dark Ages, 500-1150. By Leicester Bodine Holland. (Allentown, Pa., H. Ray Haas and Company, 1919, pp. v, 99, \$2.00.) This is a doctoral dissertation presented to the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania. It begins with a chapter on Gallo-Roman highways, in which the point is made that river traffic in Gaul was far less important than Strabo's well-known description of the country would lead one to suppose, and in which the location of the Roman roads is studied. The main portion of the book is devoted to a study of the known itineraries of kings and popes, with a view to determining as exactly as possible the routes by which they travelled. Some, though less, attention is paid to the journeys of pilgrims and merchants. Other known travels of the period are for the most part neglected. There is a convenient map showing the medieval highways, so far as determined, and the journeys of kings and popes are set out conveniently in tabular form in an appendix.

Though the work contains much useful information in convenient form, it has some shortcomings which should be noted. One can not help objecting to a title which includes the first half of the twelfth century in the "dark ages". More serious is the fact that the scope of the investigation is too great to enable it to be accomplished with the thoroughness which should characterize a dissertation. The author is hardly the master of the secondary literature of his subject (*e.g.*, he takes no account of recent literature bearing upon pilgrimage routes) and the royal itineraries could almost certainly have been made more complete by the use of documentary sources. Broad as is the scope embraced by the title, the author has not hesitated to extend his survey to routes of travel which lay far beyond the confines of France, either medieval or modern. A more limited and more exhaustive inquiry would have been preferable. The author makes no attempt to do more than locate the traffic ways. He must have gathered some fragments of information concerning the condition of the roads and the manner of travel upon them, which would have added much to the interest of the volume had they been included.

C. W. D.

Étude sur les Ministeriales en Flandre et en Lotharingie. Par François-L. Ganshof, Chargé de Cours, Université de Gand. (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, 1926, pp. 456, 16 M.) The servile retainers technically described in medieval Germany as *ministeriales* have long attracted scholarly interest, and to explain their peculiarities numerous monographs have already been published. On the history of this class in the Low Countries M. Ganshof now furnishes us with an exhaustive and authoritative study, the fruit of research begun when the author first sat in the *cours de critique* of M. Pirenne.

The method pursued by M. Ganshof is admirable. Following a careful definition of the subject in hand, he summarizes the leading opinions that have previously been advanced with regard to the *ministeriales*, particularly in Germany. Then, coming to his own investigations, he divides his materials between Flanders and Lotharingia. Within each region he works out a complete catalogue of the known families of *ministeriales*, and on the basis of the evidence thus marshalled, states his conclusions.

In the latter connection nothing revolutionary is proposed. M. Ganshof gives judgment solidly in support of the "classic doctrine": that the *ministeriales* were originally bondmen, who, because of their personal subjection, came to be employed in various official capacities by both lay and ecclesiastical lords. Faithful service brought rich reward in landed wealth, political power, and social prestige. The strange spectacle was then seen of serfs marrying daughters of ancient knightly houses. But by this time the servile status of the *ministeriales* was plainly legal fiction, and all distinction between them and the regular nobility quickly faded. In Lotharingia this evolution begins during the tenth century and is completed by the end of the thirteenth. In Flanders, where social transformation was more rapid, all trace of the class is lost before 1200.

On the whole, M. Ganshof has given us a sound piece of work, clearly and judiciously presented. The volume maintains a high standard of workmanship. It contains an index of names, a full table of contents, and an excellent bibliography.

CARL STEPHENSON.

Anglo-Dutch Relations from the Earliest Times to the Death of William the Third, being an Historical Introduction to a Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary. By J. F. Bense, Lit.Ph.D. (The Hague, M. Nijhoff; London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1924, 1925, pp. xx, 293, 16 s.) This book might fittingly be described as an elaboration of those pages in Allan Cunningham's *Alien Immigrants to England* that deal with immigrants from the Netherlands. For Dr. Bense is chiefly interested in the contribution of Dutchmen to English civilization, the part that Englishmen have played in the development of the Low Countries being of minor concern to him. The very nature of his subject-matter led to this one-sided treatment of Anglo-Dutch relations, since during the age-long intercourse between the two

countries most of the borrowing was done by the English. Weavers, arras makers, printers, bookbinders, paper makers, engravers, painters, glaziers, gunners, armorers, and several other types of artisans were imported from the continent, mostly from France and the Netherlands. The crown encouraged this immigration of foreign labor, in the face of strong opposition by the people, for the concourse of aliens to England was a source of increased revenue to the crown, since, apart from the trade that it brought to the country and the import and export duties derived therefrom, these aliens paid double subsidy and occasionally a poll tax. But royal greed only added a stimulus, it was not the cause of this influx of labor from abroad. The exodus of skilled workmen from the Low Countries seems to have been an unbroken tradition from the days before the Conquest, their armies following in the track of the raids that Angles and Saxons and Frisians undertook from the same shores. Dr. Bense has marshalled the facts of this flow of immigration in an imposing array, from the Conquest down to the end of the seventeenth century, conscientiously referring the reader for each statement to the source of his information.

Since this book, however, is only part of a larger whole, to which it serves as an introduction, the reviewer must ask himself the question what bearing Dr. Bense's survey of Anglo-Dutch relations has on the study of Dutch loan-words in English. Dr. Bense's reason for excluding the Old English period from his investigation is given in these words: "As I was aware that, owing to the close affinity of English to Low Dutch, and especially for lack of evidence, it would be impossible to prove that Low Dutch words passed into Old English, I carefully excluded all words which appeared to have been recorded before the twelfth century." If that is true—and no student of Germanic philology will deny it—it must be equally impossible to prove that Middle English words of supposed Low Dutch origin are not part of the Old English literature, which, in its poetry, employs an artificial diction and, in its prose, is strongly influenced by Latin models. The real wealth of Anglo-Saxon speech is not revealed before the Middle English period, and though Low Dutch has, no doubt, added to that wealth, it seems hazardous to attribute to it so large a contribution as this elaborate introduction seems to imply. The reviewer must withhold a definite judgment on this aspect of Dr. Bense's work until his Dictionary of Low Dutch words in English has come from the press.

A. J. BARNOUW.

The Early English County Court. By William Alfred Morris. [University of California Publications in History, vol. 14, no. 2.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1926, pp. x, 89-230, \$1.75.) This monograph of 58 pages of text gives a better rounded view of the thirteenth-century county court than Stubbs's treatment of it in relation to Parliament or Maitland's incomplete statement of its legal side. Stress is laid on the less-known features: its criminal jurisdiction and extensive

amercements, its ordaining impulse controlled by the justices, its use as the chief local agent of administrative publicity. Sections touching the vital matters of the judgment-finding power and jurisdiction in civil pleas largely confirm orthodox views. Throughout, there is due emphasis upon the shiremate's "actual and potential democracy" and the belief that recent recognition of some attendance of the lower classes (though "reeve and four men" are still in considerable mystery) should bring corresponding recognition of its importance in "the political education of Englishmen". As these more democratic traits, however, especially the "commingling" or "co-operation" of high and low classes, are mainly demonstrable after the Conquest, it seems risky to regard them as inherent, as showing the court in a special sense the "cradle of Anglo-Saxon self-rule". Were not shire court and all other agencies being adapted to the post-Conquest royal policy of checking officials and serving royal interests by the use—in juries and in every conceivable way—of the non-official many; making their political education a by-product of the medieval English king's notion of the best way to govern? There was hardly, in 1254 (pp. 141, 142), "a more general application of the procedure and principles of 1226" (rather, 1227), as an examination of the summonses (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, II. 212, 213) proves; nor can it be shown that the elected knights were "to appear in parliament" in the latter year in any other sense than in the former. Again appears (p. 141) the old error of the four discreet "men" from each county in 1213. Part II. consists of 82 pages of illustrative documents not before printed, including the unique county-court roll of Cornwall for 1333.

A. B. WHITE.

Louis de Chalon, Prince d'Orange, Seigneur d'Orbe, Échallens, Grandson, 1390-1463. Par Frédéric Barbey. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 396, 10 fr.) Slowly, through the exploration of local archives, we are coming to understand better the later Middle Ages, and students of that period will welcome this present scholarly work as an important contribution to that understanding. The Archives du Doubs, the neighboring departmental and municipal archives, the collections at Paris, Vienna, and Prague provided the author with a great many manuscripts *inédits* bearing upon his subject. A quarter of his book is given to documents either summarized or in full. In the absence of chronicles, the text is based very largely upon this unpublished material, providing, consequently, considerable new information in regard to a man, a personage in his own time, whose career in many ways illustrates feudalism in decline. In this respect M. Barbey's study supplements the work of Dognon, Flourac, Fournier, and Quicherat.

The life of this first of the Burgundian vassals enables us to see the Hundred Years War from the feudal point of view. For him it was primarily a French partizan struggle in which he did his duty by his Burgundian overlord, and sought opportunity for local aggrandizement

at the expense of his neighbor and suzerain, the Dauphin, whom apparently he hoped to replace as ruler of Dauphiné. But when Philip the Good made alliance with the English, the Prince of Orange refused to support the compact, although continuing actively in the duke's service. Willing as he was to support Burgundy against Charles VII., he was also willing to act as vicar for the Emperor Sigismund contrary to the ducal interests in Franche Comté.

Even more important than its contribution to political history is the impression of decaying feudalism which this biography gives. In many ways a baronial career in the fifteenth century seems similar to one in the thirteenth; more than twenty years of intermittent, local campaigning, a youthful pilgrimage to the Holy Land (apparently in 1415 a trip of about twenty weeks), persistent efforts to enlarge his holdings by marriages, lawsuits, or force, a pious foundation in penance for sacrilege in war, nearly thirty years of feudal administration. Yet at the end we get a picture of a vigorous, ambitious, avaricious old man whose long life, despite his reputation for wealth, leaves an impression of frustration and failure. He is unable to make good his claims to Geneva and Neuchâtel; he is forced to resign the imperial vicariate; because of Duke Philip's jealous suspicion he is omitted from the Order of the Golden Fleece; he is disastrously defeated at Anthon and spends much of his later life recovering the lands lost by that defeat. It would seem as if politics in his time was too big a game to be played independently by the lesser feudal princes.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

The Black Book of Winchester. Edited by W. H. B. Bird, M.A., from a transcript made by F. J. Baigent. (Winchester, Warren and Son Limited, 1925, pp. xx, 241, 12 s. 6 d.) The Black Book of Winchester, once the property of the corporation of Winchester, has wandered from home and is now preserved in the British Museum, where it is known as Additional MS. 6036. It is a folio volume of less than a hundred leaves of vellum and contains, for the most part, records of the proceedings of the corporation of Winchester. It is not, however, an original register. Neither is it a complete record of the proceedings of the corporation, but rather, to judge from appearances, a handy reference-book for the mayor's use. The entries, which range in date from 1266 to 1546 and are written in various hands, are in chronological disorder until the year 1511 is reached, and appear to have been copied into this book from an older Black Book and other sources. The editor is inclined to the opinion that the earlier part of the book was compiled in 1511.

In the past, the records of English towns have furnished us with valuable items of national history. In the present instance, events in the kingdom at large scarcely emerge into view except in the case of a letter under the signet of Henry IV., announcing the collapse of the Earl of Kent's insurrection and cancelling a previous demand for troops. But

the student of municipal institutions will welcome the Black Book of Winchester as a valuable addition to his printed material, although the picture of town life which it reveals is already familiar. We know of old the mayor and the "twenty-four", the bailiffs and other lesser dignitaries, the gild merchant and the craft gilds. We are prepared, too, for Winchester's jealous guarding of its privileges, for its careful regulation of buying and selling within its gates, and for its gallant struggle to keep its streets and watercourses clean and pure in days when sewers were few, when householders, unless forbidden, built pigsties even in High Street, and when not only dead dogs and dead cats but the butcher's leavings too often found their way into the river. Only in the details is the picture novel. What other town records give so delightful a glimpse of the mayor off duty as we get from Winchester's decree that Master Webbe, one of the aldermen, "shall have the little pond of the city term of his life, and that he shall make clean and scour the same pond at his own costs and charges, and Master Mayor for the time being shall fish thereon twice a year, and for his pleasure there to angle at all times"?

At the end of the volume the editor gives a list of the mayors, bailiffs, and recorders of Winchester, so far as their names can be determined, during the period covered by the Black Book, and a brief glossary, as well as excellent indexes of names and matters. In all respects the book is very well edited. And typographically it is a comfort and pleasure to the eye.

CORA L. SCOFIELD.

A Czech Humanist in the Seventeenth Century, Jan Sictor Rokycansky, 1593-1652. By Robert Fitzgibbon Young, M.A. (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1926, pp. 30, 2 s.)

A Bohemian Philosopher at Oxford in the Seventeenth Century: George Ritschel of Deutschkahn, 1616-1693. [Lecture delivered by the same before the Philosophical Union of the Caroline University, Prague, October 29, 1924.] (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1925, pp. 24, 2 s.) These two pamphlets are carefully supplied with critical and explanatory notes. The comparison of the two scholars is interesting. Both are driven from their native land, Bohemia, as a result of the political changes following the battle of White Mountain, both being Protestant in religion and Bohemian patriots in politics. Their reception was friendly enough but not always blessed with a sustaining friendship. Rokycansky has the harder lot. A poet from boyhood, a student after his exile, at Groningen, Heidelberg, and Leiden, his elegiacs stir only a temporary warmth in the princes, lord mayors, and the like to whom they are dedicated. Even the "ultra-Protestant" régime of Cromwell does him little good apparently because he vainly tries to get help in order to return to Holland. On the other hand, Ritschel, the student of metaphysics, philosophy, and theology, finding himself at home in the Anglican Communion, secures a "living" both for himself and for his son after him, while the great Leibnitz praises his scientific attainments.

Two-thirds of the first pamphlet is filled with the list of Jan Sictor's works, published at Prague, later at Groningen and London. References to the Bohemian revolt, to the Prince of the Palatinate, and to the foreign trade of the city companies (London) appear most important.

The appendix for the second study contains full bibliographical notes and chapter-titles for Ritschel's works on metaphysics and ceremonies of the Anglican Church as well as his epitaph and Leibnitz's famous reference to Ritschel's learning.

There are a number of typographical errors which the author has himself noted in the amended copy. Another may be noted: 27 March 1637 was not the *fourteenth* anniversary of Charles I.'s accession.

Together the two pamphlets do open little windows, looking through which we may get brief glimpses into the life of the seventeenth century.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

The Siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683 by Jeremias Cacavelas. Edited by F. H. Marshall, M.A., Reader in Classics in the University of London. (Cambridge, University Press, 1925, pp. xxiii, 185, 10 s.) An English version of an unpublished translation of a printed original is something of a novelty, yet useful, despite the fact, which the editor frankly admits (p. v), that there has been no critical comparison of the Greek translation here published with the Italian original at Venice. He has, however, drawn some quite justifiable conclusions as to the prejudices and objects of the *Due Amici*, authors of the Italian original. The Greek version and the English translation are printed opposite each other, page for page, with folios marked, a useful arrangement, skillfully done. References and notes afford a wide survey of the contemporary accounts. The original Italian was used by various historians. That this Greek text was produced in Bucharest is an implication that that city was become a centre of Greek culture.

The narrative is diffuse and somewhat duplicative. Yet the story unfolds itself well. At a few points clearness is sacrificed slightly for chronological order. The first siege of Vienna (1529), however, began on September 26, not some two weeks earlier as implied (p. 125 and note). Other errors are referred to by the editor (pp. xx-xxi, 45 n., 71 n., etc.). The story of the blowing-up of Szigeth (p. 27) sounds suspiciously like that of 1566.

The language of the English translation is exceedingly well chosen, in keeping with the times of the original without being archaic.

Besides an index, two glossaries form interesting, though brief linguistic studies of historical value: one giving modern Greek terms unfamiliar to the student; the other, Turkish, Slavic, Ruman, and other foreign words found in the Greek manuscript. The appendix contains an inscription to Constantine Brancovano with date of the Greek translation, and also of its completion, with the amount paid for it. The Sketch Plan of Vienna, taken from *Two Sieges of Vienna by the Turks* (London, 1847),

is of great help. The Tekeli letter to the Grand Vizier was worth re-printing; it assists the text in revealing curious political conditions in Hungary.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

A Tour in Ireland, with General Observations on the Present State of that Kingdom made in the Years 1776, 1777, and 1778. By Arthur Young. Edited by Constantia Maxwell, M.A., Lecturer in Modern History in Trinity College, Dublin. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1925, pp. xxii, 244, 7 s. 6 d.) Miss Maxwell's edition of Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland* is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of social and economic conditions in eighteenth-century Ireland. Arthur Young was in Ireland for about six months in 1776 and 1777. He visited all parts of the country for the purpose of observing agricultural conditions. He kept a copious day-to-day Secret Journal which was unfortunately stolen, and also notes. Part I. of this volume is an expansion of these notes supplemented by information obtained through residence in Cork as administrative agent for Lord Kingsborough's estate. It is quite evident that conclusions arrived at by an agriculturist of European repute may be accepted as giving a veracious picture of social and economic conditions in Ireland in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Young draws comparisons which cover a period of about twenty years. With the exception of a long description of the linen industry, there is but little comment on trade and commerce. The author is interested in the welfare of the very poor and records in some detail living conditions of the cottier class. There is no evidence of an emaciated peasantry. The survival, however, of a semi-feudal economic serfdom was detrimental to self-respect and to agricultural development. It is unfortunate that a bias in favor of agricultural information left untouched all aspects of political history in the decade which preceded the obtaining of legislative independence. Part II. is a series of general observations and conclusions.

Miss Maxwell's editorial preface contains a comprehensive summary of topics treated of in the text. In the pages of Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland* we get not only eighteenth-century social history but an invaluable portrayal of the background of the agricultural cataclysm of the nineteenth century.

SUSAN M. LOUGH.

Autour de Mirabeau. Par Dauphin Meunier. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 269, 20 fr.) One might apply to M. Dauphin Meunier an expression that I once heard an old gentleman of the Ile de Ré use, in speaking of a friend at Saintes; he declared that he was "enormément instruit" touching all matters relating to Mirabeau's life at Saintes. When M. Barthou, in the preface to the volume under review, stated that "no one since Lucas de Montigny, at the same time the putative and the adopted son of Mirabeau, no one, not even M. de Loménie, had, to the same degree as M.

Dauphin Meunier, lived in intimate relations with Mirabeau", he was guilty of no exaggeration. Concerning Mirabeau, Meunier "sait tout et il sait le rsete". A close friend of the last of the Montignys, all the Mirabeau material passed through his hands and he studied it *con amore* and critically. The present volume is the fourth Meunier has published. His first appeared in 1903, *Lettres à Julie*, letters written by Mirabeau from the donjon of Vincennes to Julie Dauvers; in 1908, appeared the definitive life of Mirabeau's wife, the *Comtesse de Mirabeau*, and in 1914 the life of Mirabeau's notorious sister, *Louise de Mirabeau*. All three were crowned by the French Academy. The present volume contains nine studies dealing with Mirabeau and with the setting of his life, and utilizes manuscript material not hitherto used. The longest studies, "Au Château de Vincennes", and "Un Ménage de Poètes au XVIII^e Siècle", treat largely of the background of Mirabeau's life; another study disposes of the myth of "Mirabeau Brigand"; a chapter based upon the unpublished letters of the marquis gives us a pathetic picture of the last year of his life; another study deals with the relation of Mirabeau to the attempt to provide Frederick William II. of Prussia with a French mistress; the "Lettres Inédites de Mirabeau" were written by Mirabeau to his secretary, M. de Combs, during the elections in Provence; "Mirabeau vu par son Valet de Chambre" is a charming study of Legrain, Mirabeau's original valet, based upon Legrain's memoirs. A final chapter, "Le Premier Pas de la Terreur", treats of the debates at the Jacobin Club in February, 1791—especially February 28—using detailed accounts found among the Mirabeau manuscripts, the records of an eye-witness. The volume is a collection of brilliant studies based on a thorough knowledge of the evidence.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Recueil de Documents Internationaux relatifs à l'Histoire Économique de 1814 à 1924. Par N. W. Posthumus, Professeur d'Histoire Économique, Université d'Amsterdam. Tome I. *Traité Collectifs, Pays-Bas, France, Allemagne.* (Amsterdam, Swets and Zeitlinger, 1925, pp. 860.) The first section of this volume, making about one-eighth of the whole, comprises the acts of the Congress of Vienna regarding the navigation of international rivers and the abolition of the slave-trade, the conventions of 1831 and 1868 on the navigation of the Rhine, the economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, and the Geneva Protocol of October 1924.

The sections devoted to the economic history of the individual countries are more extensive and much more varied in contents. Some sixty documents, occupying altogether nearly half the pages of the volume, illustrate the history of the Netherlands from the Napoleonic period (decree of 1813 regarding convoys) to the statement of the Dutch minister of finance, 1925, on the return to the gold standard. Here the student will find original material illustrating the history of Dutch money and banking, public finance, foreign trade and commercial policy, colonial policy (Van den Bosch on the culture system, 1864), the introduction of steam engines and railroads, the labor movement.

The last two sections, covering the economic history of France and Germany, are of similar character, but give more space to documents in the field of commercial policy, and relatively less to those illustrating other subjects.

All of the documents in the volume have been previously published, and a few are readily accessible in such collections as those of De Martens and Hertslet. For the text of most of them the student must have recourse to the official publications of the various governments, and these are, of course, available only in large libraries. The editor has therefore done a service in collecting and republishing the material. The extracts from customs tariffs of different periods and of different countries, to pick out only one element but an important one in the contents of the volume, are admirable sources in which to study at first-hand the changes in the course of European commercial policy during the nineteenth century. In the case of France, for example, the editor prints significant parts of the tariff of 1826, the Cobden Treaty of 1860 and supplementary conventions, the Belgian commercial treaty of 1861, the law of 1888 significant in its relation to the Franco-Italian tariff war, the tariffs of 1892 and 1910. The section on Germany supplies material illustrating the development of the Zollverein, part of the tariff of 1873, with later laws and treaties down to the tariff act of 1925.

The editor has contented himself with reprinting, in whole or in part, the original documents. He has not added any notes of his own, and, indeed, has not been as generous as could be desired in bibliographical information regarding the sources on which he has drawn; titles are much abbreviated and the date and place of publication are regularly omitted. Documents are printed in the language of the original, with preference given to French over English, and a large part of the volume is available only to those who read Dutch.

CLIVE DAY.

À Travers la République. Par Louis Andrieux. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 358, 25 fr.) Until defeated at the election of May 11, 1924, the author of these always interesting and sometimes important reminiscences had been for many years the *doyen* of the Chamber of Deputies. As his public career began in the later years of the Second Empire, his recollections probably cover a longer period than could be contributed by any of his surviving colleagues except Clemenceau, who threatens, it is reported, to punish his enemies and disappoint his friends by not writing any memoirs.

Though never a political figure of the first order, M. Andrieux played several parts of sufficient importance to give his recollections distinct value for the historian. When the news of Sedan arrived at Lyons, he, as a lawyer of thirty, suddenly exchanged the rôle of political prisoner for a press offense for that of *procureur de la république*. In the latter

capacity, he had an opportunity to see at close range the difficulties which Challemlacour, as prefect, experienced in his successful effort to prevent Lyons from falling under the control of elements similar to those which at Paris brought on the Commune of 1871. Elected a deputy in 1876, he was in 1879-1881 prefect of police at Paris, and in 1882 at the head of the commission whose adverse report brought about the overthrow of the Gambetta grand ministry. Upon all these matters the recollections of M. Andrieux either bring valuable information or illustrate a point of view of considerable importance. From them one can get a vivid impression of the activities of the prefect of police at Paris in the early 'eighties as a gatherer of information in many places and for many purposes. London, Berlin, Italy, and Tunis were among the places to which M. Andrieux extended his activity. One can also get a better comprehension of the reason why the deputies ventured to revolt against the man who a few weeks before had been popularly believed to be all-powerful.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Lærde Brev fraa og til P. A. Munch. Utgjevne av det Kongelige Frederiks Universitet ved Gustav Indrebö og Oluf Kolsrud. Fyrste Bandet, 1832-1850. (Oslo, H. Aschehoug and Company, 1924, 30 kr.) The publication of the letters to and from the poly-historian, P. A. Munch, is an event of considerable importance in the cultural history of the Scandinavian North. Born in 1810, before the separation of Norway from Denmark, Munch grew up under the Bernadotte dynasty, in an era of reconstruction and of re-orientation. Though loyal to the new union, his love for the Danish people and culture never ceased. An indefatigable worker, expert in Old Norse language and literature, legal history, runic investigation, cartography, early migrations, and folklore, Munch was no mere cloistered scholar. This volume reveals what is not generally realized outside of the Scandinavian lands, the depth of the sympathy that rose from Norwegians and Swedes in behalf of the Danes in their struggle with Prussia in 1848. Munch promoted pro-Danish mass meetings, circulated bold petitions to a timid government, and even urged his English scholar-friends to stir the Palmerston government to active intervention. Anxious to promote cultural relations among the three northern neighbors, he was unalterably opposed to any Pan-Scandinavianism that aimed at a dynastic union. He expressed to the German philologist Jacob Grimm his opinion that the Slesvig question might best be settled by the drawing of a linguistic boundary between Denmark and the German states, a solution used in 1919 that might have saved Denmark the humiliation of 1864.

In the field of historiography, he was the greatest figure before Sars. Devotion to Norway's "great tradition" pervades his scholarly efforts. His first important work, done in conjunction with Rudolph Keyser, was a definitive edition of Norway's ancient laws. He lectured on Norwegian history at the university, where he became professor in 1841. With amazing industry, he edited numerous Norwegian classics, the Elder

Edda, the *Speculum Regale*, with the aid of Unger and Keyser, and many sagas. Among the latter, he published a collection that threw light on Scandinavian influence on and relations with Russia (1849). *Det Old-Norske og Norrönsprogets Grammatik* (1847) and *Forn-Svenskans och Forn-Norskans Språkbygnad* (1849) were the first scientific grammars for the serious study of the historical literature of the medieval North. That feverish interest in local dialects that is characteristic of Norway to-day was shared by Munch. In a letter to Jacob Grimm written on June 25, 1847, he refers to the untapped linguistic sources in the remote mountain valleys, and the importance of "the study of our ancient language" (p. 210).

This is the initial volume of a series of three. When completed, this work will present a mine of valuable materials illustrating the development of Norway's culture in the nineteenth century. The care with which the present work is edited quite outweighs any inconvenience that may be caused the uninitiated reader who attempts to decipher the prefatory remarks of the editors, done in a "new Norwegian" that bears some resemblance to Old Norse.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

Travels in India. By Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. Translated from the original French edition of 1676 by V. Ball, C.B., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S.; second edition, edited by William Crooke, C.I.E. (London, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. xc, 335; xv, 399, 18 s.) This new edition of a portion of Tavernier's famous *Six Voyages* appears at a time made auspicious by wide speculation concerning the future of India and by something like a concerted effort to reduce to definite outlines its long and confused history. For the period of the decline and fall of the Mogul Empire Tavernier's writings form an invaluable source.

Dr. Valentine Ball's first edition of the *Travels*, published in 1889, was distinguished above earlier English versions of the original by the accuracy and style of his translation from the French and by his authoritative comments on the text. The edition of 1889 together with extensive notes collected later form the basis of the present edition, although the editor, the late William Crooke, has considerably modernized and improved upon the work of his predecessor in many places.

The comments on volume I. still distinctly show in this, as in the earlier, edition the influence of Colonel Sir Henry Yule. Perhaps the most valuable additions are the extensive foot-note citations of recent works dealing with the human geography and institutions of India and other parts of the Orient. The enlisting of experts in many fields for the testing of various passages in the original text has aided materially in elucidating Tavernier's statements and in establishing his veracity. The most scholarly portion of the present edition is the appendix covering the history of the Kohinoor diamond.

Occasionally there is unnecessary repetition in foot-notes. The later chapters of volume II., compassing Tavernier's travels in the East Indies and his return to Europe, are less thoroughly annotated than the earlier portions dealing with his itineraries and trading ventures in India, but they are also less significant. A few slips have occurred, as in dates given in I. xxxii, 1, 23, and II. 320, note 1, but errors of any kind are few.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

India. By Sir Valentine Chirol. [The Modern World, edited by the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P.] (London, E. Benn; New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926, pp. vii, 352, 15 s.) The world-importance of India and the rapid growth of new and delicate problems in the administration of that country since the war have brought forth many writers of late. Most of these have been either apologists for or hostile critics of the British *raj*. Sir Valentine Chirol is consciously neither. His purpose in this book is to present historically to thoughtful readers an explanation of the new India, and in carrying out his purpose he has produced a noteworthy book, once again distinguishing himself as a careful student and an able historian.

The analysis of a changing India in a much altered world is thorough. With fine choice of words, sometimes marred by involved sentence-structure, the historical basis of present-day India is built up. The origin of caste, the rule of the East India Company, the Mutiny, the introduction of Western education, national congresses, industrialization, the "cosmic earthquake" of the Great War, and other factors are placed in well-ordered perspective. The interpretation of the very recent "flight from *swaraj*", due to the presence of fundamental feuds and jealousies among Indian castes and communities, as marking the end of one historic phase and the beginning of a new era in the contact of East and West, gives the book a unity and completeness lacking in most works dealing with current problems.

The author disclaims any intention of speculating as to the future or of propounding solutions "of one of the most formidable complex problems with which British statesmanship can be confronted". Yet where his delineation of modern India has called for criticism either of British or of Indian policies, he has not only unhesitatingly applied the rod but has also given his own views as to practicable lines of procedure, and this with singular perception, courage, and dispassionateness.

On the whole, the author is optimistic as to the future of India, in which he can conceive of the maintenance of the British *raj* along with the development of a real Indian nationality based on popular elementary education. Few in Western countries who feel sympathy with the idea that foreign domination of diverse peoples may be justified by material benefits conferred will take issue with his thesis. But with all of its sincerity, the book will, for this reason, have difficulty in finding friends

among the Indian intellectuals fully committed to *swaraj*, though it should exercise a salutary influence on the extremists of both great races in India.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

The American Revolution considered as a Social Movement. By J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. [Lectures delivered in November 1925 on the Louis Clark Vanuxem Foundation.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1926, pp. 158, \$1.50.) In these lectures Dr. Jameson addresses himself to a much-neglected aspect of the Revolution, its social implications and consequences, and his volume is intended primarily as an incitement to further study in this wide field. We may hope that the Sesquicentennial celebrations, like the Centennial, will stimulate both popular and expert interest in the Revolution. Much of this interest, as Dr. Jameson says, might profitably be channelled into a consideration of the effects of the upheaval upon landholding and settlement, industry and commerce, slavery and philanthropy, education and intellectual outlook. To those attracted by such a subject these lectures are an illuminating introduction and guide. It need not be said that the scholarship is impeccable, the style is polished, and that, above all, the outlook is broad and thoughtful.

Many of the social effects of the Revolution lie upon the surface: the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the disintegration of great landed estates and the extension of small holdings, the broadening of suffrage, the limitation of slavery, the achievement of greater religious liberty, the stimulation of interest in politics and military affairs, and so on. All are treated. But in a work of such small compass Dr. Jameson is rightly more intent upon tracing causes and effects than upon a mere detailed and chronological statement of facts. The author has a keen eye for relationships which might easily be neglected, and it is this which gives the closely compacted chapters their chief interest. It is only to be wished that there were sometimes a clearer distinction between the effects of the conflict itself, and of the wider liberty which that conflict won. As instances of the numerous social phenomena, sometimes rather obscure, which Dr. Jameson sets in their proper places, we may mention duelling, which was almost unknown before the war and frequent afterwards; the production of important state histories, like Belknap's, Ramsay's, and Trumbull's, an evidence of the enhanced state pride of the day; and the rise of the American industrial inventor, called forward by the wartime demand for manufactures. Repeatedly he suggests striking and convincing relationships. For example, he points out that the tendency of American courts to hold bad laws unconstitutional grew up at a time when most legislatures were filled with radicals and hotheads, while the lawyers and judges were more moderate. He remarks that the state stay laws in the hard times after the Revolution—we should have said the public feeling

behind the stay laws—had much to do with the more humane attitude toward imprisonment for debt.

The volume is remarkably comprehensive for its size, and the author's use of his space is so admirable that one hesitates to suggest topics (for example, the effect of the campaigning upon the general mobility of population) which might have been treated. In none of his four chapters—the Status of Persons; the Land; Industry and Commerce; and Thought and Feeling—does he forget how easy is the *post-hoc-propter-hoc* fallacy. The America of 1790 would have been vastly different from the America of 1770 without a Revolution. The chief general criticism that may be given the volume is its excessive brightness of tone. Dr. Jameson concerns himself almost wholly with beneficial changes, and passes rapidly over the formidable list of changes for the worse—the social disorganization, the lowered morals, the vulgarization, the injury to education and general culture, the other shocks to social health—which the six years of active war inevitably produced. But this may be defended on the ground that the idea held in view throughout is that of progress. The book is a timely and permanently valuable introduction to a field that ought soon to receive much more attention.

ALLAN NEVINS.

The Liberty Bell, its History and Significance. By Victor Rosewater. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1926, pp. 246, \$1.75.) This interesting volume is no doubt a by-product of Mr. Rosewater's experience as head of publicity for the Sesquicentennial at Philadelphia in its earlier stages. On first thought the average reader might wonder how one could make nearly two hundred and fifty pages out of even a Liberty Bell without padding liberally. The author, however, lures him into a new conception of a treasured relic that has become the "Emblem of Liberty" to all the world, and as such has a romantic career probably unequalled except by that of the Cross.

With all of Mr. Rosewater's excellent research, he might have added, at the beginning, another chapter quite as striking as the rest. He evidently did not know that this bell became the voice of a State House, which itself is a monument to over a half-century of Pennsylvania's struggle for liberty under law, led by that great commoner, David Lloyd, under whose last speakership of the assembly it was ordered built—the first State House ever built in the colony; that it was as though Lloyd and his people were determined to fully establish the colony's liberty in constitution and law before they should build it a home or provide for it a bell to make those ideas vocal.

The author begins with the first provision for a tower for the bell in 1741—over a dozen years after the Lloydian assembly ordered the famous State House; and traces the progress from the actual ordering of the bell ten years later, on October 16, 1751, through its various experiences in being recast and being replaced by a new one, both with Isaac

Norris's prophetic choice of the Biblical injunction to "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof", as its inscription. This chapter on the Casting of the Bell carefully traces the great relic down to the opening of the Revolution.

In the remaining eight chapters is Mr. Rosewater's characteristic presentation under the titles—Proclaiming Liberty, the Saving of the Bell, the Crack in the Bell, the Legends of the Bell, the Bell become a Relic, the Bell as it is, the Travels of the Bell, and the Bell in Picture, Prose, and Poetry. Even his introduction as the first chapter contributes to it under the title the Fascination of the Bell.

Of necessity the historical background of the various events in which the bell figured is carefully, thoughtfully, and picturesquely drawn, especially in those related to the Declaration of Independence which gave the unique relic its name. His discriminating account of the conflicting statements about the signing of that immortal instrument illustrates his judicial treatment, and is satisfactory even to one who believes the original manuscript was signed on July 4, although the more perfectly engrossed parchment signatures are all that have come down to us. His quotation of original testimony is abundant and happily selected, but one wishes he would use quotation marks more uniformly and so avoid occasional confusion.

BURTON ALVA KONKLE.

The Slave Trade, Slavery, and Color. By Theodore D. Jervcy. (Columbia, S. C., State Company, 1925, pp. vi, 344, \$2.50.) In the early pages of this book the slave-trade is dealt with as a matter of politics and social importance, whereupon the whole subject is virtually dismissed. The remainder of the first half of the book is in main substance a repetition of the author's *Robert Y. Hayne and his Times*, with an intensified championship of Hayne as against the "Upas tree" Calhoun. The latter half sketches negro affairs and opinion in the United States from the Reconstruction period to the present time. Though bristling with quoted matter, it contains interesting bits of the author's own philosophy—for example, congratulating the South upon the abolition of slavery and likewise upon the latter-day northward migration of negroes, and insisting that race relations are not a subject proper for federal control. The book is regrettably hard to use, for it has no table of contents, no chapter titles, no index, and no readily apparent sequence of themes. It has fairly frequent foot-note citations, but a number of these are of a form typified by the following from page 92: "Pamphlet, C. L. S. Vol. VIII. Art. 7, p. 6." The Charleston Library Society, which "C. L. S." is doubtless intended to designate, is well worth visiting; but not every serious reader will find it feasible to go thither to ascertain the author and title of the seventh pamphlet in the eighth volume of an unspecified series on its shelves. Again, a personal unhappiness comes from a foot-note on page

78, for it seems to attribute to the present reviewer an assertion which he did not make.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

Impressment of American Seamen. By James Fulton Zimmerman, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CXVIII., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1925, pp. 279, \$3.00.) This study of the impressment controversy is written almost entirely from the printed sources and from long-accessible manuscripts in the State Department at Washington. As might be expected from this fact, the study adds little really new to our knowledge of the subject. The most useful chapters are those on the early history of impressment (prior to 1803) and on the diplomatic history of impressment from 1815 down to 1842. It may be questioned whether it was worth while to tell in such detail the history of the crucial years of the controversy (1803 to 1812), especially since the details presented do practically nothing to alter the conventional view of the question.

The general course of the controversy and the principles maintained by the parties thereto being pretty well known, one turns to a new study of impressment hoping to find answers to some of the following questions: How really valuable was the practice of impressment to the British navy? Were commercial interests in England favorable to the practice as a means of crippling American rivals? How many sailors were impressed from American ships, and of these how many were American citizens? The first two of these questions could be answered only from British sources, which Dr. Zimmerman has not used, and the third he, like some previous writers, regards as insoluble.

There is a very brief index and no bibliography. Some of the footnote references betray carelessness. On page 63, note 3, is a reference to "*Pickering Papers*, xxxvi". Presumably this means the Pickering MSS. owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, but the reader is left in doubt whether this is a manuscript or printed source; nor is he informed whether the "*MS. Monroe Papers*" (page 131, note 1) and the "*Monroe Papers*" (page 137, note 1) are from the collection in the Library of Congress, from that in the New York Public Library, or from still another repository.

Indications are that Dr. Zimmerman has not used the Monroe Papers in the New York Public Library. Had he done so, he might have found some interesting sidelights on the impressment question. For example, in the late summer and early fall of 1812, when Monroe and Madison were deciding to continue the war over impressment as the sole issue, Monroe was receiving from the West warnings that if Madison accepted the proposed armistice he would probably lose the West in the approaching presidential election. And the West was less interested in impressment than in the conquest of Canada.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

Andrew Jackson's Campaign against the British, or the Mississippi Territory in the War of 1812. By Mrs. Dunbar Rowland. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xv, 424, \$3.50.) Mrs. Rowland has presented in a printed book a vast deal of hitherto inaccessible documents, some of them from old and rare books, and most of them manuscript papers on file with the Mississippi Historical Society. Her subject is a dual one, detailing the campaigns of Andrew Jackson of Tennessee against the Creek Indians in 1813 and 1814, and against the British at Pensacola and New Orleans, and also presenting in full elaboration the precise amount of military aid given in these operations by the Mississippi Territory. As an available source of data, the volume is somewhat useful, though its author is led slightly astray by personalities and does not always apportion space adequately. Four pages are devoted to an isolated and minor, though heroic, stunt performed by four men in a canoe against eleven Indians, and but a page and a half to the opening clash of the Creek campaign at Tallussahatchie, in 1813, without clear explanation of the relations between Jackson's own forces and those of the southern district. Frequent digressions to explain personalities or Indian tribes are sketchy and almost too apparently summarized from unidentifiable previous publications. The value of the book is also lowered by the entire absence of any map, an absolute essential in the reading of any account of a military campaign, certainly of any campaign dealing with obscure places and scattered positions and areas.

ELBRIDGE COLBY.

The Missouri Compromise and Presidential Politics, 1820-1825, from the Letters of William Plumer, jr. Edited by Everett Somerville Brown, Ph.D. [Publications of the Missouri Historical Society.] (St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society, 1926, pp. xi, 155, \$3.00.) Among the volumes most eagerly welcomed by students of history are those containing the private letters of men who have been active in affairs of state. Those who are professionally interested in history have long realized the value of such material, and recently it has become clear that the interested circle has been materially widened by the addition of many from among the general reading public.

The first forty-two pages of the text of this volume contain eighteen letters written by William Plumer, jr., to his father, Senator William Plumer, mainly about the Missouri compromise proposals; the letters are dated from January 30, 1820, to February 26, 1821. The reader may well sense the intense bitterness of feeling which prevailed among members of Congress at the time and the extent to which a crisis existed. Scattered through these pages the reader will find many delightful characterizations of men active in the debates and the political manoeuvring, and a reflection of much of the thought then current on slavery, sectionalism, and the accompanying constitutional problems.

Part II., the larger section of the volume, containing nearly one hundred pages, is devoted to a different subject—presidential politics from April, 1820, to March, 1825. In this section are 61 letters from William Plumer, jr., to his father, three from father to son, two from the son to Salma Hale of New Hampshire, and one each from Hale, Charles Rich of Vermont, Isaac Hill, and John Quincy Adams. These letters tell an astounding story of "the great game of politics" as played in those years. The new light which these letters throw upon that long and famous political battle was previously exploited by the editor of the volume in his article on "The Presidential Election of 1824-1825" in the *Political Science Quarterly*, XL. 384-403. Those readers whose interest may have been intrigued by this article now have access to the main body of material on which it was based.

Surely any one who would make any serious effort to understand either one of the two main subjects dealt with in these letters will have to consult this volume. The preface contains a useful sketch of William Plumer, jr., and throughout the volume the editor has furnished helpful foot-notes. The editing is well done, there is a useful index, and the format is attractive. Students of American history owe a debt of gratitude to the editor and to the publishers for devoting the time and the money necessary to make this material, even though limited in amount and character, available to the craft at large.

C. S. BOUCHER.

Gold of Ophir. By Sydney Greenbie and Marjorie Greenbie. (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1925, pp. xix, 330, \$4.00.) This is a handsome volume in which the authors, with no little industry, have brought together many of the outstanding incidents of the early trade between our Atlantic ports and the Far East. It is more to be commended for its literary elegance than for its historical contribution. But the authors attach a significance to their work which the product fails to justify. "This is", we are told, "a book of historical importance in the study of American development, revealing, for the first time, the astounding fact that it was the wealth of the Indies (China) that lured America round the Horn, and across the continent in covered wagons and gave the initial impetus to the growth of this nation." And this sentence, which will intrigue every student of the Westward Movement, is typical of the general treatment, for there is a tendency to turn the calcium only upon certain parts of the stage, leaving out of the picture many elements which go to make up the real ensemble. Thus, we are further told: "In the true sense of the word, then, the purchase of Louisiana was not prompted by aggrandizement or imperialism. . . . The one thing that gives it its *raison d'être* is the China trade and the outlet on the Pacific for it." And again: "The Monroe Doctrine, so-called, while aiming to prevent the dismemberment of South America by the Holy Alliance, was first and

foremost the last thrust in the direction of the Pacific (and the China trade)."

The first half of the volume deals with the trade of the Atlantic ports with China, India, the South Seas, and our own Northwest. Many interesting items about ships and commodities, skippers and merchant princes, are here garnered from less accessible publications. The second half, although entitled *Westward by Land*, brings some material to support the authors' thesis, but also has sketchy chapters on the gold rush to California, the capitulation of China, and the opening of Japan. The two concluding chapters indicate the influence of contact with the East upon the early poets and prose writers of our Atlantic seaboard. To retell the story of these brave days was well worth while, but in *Gold of Ophir* the reader will find an impressionistic rather than a well-reasoned account of the influence of the East and its golden commerce upon the early life and development of the United States.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

A Short History of American Railways, covering Ten Decades. By Slason Thompson. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1925, pp. 473, \$2.00.) While the efficiency of present-day transportation facilities is appreciated by the general public, only a small proportion of us understand or grasp the true economic significance of our railways. Only those who have traced the development of our present transportation systems can fully appraise the contribution of the railways to the present era of prosperity and comfort.

For those who require or desire a working knowledge of the past of our railways Mr. Slason Thompson has prepared this brief and sketchy railroad history. The work is intended to cover the outstanding features in the history of our carriers, with no attempt at exhaustive treatment. Mr. Thompson has accumulated an imposing array of facts and figures, as well as many illustrations, which he has condensed into an easy narrative.

Beginning with a short survey of the methods and difficulties of transportation before the introduction of the iron horse, the author divides the hundred years, more or less, of American railway development into ten decades beginning with 1830. In the first decade we see the beginning of construction, with its many troubles and follies. Emerging from the disastrous panic of 1837, somewhat battered but still looking forward, the railway crosses the Alleghenies during the second decade and moves on towards the Mississippi River. The fourth decade marks the era of the Civil War and the Reconstruction period.

With the 'seventies large-scale construction starts anew with the Pacific coast as the goal. During the next decade unrestricted expansion reaches its height and federal regulation begins. The opening of the present century finds the carriers no longer free agents, for regulation has gradually gathered the reins into its own hands.

To the next decade falls the Great War and the railways pass under government control. The beginning of the final decade of this first century of railroad operation sees the roads returned to private operation under somewhat more constructive regulation. The book closes with short biographical sketches of our principal railway executives.

The treatment of the material is somewhat elementary, and much of it is inadequate. The author writes interestingly and has a keen sense of the dramatic, but this characteristic at times overwhelms his perspective. His book will disappoint the economic historian, but as a collection of incidents, brought together with a thin connecting line of chronological fact, it may be regarded as a contribution to the railway history of the United States.

J. H. PARMELEE.

Four American Party Leaders. By Charles Edward Merriam, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago. [Henry Ward Beecher Foundation Lectures delivered at Amherst College.] (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xvi, 104, \$1.50.) To study the problem of leadership in American politics in such manner as to make possible a "more intelligent training of potential leaders" and a "progressively intelligent popular discrimination in the selection and rejection of the personnel of leadership" (p. 101), Professor Merriam has worked out a tentative formula for the study of the careers of individual leaders. This formula, first presented elsewhere, he has reviewed and illustrated in these four lectures. Discussing Lincoln, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Bryan, he has analyzed each in terms of the formula: background, physical and intellectual capacities, possession of six attributes of leadership, *i.e.*, sensitiveness to prevailing tendencies, quickness of perception and action, facility in group combination, ease of personal contact, ability to dramatize, courage. In conclusion he has drawn a comparison of the equipment for leadership which each possessed.

As portraits these lectures have the artistic limitations of any formula, but they are keen analyses. That of Lincoln is the soundest as the data are more completely available. The sketch of Bryan is the most original and informing. Roosevelt and Wilson are described in a commendably judicious manner. As to the formula itself, the number of attributes of leadership considered seems not sufficiently inclusive. Other less desirable but still universal characteristics must be given consideration, characteristics such as disingenuousness of statement and the use of what are generally considered unworthy means to procure ends, worthy and otherwise. In other words we have many leaders but few Lincolns, Roosevelts, Wilsons, and Bryans, and if leadership is studied only in the light of traits socially most desirable, one side of the problem will be lost to view. These lectures are a stimulating invitation and guide to further biographical research which can not fail to illumine our understanding of the

political system which has evolved in the republic, and which we are prone to view in the shadow of tradition rather than in the light of reality.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

Has the Immigrant kept the Faith? A Study of Immigration and Catholic Growth in the United States, 1790-1920. By Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., S.T.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1925, pp. 289, \$2.50.) Dr. Gerald Shaughnessy of the Marist College at the Catholic University has written an excellent study of American immigration as it has affected the growth of the Catholic Church in the United States. And this growth from 30,000 adherents on Bishop Carroll's appointment to the see of Baltimore in 1789, to the twenty million of to-day is an historical fact which can not be overlooked. Yet tremendous as the development has been there is running through Catholic literature, from Bishop England's absurdly inaccurate guess as to losses or church leakage to the current issues of magazines, a ready acceptance of "losses" running into the millions, with a pious attempt at the justification and explanation but no dependence on arduous research or trained consideration of even the lamentably inaccurate statistics of government and dioceses. It is this legend which Father Shaughnessy studies and explodes, much as an Edward Gaylord Bourne might have done, though at the outset he confesses that he accepted the general belief and was rather startled at his own findings. The reader too will be surprised that the loss has been so small when the number of converts is considered, and the logical but somewhat speculative corrections have been made, in immigrant figures, for emigration and the heavy mortality of newcomers, especially Irish, during the starving years of acclimatization. Only in the introductory chapter, before 1790, when the author accepts a loss of 240,000 souls (which presumptive natural increase causes to mount high in succeeding decades) does he rely on speculation corrected by judgment and probably too heavily on writers bent on finding too large an Irish (as distinguished from Scotch-Irish) influx into the colonies. Yet for practical reasons it would not have been advisable to overlook the beginnings and commence with 1790 or 1820. After 1820, he is on more solid ground, and his use of available statistics, with ingenious cross-checking, is highly scientific. Elaborate are the tables of immigration and emigration, of diocesan and non-Catholic estimates of the church's numerical strength, correlated with the statements found in contemporary writings. As far as such a subject, intangible at best, can be completed, Dr. Shaughnessy has done so.

In addition to its value as a study in immigration and in Catholic growth, this book is replete with information concerning the problem of the churches as to retaining their followers and maintaining their relative strength in the nation. Between the lines one sees the assimilative capacities of the Catholic Church in handling the immigrant races and in meeting difficulties partly caused by throwing European peasants into crowded industrial cities. In the supposed huge losses one sees the reason

for European bishops discouraging migration to America, and the later hostility of bishops in our tide-water states to a westward movement of the Irish to the cheap and homestead lands, lest in lack of priestly ministration and lonely isolation they lose the faith.

RICHARD J. PURCELL.

The Tillman Movement in South Carolina. By Francis Butler Simkins, Assistant Professor of History in Emory University. (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1926, pp. ix, 274, \$2.50.) "The passing of the control of the state" from Wade Hampton and the aristocratic group to "Ben Tillman and his farmer friends" is in this study approached through the personality of Tillman, since "Tillman, in his life and work, embodied the spirit of this transfer of leadership". Against a briefly sketched background three chapters present Tillman's early life, during which he farmed and read and occasionally practised politics and became committed to a dominating hatred of the governing groups and a firm belief in the efficacy of education for farmers obtained through political methods. Three succeeding chapters describe his campaigns and his work as governor for two terms. As a campaigner Tillman was invincible because audiences loved his rude language and bold personal attacks in the joint debates to which he forced opponents. As governor he was an honest autocrat, forcing through legislatures the promised agrarian measures and boldly and ruthlessly crushing the opposition, whether of former supporters like McLaurin, or of town militiamen unwilling to protect officers of the law. There is a chapter on the Dispensary, for which Tillman was solely responsible, and one on the Constitutional Convention, which he secured and dominated as the small farmers' spokesman. The chief of the After Effects of Tillmanism is found to be that he had taught the white democracy how to exercise, through joint debates and direct primary, the political power for which Reconstruction had laid the foundations—an education that made possible Bleas and prohibition.

Unstinted praise must be accorded the author for his workmanlike assembling and use of source-materials, for the impartiality of his judgments and the surprising restraint of his deductions, and for the interest which he arouses in the reader and sustains to the end. Within its limits the study will probably prove definitive. The inclusion of photographs adds both value and interest. One must not fail to point out, however, that the confinement of the study to state politics leaves the portrait of the politician incomplete. Likewise, and more important, the meagreness of the economic and social background presented leaves one uncertain as to the nature of the movement. Were there, for example, no important survivals of past connections between "big business" and politicians here as there were in Virginia and Georgia? Was the budding cotton-mill industry inactive as well as silent? The same classes, apparently, that elected Tillman governor also elected "dry" legislatures. Is not this

suggestive of something more fundamental going on than the development of a machinery for democracy? If, as seems likely, the author has given us only a fragment of his study, students of the South of the 'eighties and 'nineties and of popular movements in general will await with interest the completed work.

C. C. PEARSON.

Autobiography of John Ball. Compiled by Kate Ball Towers, Flora Ball Hopkins, and Lucy Ball. (Grand Rapids, Dean-Hicks Company, 1925, pp. xii, 231, \$3.00.) This little volume touches, in an authoritative manner, upon three distinctly frontier types of American life, in addition to exhibiting a cosmopolitan phase. It is divided into four parts or "Books". The first treats of the author's early life, from birth (1794) to 1831. The second describes his trip across the plains and mountains to Oregon, the life there, and the experiences encountered on the return home. The third is an account of "Michigan in the Making", covering the years 1836 to 1857. The last part is varied—reminiscences of the Civil War, Southern travel in Reconstruction days, revisiting New England, travels abroad.

The story of his childhood, youth, and early manhood has in it some of the pathos one feels for the starved life of young souls that aspire but have little fuel with which to feed the flame. This poverty of life was hardly relieved by the grind of college work at Dartmouth, where young boys surpassed our mature hero in those studies which made demands upon the imagination. He read law and began its practice, but apparently always with the feeling of inhibition induced by the conditions under which he was brought up.

Curiosity about the world beyond his immediate horizon saved him. Travel fed the imagination, enlarged his knowledge of men and things, and gave him the assurance which belongs to the man of some unique accomplishment. Mr. Ball was a bigger, better, and more resourceful man for his experiences in the far West and on the Pacific.

His later career was that of a man of consideration among all classes of his home community as well as among strangers encountered on his frequent journeys.

The autobiography is the quaintly written production of an unspoiled character who knows he has a story worth telling and who has developed, probably by much practice in oral narration, an effective, though most unusual mode of telling it in print.

Probably part II., "Across the Plains to Oregon and the Return Home by Cape Horn 1832-1835" (pp. 59-129), will be considered, by most readers, as the essential portion of the book.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market. By Mildred Lucile Hartsough, Ph.D. [Research Publications of the University of Minne-

sota, Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 18.] (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1925, pp. vii, 228, \$2.00.) The introductory chapter of this study deals with the general idea of the metropolitan economic centre and its relation to the tributary area, which, in the case of the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, is the Northwest as far west as the Rocky Mountains. The three succeeding chapters give an historical account of the growth of the Twin Cities, beginning with the fur-trading period and ending with the present.

St. Paul, at the head of steamship navigation from the south, developed distinctly as a trading centre, while its sister city, Minneapolis, at the Falls of St. Anthony, has developed especially as an industrial city, first devoted to lumber and later to flour. The decline of navigation on the Mississippi slowed down the growth of St. Paul, while the rapid expansion of lumbering and wheat-growing in the Northwest accelerated the growth of Minneapolis, and now the population of the latter city leads by a hundred and fifty thousand. The author, mindful of the rivalry between the two cities, is almost painfully careful to make as few comparisons as possible. The book suffers a little in frankness because of this.

In the reviewer's opinion, the best section of the book is the one which deals with the evolution of transportation through the period of the fur trade, of the Red River carts, of the river steamboat navigation, at the height of which there were over a thousand arrivals at St. Paul, and finally of the railways.

The three chapters on financial history include little that would not apply as well to the development of almost any of our large interior cities as to the Twin Cities. The amount of detail devoted to finance, chain banking, and economic crises seems hardly justified.

The final chapter deals with the tributary area of the metropolitan centre, showing especially the resources and economic activities which nourish the business life of the urban centre.

As a whole, the study is distinctly worth while, interesting, and scholarly. It adds one more to our list of economic studies of metropolitan areas, studies which supply material for the use of the historian, the geographer, and the economist. It is an excellent companion to Robinson's *Early Economic Conditions and the Development of Agriculture in Minnesota*, which forms no. 3 in the same series of studies.

R. H. WHITBECK.

Yellowstone Kelly, Memoirs of Luther S. Kelly. Edited by M. M. Quaife. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1926, pp. xii, 268, \$4.00.) Although the editor's estimate that this "story is . . . an important contribution to the history of the western frontier" (p. vi) will possibly bear question, nevertheless Yellowstone Kelly's narrative as told by Mr. Quaife is distinctly above the average run of pioneer and army scout reminiscences.

In the first place, the record deals with a significant period and an interesting area. The fifteen brief years from 1865 to 1880 cover the transition from the army frontier to the settler's frontier. Kelly's services began at Fort Buford as military mail carrier (1868) and ended in 1880 when "the great blank spaces on the map had been filled with trails and wagon routes; [and when] hunters, stockmen, and prospective settlers roamed at will looking for locations" (p. 240). During these years he established an intimate acquaintance with the entire drainage area of the Upper Missouri and its great tributary, the Yellowstone, which he was able to turn to good use in the campaigns against the Sioux and the Nez Percés. In the second place the story is quite lacking in that myopic self-praise too often characteristic of reminiscences of this sort. His is an admirable perspective. When the scouting game was up he moved on to Colorado. Finally, by emphasizing the ways of life and traits of the Indians and by dwelling on the habits of the buffalo, the bear, and the antelope, the author, or possibly the editor, has achieved "a thrilling tale of sustained adventure" (p. vi).

H. C. D.

The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California; their History, Architecture, Art, and Lore. By Rexford Newcomb, M.A., M.Arch., A. I. A., Professor of the History of Architecture, University of Illinois. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925, pp. xvii, 379, \$15.00.) In 1916 Professor Rexford Newcomb, then of the University of Southern California, issued his *Franciscan Mission Architecture of Alta California*, a folio for architects, with the best drawings of the old mission churches. Now follows a handsome large octavo in which these drawings, reduced, with many excellent photographs, are made available to the student and general reader, along with a useful and readable text. Although the foreword makes acknowledgments to the Archivo General de Indias and other repositories of documents, the writer lays no claim to having unearthed anything very new in a purely historical sense. Emphasis is rather on the architectural finds, embodied in the paper restorations of San Juan Capistrano and other buildings. The section dealing with the surviving Spanish houses is new and valuable. The chief appeal of the book, however, is not novelty but completeness. The historical, economic, and social background, the materials and construction, the form and history of the individual missions and houses are all well covered. One may doubtless take exception to some statements in the sketch of Spanish architectural development prefaced to the account of the missions, such as "the classic elements of Italy arriving by way of the low countries", or "the Churrigueresque . . . style admittedly disregarded all architectural canons". These, however, are *obiter dicta* not vital to the book, which takes its place with the Huger Smiths' *Dwelling Houses of Charleston* as a model of regional study in architecture.

FISKE KIMBALL.

Charles Buller and Responsible Government. By E. M. Wrong, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. vii, 352, \$5.00.) In this volume Mr. Wrong reprints two writings of first-rate importance for an understanding of that momentous reform in British colonial policy that was inaugurated by Lord Durham's *Report*. Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield accompanied Durham on his mission to Canada and, as is generally known, had much to do with the preparation of the *Report*. Both of these leaders in the movement for colonial reform were convinced that the only effective remedy for the existing maladministration and consequent discontent in the colonies was to concede to them responsible government, as advocated by Durham, and both expounded and defended the principles of the proposed new system. Buller's *Responsible Government for Colonies*, published anonymously in 1840, and Wakefield's *Sir Charles Metcalfe in Canada*, which appeared as a magazine article in 1844, should be read as explanatory of and supplementary to the Durham *Report*; they give us further insight, as Mr. Wrong says, "into the minds of that small, short-lived group of radical reformers, who, while no political leader of the first class helped with more than passive acquiescence in accomplished fact, made one of the most completely successful revolutions of the nineteenth century". Apart, however, from two chapters of Buller's pamphlet which Wakefield reprinted in his *Art of Colonization* (those containing a sprightly if somewhat unfair attack on James Stephen as "Mr. Mothercountry of the Colonial Office") neither of the works that Mr. Wrong reproduces has been accessible except in the larger libraries, and he has rendered a useful service in making them generally available.

Buller's purpose was to explain precisely what was meant by responsible government for colonies, to show that it was necessary as a cure for prevailing colonial distempers, and to defend it against critics who were seeking to prove that it would result in the loss of the colonies. Wakefield's main object was to show that a recent conflict in Canada between the governor and his ministers was caused by blundering and ignorance of British constitutional usage on the part of the latter, and not by responsible government. In his long and discursive article he discussed a number of subjects more or less closely related to his principal theme but all of them interesting to the student of British imperial history. In his brilliant description of the essentials of the British constitutional system the reader will find Bagehot's classic analysis anticipated at more than one point.

Less is known of Buller's career than of Durham's or Wakefield's, though he was perhaps as indispensable a member of the colonial reform group as either of them. He never held an office of cabinet rank, but during a critical period in the history of the Empire, he was the chief advocate in Parliament of responsible government for the colonies. The brief account of his life and work which Mr. Wrong gives in his introduction to the present volume is the most satisfactory biography of Buller that has been published.

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER.

HISTORICAL NEWS

A *General Index* to vols. XXI.-XXX. of the *Review*, similar to the two preceding general indexes, has been prepared for the Board of Editors by Mr. David M. Matteson, largely on the basis of the volume indexes, and is now to be obtained from the publishers, the Macmillan Company (60 Fifth Avenue, New York), at the price of \$2.00 for paper-bound copies, and \$4.00 for copies bound in the regular black half-morocco binding used for the volumes of the *Review*. It is a book of 183 pages, prepared with much care and intelligence, and must, we should think, be indispensable to many readers. The Macmillan Company also announces, at this time, that the general indexes for volumes I.-X. and XI.-XX. will hereafter be priced at \$1.75 paper and \$3.75 half-morocco.

The editor of this journal would be glad to know of the existence and location of a copy of the anonymous *Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se Repose* (London, 1850).

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The forty-first annual meeting of the Association will be held in Rochester on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, December 28, 29, and 30. The headquarters will be at the Hotel Seneca. The secretary of the Committee of Local Arrangements is Professor Dexter Perkins, of the University of Rochester. The chairman of the Programme Committee is Professor Laurence B. Packard, of Amherst. Members may expect to receive the programme before Thanksgiving Day. It may however be mentioned now that, beside features of it mentioned in our April number, there will be luncheons of those especially interested in Far Eastern history and that of modern Europe, dinners of those interested in medieval history and in the problems of research in colleges not provided with university libraries, and the usual dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. A session on American history of the early period of the republic is also to be mentioned.

The Writing of History (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, pp. xii, 143), the long-expected report of the Association's committee on that subject, was published in July, too late for notice in our July number. Unfortunately the reviewer has been prevented from preparing the desired review in season for our present issue. The volume is however of so much interest to members of the Association, and may so profitably be called to the attention of graduate students at the beginning of the academic year, that, without anticipating the reviewer's comments, it seems appropriate to enter here at least a brief description of the volume. Each member of the committee, Mr. Jusserand, Dr. Charles W. Colby, Professor W. C. Abbott, and Professor J. S. Bassett, has contributed his chapter

to the volume. The highly important subject which the committee had to consider is treated by each writer with freedom, from his own point of view, this latitude resulting perhaps in some repetition, but giving the book the character of a body of suggestion and discourse rather than of an attempt to make on such a subject a systematic treatise.

Copies of the (English) Historical Association's pamphlet on *Foreign Policy and the Dominions*, prepared by Professor W. J. Harte, of University College, Exeter, are still available for gratuitous distribution to any members of the American Historical Association who may apply for them to the editor of this journal.

THE ENDOWMENT FUND

The Committee on Endowment announces progress in the organization of state and district committees for the fall canvass and hopes to have this work completed by October 1. The New York City committee expects to complete its campaign in October but in most other districts the general canvass will be made during the week of November 8-13. The Council of the Association has directed that contributors of \$1000 to the fund shall be designated as Patrons; of \$5000 as Donors; and of \$10,000 as Benefactors. One Benefactor and eight Patrons have already been enrolled as a result of advance contributions. The Carnegie Corporation has made a grant to the Association of \$25,000, to be used as a revolving publication fund.

PERSONAL

History has had a serious loss in the death this spring of M. Albert Waddington, sixty-five years old, who was the author of two excellent volumes on *La République des Provinces-Unies: la France et les Pays-Bas, 1630-1650* (1896-1897), two volumes on *Le Grand Électeur Frédéric-Guillaume* (1905, 1908), and an *Histoire de Prusse* intended to comprise five volumes, of which only the first has appeared (1911).

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne has accepted an invitation to give next winter the Sir George Watson Lectures on American history in the British universities.

Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, formerly of the University of Minnesota, has been appointed by the University of London as Creighton lecturer for the academic year 1926-1927.

Miss Mary Lillian Stevenson, hitherto of Agnes Scott College and of the Rhode Island College of Education, has been appointed professor of history in the Constantinople Woman's College.

Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College will be in Europe on leave of absence during the coming academic year.

On occasion of the retirement of Professor James A. Woodburn from his long service as professor in Indiana University, his former students

have joined in producing a handsome volume of fifteen *Studies in American History* (Bloomington, the University, pp. x, 455); they are on various subjects, but nearly half of them are concerned with the history of the Old Northwest.

Prescott W. Townsend, assistant professor of history in the University of Indiana, has received a fellowship from Yale University, which he will use for the purpose of investigating certain problems of Roman history at points in North Africa.

Mr. R. B. House, who for seven years past has been secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, has resigned that position; he has been succeeded by Mr. Albert R. Newsome, hitherto assistant professor of history in the University of North Carolina.

Professor Guernsey Jones of the University of Nebraska has been granted leave of absence for the first half of the year because of ill health.

Mr. Doane Robinson, veteran secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, has resigned that position and has been succeeded by Lawrence K. Fox.

In the University of Chicago Professor C. Raymond Beazley of the University of Birmingham will give courses in the history of European discovery and expansion during the winter quarter; and Dr. José Vasconcelos, formerly minister of education of Mexico and president of the University of Mexico, courses in the history of Hispanic-American civilization and recent Mexican history during the spring quarter.

We note also the following promotions and appointments to chairs of history: *Wheaton College*, Clifford C. Hubbard to be professor of history and political science; *Yale University*, Daniel C. Knowlton, hitherto of Teachers College, to be assistant professor of visual instruction in history; *Syracuse University*, W. F. Galpin of the University of Oklahoma to be associate professor of history; *New York University*, André A. Beaumont, jr., to be assistant professor; *Princeton University*, A. N. Cook to be assistant professor; *Rutgers College*, M. N. Heald of Princeton to be assistant professor; *Pennsylvania State College*, W. F. Dunaway to be professor; *Rollins College*, Fla., Leland H. Jenks to be professor; *Louisiana State University*, L. C. Mackinney to be associate professor; *University of Tennessee*, P. M. Hamer to be professor; *University of Illinois*, T. C. Pease to be professor, F. C. Dietz and A. O. Craven to be associate professors, A. S. Roberts to be assistant professor; *Illinois Wesleyan University*, K. L. C. Trever to be assistant professor; *University of Michigan*, A. S. Aiton to be associate professor, Albert Hyma to be assistant professor; *University of Wisconsin*, E. H. Byrne and Carl Stephenson to be professors, C. P. Nettels and B. W. Phillips to be assistant professors, E. H. McNeal of Ohio State University to be professor of modern history for the year 1926-1927.

GENERAL

The International Committee of Historical Sciences, described in our last number (XXXI. 726-731), has, we understand, sent to the press the first of its series of bulletins, which will present a summary account of the organization of the historical sciences in the various countries, brief accounts of recent national historical congresses or similar gatherings, and other historical news of international interest. Largely as a result of the creation of this International Committee, the historical scholars of France have drawn together in a national organization called the Comité National Français des Sciences Historiques, ingeniously arranged upon a representative plan based on the regions of France, and so contrived as to give about equal weight to the university professors and other teachers of history, and to the French historical societies. Professor Georges Glotz has been made the president of the committee, MM. Chr. Pfister and Paul Fournier, vice-presidents, and M. Michel Lhéritier, secretary. A similar committee has more recently been formed in England by joint action of the British Academy, the Royal Historical Society, and the Historical Association.

An American proposal for reviving in some form the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* was laid before the International Congress of Historical Sciences held at Brussels in the spring of 1923, and referred by it to the international committee for which provision was then made. Later, a grant made by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation to the American Historical Association for this and other purposes has made it possible to make definite plans for such an International Year-Book of Historical Bibliography. The International Committee of Historical Sciences has formed a special sub-committee on the project, including Messrs. Caron and Lhéritier of France, Reincke-Bloch of Germany, Leland of the United States, Temperley of England, Calisse of Italy, Friis of Denmark, and Handelsman of Poland. This committee will hold a meeting in Paris on October 21, for determination of plans and policy and, if possible, the selection of a general editor or editorial board.

Professors James H. Breasted and James Harvey Robinson have collaborated in a survey of *The Human Adventure*, summarizing man's achievements from the earliest times to the present, and published by Harper, in two volumes, of which the first, *The Conquest of Civilization*, has been prepared by Professor Breasted, the second, *The Ordeal of Civilization*, by Professor Robinson.

The *Histoire Générale*, edited by Louis Halphen and Philippe Sagnac, is to bear the title, *Peuples et Civilisations*. The first of its twenty volumes is now offered to the public; its theme, *Les Premières Civilisations*, is handled by G. Fougères, G. Contenau, R. Grousset, P. Jouguet, and J. Lesquier (Paris, Alcan, 1926, pp. viii, 437).

Since January, 1926, there has appeared a *Bulletin Bibliographique de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine*, published by the Office de

Documentation Internationale and the Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle. Published monthly, it contains a list of new works in all languages, relative to political, economic, and social questions, since 1919, and a list of principal articles on these subjects in some three hundred periodicals. It emphasizes the international organization of intellectual labors.

The *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, vol. XLI., contains as appendix a "Bulletin du Centre International de Synthèse; Section de Synthèse Historique", giving a résumé of its proceedings from January to April.

There has been founded in England a new Economic History Society, with Sir William Ashley as president, Professors W. R. Scott of Glasgow and E. F. Gay of Harvard as vice-presidents, and Drs. Eileen Power and F. W. Tickner as honorary secretaries. Besides caring in various other ways for the interests of economic history, the society intends to publish an *Economic History Review*, to be edited by Mr. E. Lipson and Mr. R. H. Tawney, with contributions from both English and foreign scholars. Subscriptions to the society may be sent to the honorary treasurer, Mr. J. A. White, 43 Dora Road, London, S. W. 19.

A. A. Knopf has just published *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History*, by Miss Bessie L. Pierce, assistant professor of history in the University of Iowa, an historical account and discussion of some of the attempts that have been made to control the teaching of history in our public schools.

In the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library (Manchester), for July, Professor R. S. Conway, under the title A Graeco-Roman Tragedy, deals with Livy's account of the reign and death of Philip V. of Macedon; Dr. J. Rendel Harris has an ingenious paper on the Early Colonists of the Mediterranean—Egyptian, Arabian, and other; Professor C. H. Herford one on the Mind of Post-War Germany, a paper marked by insight and excellent feeling; and Dr. Antonio Mingana adds to his paper on the Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East, published in the *Bulletin* a year ago, a similarly learned and thorough study of the Early Spread of Christianity in India.

The July number of *History* has articles on the Geographical History of the Cinque Ports, by Dr. J. A. Williamson; on the Political Assumptions of some Medieval Men of Action (chiefly King Sverri of Norway), by E. F. Jacob, and on the Teaching and Practice of Handwriting in England (to be continued), by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for April, besides presenting an account of the sixth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, has a very substantial article on Echoes of Gallicanism in New France, by Sister M. Theodosia O'Callaghan of the Catholic Sisters' College in Brookland, D. C., and an article on Cardinal Mercier, by Mgr. W. P. H. Kitchin of Newfoundland; the July number has a

treatise on the Doctrine of International Law according to Francisco de Victoria, by Dr. Nicolaus Pfeiffer, of Czechoslovakia.

The April and July numbers of the *Journal of Negro History*, with the exception of an account in the former number of the proceedings of the spring conference of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Petersburg, Va., Mar. 30, 31, 1926, are given to a detailed and valuable study of the Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia, by A. A. Taylor, similar in treatment to the author's account of this period in South Carolina which appeared in volume VIII. of the journal.

Useful source-books of texts, in German translations, are: *Sammlung Kirchengeschichtlicher Quellen und Darstellungen* (Paderborn, Schöningh); W. Oppermann, *Religionskundliche Quellenbücherei* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer); and H. Reichman *et al.*, *Ein Jahrtausend Deutscher Kultur von 800-1800* (2d ed., three vols., Leipzig, J. Klinkhardt).

The firm of Felix Meiner, in Leipzig, has revived the useful series of the *Deutscher Geschichtskalender*, bringing the annual volumes down to date after an interruption of some years caused by the war, and has lately issued the volume for 1925.

Professor Lynn Thorndike is the author of *A Short History of Civilization* (New York, F. S. Crofts).

Professor Daniel C. Knowlton, now of Yale University, has brought out through Scribners a volume entitled *History and other Social Studies in the Junior High School*.

The Judson Press of Philadelphia has published *Early Baptist Missionaries and Pioneers*, vol. II., by Walter S. Stewart, and *The Second Century of Baptist Foreign Missions*, by William B. Liphard.

Messrs. Scribner have published *A Study of Costume from the Days of the Egyptians to the Present Time*, by Elizabeth Sage.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ferdinando D'Antonio, *Pel Materialismo Storico* (Nuova Rivista Storica, March-June); F. J. Teggart, *The Humanistic Study of Change in Time* (Journal of Philosophy, June 10); *id.*, *Turgot's Approach to the Study of Man* (University of California Chronicle, April); R. Villate, *Institutions et Organisation Militaires* [general review] (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLI.); Ch. Schmidt, *Les Archives Économiques Modernes* (Revue de Paris, May 15); K. Hampe, *Italien und Deutschland im Wandel der Zeiten* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 2).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: Maurice Besnier, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne Grecque et Romaine* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Paul Cloché, *Histoire Grecque, 1915-1922* (Revue Historique, May).

A History of the Ancient World, designed especially for American university classes in ancient history, has been prepared by Professor Mikhail Rostovtzeff, formerly of the universities of St. Petersburg and Wisconsin, now of Yale University, and will be published in two volumes, with many illustrations. The first volume, *The Ancient East and Greece*, appears this autumn (New York, Oxford University Press); the second, *Rome*, is expected to be ready in February.

Alexandre Moret, professor in the Collège de France and honorary director of the Musée Guimet, is the author of *Le Nil et la Civilisation Égyptienne*, vol. VII. of Henri Berr's series, *L'Évolution de l'Humanité* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1926, pp. 550).

An excellent work in the domain of social and economic history is Bruno Meissner's *Babylonien und Assyrien*, the first volume of which was issued in 1920, the second in 1925 (Heidelberg, Winter, pp. vii, 494). The latter constitutes vol. 4 in the *Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek*, first series: *Ethnologische Bibliothek*.

Messrs. Harrap (London) publish an English translation of *A History of Hebrew Civilization, or the Background of the Old Testament*, by Professor Alfred Bertholet of the University of Göttingen.

In diverse fields of ancient history are to be noted *La Religion de la Grèce Antique*, by Th. Zielinski (Paris, Belles-Lettres, 1926, pp. viii, 191), *Recherches sur la Chancellerie et la Diplomatie des Lagides*, by P. Collomp (Paris, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1926, pp. viii, 244), and *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, vol. I., fasc. I., 2d ed., *Pont et Paphlagonie*, by W. H. Waddington, Ernest Babelon, and Th. Reinach (Paris, Leroux, 1925, pp. iv, 210).

In the series *Our Debt to Greece and Rome* (London, Harrap; New York, Marshall Jones) Professor Edward K. Rand of Harvard has lately published an interesting and enjoyable little volume on *Ovid and his Influence*.

A group of eight Americans—Mr. Root, Mr. Wickersham, and others, the leading spirit in its formation being Dr. John H. Finley—has subscribed the sum necessary for setting up again those fallen columns of the Parthenon which remain *in situ* and capable of restoration to the place which they occupied before the bombardment of 1687.

The Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres has published, in a splendid quarto, *Inscriptions de Délos, Comptes des Hiéropes*, nos. 290–571, by Félix Durrbach (Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. 200), said to be an indispensable complement to the work of Th. Homolle.

Egypt is the sole Hellenistic state of which we possess (thanks to the papyri) detailed knowledge. Agriculture was the basis of the Egyptian economy. Hence great interest attaches to the admirable work of Michael

Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im Hellenistischen Aegypten*, vol. I., *Der Betrieb der Landwirtschaft* (Munich, Beck, 1925, pp. xvii, 379), the author of which is skilled no less in agriculture than in papyrology. This forms the seventh of the *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*.

A. Jarde, maître de conférences at Lille, is the author of *Les Céréales dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, Boccard, 1926, pp. xvi, 240) and of *Études Critiques sur la Vie et le Règne de Sévère Alexandre* (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xvii, 142).

Colorado College has published for Dr. Herbert E. Mierow, assistant professor of classical languages and literatures, a Princeton dissertation on *The Roman Provincial Governor as he appears in the Digest and Code of Justinian* (pp. 54), covering systematically both the executive and judicial functions of the governor.

Valentino Capocci in *La "Constitutio Antoniniana"* (Rome, Bardi, 1925, pp. 136) has made one of the most complete existing studies of the famous law of Caracalla, 212 A. D.

The difficult task of reconstructing the equipment of the Roman soldier from the literary and archaeological evidence which has accumulated in the past half-century has been admirably performed by Paul Couissin in *Les Armes Romaines; Essai sur les Origines et l'Évolution des Armes Individuelles du Légionnaire Romain*, with preface by Salomon Reinach (Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. xlv, 570).

The most complete work which has ever been written on the origins of the consular institution is the *Historia de la Institución Consular en la Antigüedad y en la Edad Media*, by Albert Candiotti (Buenos Aires, Maison Internationale d'Éditions, 1925). There are to be three volumes, of which the first has been published, containing upwards of 800 pages.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Morlet, *L'Alphabet Néolithique de Glozet et ses Ascendances* (*Mercure de France*, July 1); Abel Rey, *Coup d'Oeil sur la Mathématique Égyptienne* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XLI.); W. Wreszinski, *Bäckerei* (*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXI.); Robert Eisler, *L'Origine Babylonienne de l'Alchimie; à propos de la Découverte récente de Recettes Chimiques sur Tablettes Cunéiformes* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XLI.); Alex. Scharff, *Vorgeschichtliches zur Libyerfrage* (*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXI.); Leo Weber, *Solon und die Kämpfe um Salamis* (*Klio*, XX. 4); Paul Schnabel, *Zur Frage der Selbstvergötterung Alexanders* (*ibid.*); Wilhelm Ensslin, *Appian und die Liviustradition zum Ersten Bürgerkrieg* (*ibid.*); Ettore Pais, *La Política di Augusto e il suo Mausoleo* (*Nuova Antologia*, April 21); Ph. Fabia, *La Carrière Sénatoriale de Tacite* (*Journal des Savants*, May); Léon Homo, *Les Documents de l'Histoire Auguste et leur Valoir Historique*, concl. (*Revue Historique*, May).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

By *motu proprio*, Dec. 11, 1925, Pope Pius XI. created a School for Christian Archaeology which will begin in Rome in this autumn under the direction of Professor J. P. Kirsch of Fribourg, Switzerland. A course of three years is offered, leading to the degree of Master of Christian Archaeology. In the third year the student presents a dissertation of ample length, which will be published, and must give two or more lectures in his special field. A new building for the school will be ready a year hence.

F. Haase's *Altchristliche Kirchengeschichte nach Orientalischen Quellen* (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1925, pp. xvi, 420) is the result of an immense amount of research and classification; it is neither a bibliography of Oriental sources nor a study based on their contents, but a mixture of the two; in any event, it is a useful instrument for the scholar.

The evolution in the attitude of the early Church toward the State from indifference, when not hostility, to a sanctified patriotism forms the theme of Edgar Salin's *Civitas Dei* (Tübingen, Mohr, pp. viii, 245).

In the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1926, I. Heft, Hans Achelis comments on the frescos in the Aurelian catacomb which was discovered in 1919 in the Viale Manzoni in Rome. He holds them to indicate indubitably the cemetery of a Christian family, though evidently one associated with a Gnostic circle. The date is early in the third century.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Abbey of St. Gall, as a Centre of Literature and Art, by A. M. Clark, lecturer in the University of Glasgow (Cambridge University Press, pp. viii, 322), aims at treating as a whole the contribution of St. Gall to European civilization during a period of several centuries.

The importance of Erigena lies in his being the first Western medieval philosopher who elaborated Neoplatonic conceptions into a complete system. The difference between this system and that of Plotinus forms the basis of a discussion by H. Doerries, *Zur Geschichte der Mystik; Erigena und der Neoplatonismus* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1925, pp. 122), who concludes that Erigena's emphasis on the Divine immanence in the visible world forms a bridge to the Neoplatonism of the Renaissance.

The edition of Alexander of Hales produced by the College of St. Bonaventura at Quaracchi is a monumental piece of work, commenced a quarter of a century ago. The first part of the first volume appeared in 1924, a gigantic folio (pp. xlv, 770).

For the Franciscan celebrations of this autumn, Messrs. Dent of London will publish *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany*, containing translations of the chronicles of Thomas of Eccleston and Jordan of Giano.

Father Fidentius Van den Borne, O.F.M., in a volume of the *Franziskanische Studien* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1925, pp. viii, 184), entitled *Die Anfänge des Franziskanischen Dritten Ordens: Vorgeschichte*, deals specifically, and with great mastery and clearness, with the development of the rule of the Ordo Paenitentium.

Harrassowitz of Leipzig announces a revised and enlarged German edition of W. L. Schreiber's *Manuel . . . de la Gravure*, under the title *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, to be published in six quarto volumes, containing 5000 descriptions against 3000 of the old manual. Vol. I. (pp. x, 240) appeared in June of this year.

Professor Otto Cartellieri, of Heidelberg, brings together, in an illustrated book entitled *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund, Kulturhistorische Bilder* (Basel, Schwabe), a number of contributions to various periodicals, and other essays, in which he has dealt with the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, with knighthood, literature, art, and many other aspects of life and manners there.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. E. Stengel, *Die Entwicklung des Kaiserprivilegs für die Römische Kirche, 817-962* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXIV. 2); Fr. Schneider, *Canossa* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLV. 2); C. Balic, *Quelques Précisions fournies par la Tradition Manuscrite sur la Vie, les Oeuvres, et l'Attitude Doctrinale de M. Jean Duns Scot* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, July); Gioacchino Volpe, *Bonifacio VIII. e la Crisi del Papato nel Medioevo* (*Nuova Antologia*, July 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The third course of lectures by various scholars, delivered at King's College, on the *Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, Harrap) includes Bodin, Hooker, Suarez, James I., Grotius, Hobbes, Harrington, and Spinoza. The volume is edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw.

M. François Charles-Roux's *L'Angleterre et l'Expédition Française en Égypte* (Cairo, Société Royale de Géographie, two vols.) is based on thorough studies in the Public Record Office and the India Office.

The friendly accord subsisting between France and England in 1830 furnishes the theme of an interesting discussion by Raymond Guyot in *La Première Entente Cordiale* (Paris, Rieder, 1926, pp. 328).

Of importance to every student of modern European history is the appearance of the second volume of Professor Seignobos's *Histoire Politique de l'Europe Contemporaine* in the revised edition (Paris, Colin, 1926, pp. 696), the first volume of which was reviewed in this journal, XXX. 643.

Idealism and Foreign Policy (London, Murray), by Miss A. A. Ramsay, is chiefly a study of the relations of Great Britain with France and Germany in the period from 1860 to 1878.

Messrs. Fisher Unwin will publish during the autumn *Bismarck, Andrassy, and their Successors: European Politics, 1871-1905*, a translation of an important work by Count Julius Andrassy the younger, the last foreign minister of Austria-Hungary.

Secret and Confidential, by Brig.-Gen. W. H. H. Waters, is announced by Murray of London as the experiences of a military attaché who accompanied the Russian army in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War, commanded the British troops in North China, was attached to a Russian mission in negotiations during the Great War, and was connected with the imperial staff in Russia.

In its April issue, *Europäische Gespräche* prints the following documents: the treaty of Oct. 20, 1925, between Turkey and Jugoslavia, the Polish-Rumanian treaty of Mar. 26, 1926, and the German-Russian treaty of Apr. 24, 1926.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alfred Amonn, *Adam Smith und die Grundprobleme der Nationalökonomie* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXX. 4); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX^e Siècle*, XVI.-XXII. (Nouvelle Revue, May 1-August 1); F. Charles-Roux, *Les Conventions Militaires Italo-Allemandes sous la Triple-Alliance* (Revue de Paris, August 1); *Die Zusammenkunft von Konstanz [1914]* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, July); Hermann Wätjen, *Die Grossen Vier auf der Pariser Friedenskonferenz von 1919* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 4-5).

THE WORLD WAR

The volumes of the Carnegie Endowment's *Economic and Social History of the World War* succeed one another with great rapidity. New issues in the French series are *Mouvement des Prix et des Salaires pendant la Guerre*, by Lucien March (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1926, pp. xii, 336), *Les Formes du Gouvernement de Guerre*, by Pierre Renouvin (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. 188), *Les Dépenses de Guerre de la France*, by Gaston Jèze (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xii, 232), *Tours et la Guerre; Étude Économique et Sociale*, by M. Lhéritier and C. Chautemps (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xii, 72), *La Main-d'oeuvre Étrangère et Coloniale pendant la Guerre*, by B. Nogaro and L. Weil (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xii, 80), and *Les Finances de Guerre de la France*, by Henry Truchy (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xii, 172). In the Belgian series is *La Législation et l'Administration Allemande en Belgique*, by J. Pirenne and M. Vauthier (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xvi, 288).

The *Introduction to the American Official Sources for the Economic and Social History of the World War*, compiled by Waldo G. Leland and Newton D. Mereness for Professor Shotwell's series of the Economic and Social History of the World War, is just from the press (New Haven, Yale University Press, pp. xlvii, 532, 18).

It may be of advantage to students of the military history of the World War to know that the German archives of that war are now in-

stalled, as a special section of the Reichsarchiv, in the building which was formerly the War College at Potsdam, and that they are accessible to qualified foreign students with much freedom, little other formality being necessary than an introduction from the American ambassador.

The German Reichsarchiv is preparing a complete history of the World War under the direction of General Haeften, with the co-operation of a large number of officers and historians. A great mass of source-material has been gathered, not only German, but also foreign, especially Austrian and English; the division of labor is such that the first three volumes have been completed in a relatively short time. They follow in general the type of earlier works published by the General Staff and have the merit of going into no greater detail than divisional operations. They bear the title *Der Weltkrieg 1914 bis 1918; die Militärischen Operationen zu Lande*: vol. I., *Die Grenzschlachten im Westen* (Berlin, Mittler, 1925, pp. xvi, 720); vol. II., *Die Befreiung Ostpreussens* (*ibid.*, 1925, pp. xiv, 390); vol. III., *Der Marne-Feldzug von der Sambre zur Marne* (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. 427), covering nine days' operations on the Western front, August 27–September 4, 1914.

The Genesis of the World War: an Introduction to the Problem of War Guilt, by Harry Elmer Barnes, is from the press of Alfred A. Knopf.

The fifth volume of Field-Marshal Conrad von Hötzendorf's *Aus meiner Dienstzeit* (Vienna, Rikola) will probably be the last, in view of the author's death in August, 1925. It covers the last three months of 1914, in a volume of a thousand large pages of text, accompanied by some forty maps.

The Dardanelles Expedition: a Condensed Study, by Captain W. D. Puleston, is brought out by the United States Naval Institute.

One of the obscure intrigues of the World War furnishes the subject of *L'Entente et la Grèce pendant la Grande Guerre, 1914–1917*, by S. Cosmin, who utilizes unpublished documents in French, Russian, German, and Greek (Paris, Société Mutuelle d'Édition, 1926, 2 vols., pp. 900).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alfred von Wegerer, *Neue Ausschnitte zum Attentat von Sarajewo* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, June); Generalstaboberstleutnant Rudolf Kiszling, *Die Oesterreichungarischen Kriegsvorbereitungen und die Mobilisierungsmassnahmen gegen Russland 1914* (*ibid.*); Gen. Nicholas Golovin, *The Great Battle of Galicia, 1914: a Study in Strategy* (Slavonic Review, June); Pierre Deloncle, *Les Sous-marins Français pendant la Guerre* (Revue de Paris, July 15); Ugo Cavallo, *Come Vincemmo al Piave* (Nuova Antologia, July 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: F. Cabrol, *Courrier Anglais; Angleterre et États-Unis* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July).

For the British Academy, the Oxford University Press has published Professor Wallace Notestein's Raleigh Lecture of last December on *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons*, a pamphlet to be read by every student of the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; also a paper on the Colophons and Marginalia of Irish Scribes (a wonderful and entertaining collection of notes and comments, many of them as Irish as anything can be), read before the Academy by Rev. Charles Plummer; a lecture on the Development of Political Ideas in Italy in the Nineteenth Century, by Comm. Luigi Villari; and interesting commemorations of Sir Adolphus Ward, Sir James Ramsay of Bamff, Sir John Rhys, Sir Courtenay Ilbert, and F. C. Conybeare.

Students of the economic history of England should especially note C. M. Waters, *An Economic History of England, 1066-1874* (Oxford University Press), clear, intelligent, and enriched with many illustrations; also L. W. Moffit's *England on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution* (New York, International Publishers), a study of economic and social conditions from 1740 to 1760, with particular reference to Lancashire; and especially Professor Judith B. Williams's two volumes entitled *A Guide to the Printed Materials for English Social and Economic History, 1750-1850* (Columbia University Press).

The third volume of the English Place-Name Society's survey, *The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, prepared by Professors Allen Mawer and F. M. Stenton, has been published by the Cambridge University Press.

Macmillan has published an English translation of Professor D. Pasquet's *Essay on the Origin of the House of Commons*.

The Northamptonshire Record Society is bringing out a volume of documents exhibiting the various relations of the county to the national defense against the Armada, *Copies of Papers relating to Musters, Beacons, Subsidies, etc., in the County of Northampton*.

On occasion of an exhibition of manuscripts and printed books arranged in the John Rylands Library in Manchester last December, in commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of William Tindale's English New Testament, the librarian, Dr. Henry Guppy, prepared *A Brief Sketch of the Transmission of the Bible*, especially of the English Bible, marked by great learning, clearness, and interest. It is now published by the Manchester University Press and Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company in a pamphlet of 75 pages, with 20 facsimiles, and a select bibliography.

Professor W. S. Holdsworth brings his important work on the *History of English Law* to a conclusion by the publication of vol. IX. (London, Methuen, pp. xxii, 457), completing a history of the sources and general development of English law down to 1700, and a history both of the judicial system and of very many of the principles and rules of the English common law, down to modern times.

The Royal Historical Society has continued its series of *British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1789*, by the issue of vol. III. (pp. xli, 229) conveying the series of instructions given in the case of Denmark during the whole period indicated. The editor of the volume, Mr. J. F. Chance, supplies an excellent introduction which illuminates the whole history of Anglo-Danish diplomacy. The instructions are much fuller and more useful to the historian in the period before 1760 than in the reign of George III.

Lord Fife and his Factor (London, Heinemann, pp. vii, 279), edited by Alastair and Henrietta Taylor, presents the correspondence of James, second Lord Fife (1729-1809), with his factor, and illustrates abundantly the life of a Scottish noble in the eighteenth century.

Four volumes of *Papers of King George III.*, edited by Sir John W. Fortescue, king's librarian, will before long be published in London by Macmillan and Company.

The Political Ideas of the English Romanticists, by Crane Brinton, comes from the Oxford University Press.

The Cambridge University Press is publishing the first volume of *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, by Dr. J. H. Clapham of Cambridge, this volume being devoted to the "Early Railway Age".

Memoirs for the latest period, published this autumn by Messrs. Cassell, are Lord Oxford's *Fifty Years of Parliament*, two volumes, Lord Birkenhead's *Wilson and the People round Him*, and Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson's *Soldiers and Statesmen*, two volumes.

A biography of Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, who, it will perhaps be remembered, was British minister in Washington from 1903 to 1906, but for a longer period, before that, was foreign secretary of India and envoy to Persia, has been prepared by Sir Percy Sykes, and published by Messrs. Cassell.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for July has a suggestive article by J. Duncan Mackie on James VI. and I. and the Peace with Spain in 1604, and one of much interest by M. A. Bald on Vernacular Books imported into Scotland, 1500 to 1625. Mr. D. W. Hunter Marshall treats of a Supposed Provincial Council of the Scottish Church at Dundee in February, 1310.

The Scottish History Society has published (Edinburgh, Constable) a volume of *Early Records of the University of St. Andrews*, being the graduation roll from 1413 (the most ancient record of its kind in the United Kingdom) to 1579 and the matriculation roll from its beginning in 1473 to the same date, edited by Dr. James Maitland Anderson, honorary keeper of the university's records.

Documentary publications: *Registrum Thome Wolsey, Cardinalis, Ecclesie Wintoniensis Administratoris, 1529-1530*, ed. Herbert Chitty (Canterbury and York Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dean Armitage Robinson, *The Early Community at Christ Church, Canterbury* (Journal of Theological Studies, April); Ludwig Riess, *The Re-issue of Henry I.'s Coronation Charter* (English Historical Review, July); W. E. Lunt, *William Testa and the Parliament of Carlisle* (*ibid.*); H. S. Bennett, *The Reeve and the Manor in the Fourteenth Century* (*ibid.*); Sir Charles H. Firth, *Sailors of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate* (Mariner's Mirror, July); G. E. Manwaring, *Journalism in the Days of the Commonwealth* (Edinburgh Review, July); A. Aspinall, *English Party Organization in the Early Nineteenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); Graf Max Montgelas, *Lord Grey als Staatsmann und Geschichtsschreiber*, II, III, concl., 1907-1914 (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, June, July); Hermann Lutz, *Sir Edward Greys "Freie Hand"* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 4-5).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 216; for India, see p. 202.)

In the *Annals of the South African Museum*, vol. XIII., the director, Mr. L. Péringuey, presents a singularly interesting illustrated monograph on the *Inscriptions left by Early European Navigators on their Way to the East*, from the inscribed pillar set up by Diogo Cão in 1485 at Cape Cross, to 1632—inscriptions in Portuguese, French, Dutch, and Danish.

FRANCE

General reviews: Marie Boukonetzkaja, *Les Derniers Ouvrages des Historiens Russes sur la Révolution Française* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, May); G. Pagès, *Histoire de France de 1660 à 1789*, II. (Revue Historique, May).

The Commission Supérieure des Archives Coloniales has been re-organized under the chairmanship of M. Alcide Dumont, with the object of hastening forward the classification and inventory of colonial archives, both those in Paris and those in the colonies.

The definitive *Histoire de la Gaule* by Camille Jullian has received its seventh volume, dealing with *Les Empereurs de Trèves; les Chefs* (Paris, Hachette, 1926). The eighth and last is promised for November.

A formidable monograph on *Le Haut-Dauphiné au Moyen Age* has been written by Th. Slaferf (Paris, Sirey, 1926, pp. 785).

A detailed *Étude sur le Gouvernement de François I^{er} dans ses Rapports avec le Parlement de Paris, 1525-1527*, by Professor R. Doucet of Algiers (Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. 324), serves as sequel to a work under the same title by Michel Perret, covering the years 1515-1525, published by this house in 1921.

The fourth volume of M. Pierre Grandchamp's *La France en Tunisie au XVII^e Siècle* (Tunis, Barbier, 1926, pp. xxii, 448), published under the auspices of the French resident-general at Tunis, contains a body of documents respecting the history of the province from 1621 to 1630.

Vol. II. of Édouard Gasc-Desfossés's *La Révolution Française* deals with the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (Paris, Beauchesne, 1925, pp. 700); the point of view is hostile to the Revolution.

An English officer, the late Colonel R. W. Phipps, devoted many years to the study of the military history of France during the Revolutionary period. His son has prepared for the press the first of a series of volumes written by him, *The Armies of the First French Republic: the Armée du Nord* (Oxford University Press).

Existing conditions in France lend point to Raoul Arnaud's study of *Cambon, 1756-1820; la Débâcle Financière de la Révolution* (Paris, Perrin, 1926).

The eventful life of a soldier, who began as a Chouan chief and ended as a marshal of France, is told by Gustave Gautherot in *Un Gentilhomme de Grand Chemin: le Maréchal de Bourmont* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1926, pp. 478).

Vol. II. of *Le Second Empire vu par un Diplomate Belge* by Baron Beyens has now appeared (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. 496).

Messrs. Hutchinson of London have just published a translation, under the title *The Second Empire, and its Downfall*, of the correspondence of Napoleon III. and Prince Napoleon, edited by Ernest d'Hauterive.

The firm of Payot announces a definitive edition of the *Mémoires* of Marshal Galliéni, on the occasion of the dedication of his statue in Paris on July 11 (pp. 256).

The third volume of M. Raymond Poincaré's *Au Service de la France: Neuf Années de Souvenirs* (Paris, Plon) is devoted to the year 1913, the first year of M. Poincaré's term as president of the French republic.

The University of Strasbourg, for the sales of whose publications in America the Oxford University Press is agent in New York, brings out a biography and bibliography of the noted Alsatian historian (1841-1924), *Rodolphe Reuss: Soixante Années d'Activité Scientifique et Littéraire, 1864-1924*. The bibliography is by Professor Christian Pfister, and is preceded by an autobiographical sketch of the subject's early life.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Martinière, *Le Parlement sous les Rois de France*, concl. (*Annales de Bretagne*, XXXVII. 1-2); Paul Serrant, *Seignelay et Bonrepaus*, I. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, July); C. G. Picavet, *Les Commis des Affaires Étrangères au Temps de Louis XIV., 1661-1715* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, April); Léon Cahen, *Le Pacte de Famine et les Spéculations sur les Blés* (*Revue Historique*,

May); Louis R. Gottschalk, *Du Marat Inédit* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, May); Albert Mathiez, *Le Comité de Salut Public et le Complot de l'Étranger, Octobre-Novembre, 1793* (*ibid.*, July); G. Lenotre, *Robespierre et la Mère de Dieu*, VI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); Gabriel Hanotaux, *La Transformation Sociale à l'Époque Napoléonienne*, I., II. (*ibid.*, May 1, June 1); *Mémoires de la Reine Hortense*, I.-IV. (*ibid.*, June 15-August 1); Dom E. Hermant, *La Régence de l'Impératrice Eugénie, d'après des Documents Nouveaux*, II., *La Révolution du 4 Septembre* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Auguste Laugel, *Le Maréchal de MacMahon et le 16 Mai* (Revue de Paris, August 1); Ernest Fréville, *La France et le Riff, 1895-1900* (Nouvelle Revue, May 1); August Bach, *Poincaré und die Erste Balkankrise* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, July).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL.

Vol. XLVII. of the *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* contains four long monographs. The first, prepared by Signora Anna Celli from notes accumulated by her husband the late Professor Angelo Celli, treats of malaria in the medieval history of Rome. The second, by Professor Giovanni Colasanti, deals with the sepulture of King Manfred. In the third, Sig. Giorgio Falco continues his studies of the communes of the Campagna and the Marittima through the brilliant period of the thirteenth century. In the last, Sig. G. Marchetti-Longhi presents the history of the Rocca di Fumone in Campania and its feudal dependencies.

The comprehensive and learned *Geschichte von Florenz*, which Robert Davidsohn has steadily pursued since the publication of the first volume in 1896, has now been completed as far as the fourth, *Die Frühzeit der Florentiner Kultur*. This in turn has two parts, which deal respectively with *Innere Antriebe, Aeussere Einwirkungen, und Politische Kultur* (Berlin, Mittler, 1922, pp. xii, 374) and with *Gewerbe, Zünfte, Welt-handel, und Bankwesen* (*ibid.*, 1925, pp. xi, 523). Each part is followed by a supplementary volume of notes (pp. 84, 139).

The *Vite* of Vespasiano da Bisticci, Florentine bookseller (1421-1498), commemorating the many distinguished men of his day with whom his business brought him into relations, have been for the first time translated into English, and are published by George Routledge and Sons of London, as the *Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the Fifteenth Century* (pp. x, 476).

Un Grand Réaliste, Cavour, by Maurice Paléologue, which has been appearing serially in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, is now published in book form (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. 328).

The second volume of the *Carteggio tra Marco Minghetti e Giuseppe Pasolini*, edited by the latter's grandson, Count Guido Pasolini (Turin, Bocca), covers the important period from 1855 to the end of 1859. The

third and last volume will extend to the end of Minghetti's premiership in 1876.

The Mt. Carmel Press of Yonkers, N. Y., has published an English translation, with some additions for American use, of *Pio XI., Achille Ratti* (1857-1922), the very adequate biography, published in Milan, by Dr. Angelo Novelli, editor of *Italia*.

Under the auspices of the *Revista de Filologia Española* Father Zaccarías García Villada, S.J., has brought out, on the basis of previous treatises and of long personal experience, a volume of text on *Paleografía Española* (Madrid, pp. vii, 371), accompanied by an album of sixty-seven facsimiles.

Estampas de la Vida en León durante el Siglo X., by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz (Madrid, 1926, pp. 235), is a collection of lectures given before the Royal Academy of History, marked equally by thorough knowledge and by charm of style.

The King of Spain on May 28 last signed a decree approving the purchase, at 1,250,000 pesetas, of the so-called Archivo de Colon, property of the Duke of Veragua, embracing 158 documents relating to Columbus, which are to be added to the collection in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville. Negotiations are in progress looking toward the purchase also of the archives of the Duke of Osuna, 5443 legajos in amount.

Stanford University has published (University Series, *History, Economics, and Political Science*, vol. I., no. 2) a translation, by John C. Branner, of Herculano's *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal*.

Senhor Fortunato de Almeida has now brought out the third volume of his *Historia de Portugal* (Coimbra, the author), a standard work on the period from the battle of Aljubarrota in 1385 to the last of Portuguese independence in 1580. The fourth volume, extending to 1816, is in the press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Francesco Landogna, *L'Unità del Regno Italico nell' Alto Medio Evo*, I. (Nuova Rivista Storica, March-June); Corrado Ricci, *L'Anima di Castel Sant'Angelo* (Nuova Antologia, April 21); F. Oliger, O.F.M., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spiritualen, Fratizellen, und Clarenen in Mittelitalien* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLV. 2); Angela Valente, *Filippo II. e l'Italia* (Nuova Rivista Storica, March-June); Albert Pingaud, *Le Royaume d'Italie, 1808*, III. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XL. 3); Kent R. Greenfield, *Mazzini e l'Omicidio di Rhodex nel 1833* (Nuova Antologia, June 16); Camillo Montalcini, *Sidney Sonnino*, I., concl. (*ibid.*, May 1, 16); R. W. Seton-Watson, *Italy's Balkan Policy in 1914* (Slavonic Review, June).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

As vol. 44 of *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Deutschen Vorzeit* is printed a third edition of Adam of Bremen's *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, prepared by Sigfrid Steinberg on the basis of Bernhard Schmeidler's version in the *Monumenta* (Leipzig, Dyk, 1926, pp. xxxvii, 271).

A valuable detailed study of charitable endowments and institutions in a medieval city is found in H. Lange, *Geschichte der Christlichen Liebestätigkeit in der Stadt Bremen in Mittelalter* (Münster, Aschendorff).

Paul Kalkoff throws new light on the relations of *Humanismus und Reformation in Erfurt, 1500-1530* (Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1926, pp. vi, 98), as well as on *Die Reformation in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg, nach den Flugschriften ihres Ratsschreibers Lazarus Spengler* (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. iv, 130).

Professor Hartmann Grisar, the Catholic historian of Innsbruck, has added to his three-volume biography of Luther a new life in one volume, entitled *Martin Luthers Leben und sein Werk* (Freiburg i.B., Herder, 1926, pp. 596). The same press publishes under the auspices of the Görres-Gesellschaft a study of *Veit Trolmann von Wemding, genannt Vitus Amerpachius, als Professor in Wittenberg, 1530-1543*, by Ludwig Fischer (1926, pp. x, 216).

The *Hallische Forschungen zur Neueren Geschichte* furnish a continuation of the *Historische Studien* (1910-1922) and like them are edited by Richard Fester, being the output of the Halle seminar in modern history. During the inflation period only two products of the seminar found publishers. The first three numbers of the new series all bear the date 1926 and are respectively: *Die Einstellung der Sächsischen Regimenter in die Preussische Armee im Jahre 1756*, by Horst Höhne (Halle, Hendel, pp. 140), *Voltaire und der Antimachiavell Friedrichs des Grossen*, by Karl Siegmar von Galéra (*ibid.*, pp. 101), and *Geschichte der Deutschen Vaterlands-Partei, 1917-1918*, by Karl Wortmann (*ibid.*, pp. 124).

The third volume to make its appearance in M. E. Cavaignac's *Histoire du Monde* is numbered XII. *bis* and treats of *L'Empire Allemand, 1871-1900*, under the authorship of Professor Edmond Vermeil of Strasbourg (Paris, Boccard, 1926, pp. xxiv, 260).

A French interpretation of the diplomatic documents published by the German republic may be had in *Les Origines de la Guerre et la Politique Extérieure de l'Allemagne au Début du XX^e Siècle* by Professor Edmond Vermeil of Strasbourg (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 284).

Among the contents of the *Thüringisch-Sächsische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, vol. XIII. (published in 1925 for 1923 and 1924), are articles by R. Kötzsche on "Nationalgeschichte und Landesgeschichte", and by Eberhard Freiherr von Danckelman on "Die Politik der Wettiner in der Zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts"; in vol. XIV.

(1925) are "Die Niederwerfung der Sozialen Revolution in Thüringen im Mai 1525" by R. Baerwald and "Das Talrecht der Stadt Halle von 1386" by A. Arndt. Both contain a copious bibliography of recent writings on Saxon history, aggregating for the two volumes 110 pages.

Vol. I., no. 2 (pp. 113-249), of the *Publications* of the University of California's Bureau of International Relations (Berkeley, University Press) is a study of the *International Government of the Saar*, by Frank M. Russell. The chapters of the work deal with French aspirations and the Saar compromise, the establishment and operation of the Governing Commission, issues between the latter and the Germans, the plebiscite to be procured in 1935, League machinery and processes, the inquiry of 1923 and later developments.

Students of American Catholicism who have found interest in the early materials in the archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda will be interested in the results which the Bohemian Commission has derived from those archives and which are embodied in Dr. Ignatius Kollmann's volume of *Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide res gestas Bohemicas Illustrantia*, tomi I. pars I., 1622-1623 (Prague, Greger, pp. 475). The volume, compiled before the war, but only recently published, contains eighty-four documents of high importance.

Messrs. Ernest Benn are publishing this autumn the *Memoirs of Dr. Benes*, telling the inner history of the achievement of Czechoslovak independence.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Albert Brackmann, *Die Ostpolitik Ottos des Grossen* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 2); Rudolf Häpke, *Der Nationalwirtschaftliche Gedanke in Deutschland zur Reformationszeit* (*ibid.*); Hermann Bräuning-Oktavio, *Damals in Weimar; mit Ungedruckten Briefen der Herzogin Luise von Weimar [1780-1819]* (Deutsche Rundschau, May); Franz Arens, *Aussenpolitische Bestrebungen der Tschechen im Zeitalter des Siebziger Krieges* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, June); Karl Schünemann, *Die Stellung Oesterreich-Ungarns in Bismarcks Bündnispolitik* (*ibid.*); Theobald von Schäfer, *Generaloberst von Moltke in den Tagen vor der Mobilmachung und seine Einwirkung auf Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, August).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The monograph by W. L. S. Knuif and J. De Jong on *Philippus Ro-venius en zijn Bestuur der Hollandsche Zending* (Utrecht, Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht, vol. L., 1925, pp. 410) has the merit of collecting a mass of scattered documents on the Dutch Church of the seventeenth century, not easily accessible to the historian.

The dean of Dutch historians, P. J. Blok, has filled a gap by publishing a monograph on *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff, 1926, pp. 287), in Professor Brugmans's handsomely illustrated series, the *Nederlandsche Historische Bibliotheek*.

Fascicle 8 of the *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* is a study by Jean Rivière of *Le Problème de l'Église et de l'État au Temps de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. 499).

Dr. Friedrich Winkler's treatise on *Die Flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, E. A. Seemann), elaborately and beautifully illustrated from a wide range of manuscripts, is full of instruction respecting the social life of the Burgundian period as well as its art.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Two important general surveys of Norwegian archaeology, both lately published by Aschehoug in Oslo, are Professor Harald Shetelig's *Norges Forhistorie* and Dr. A. W. Brøgger's *Det Norske Folk i Oldtiden*.

Alfred A. Knopf has published a *History of Russia*, by Sir Bernard Pares.

The first three volumes of Professor V. Kluchevski's *History of Russia* appeared in 1911-1913. It is now announced that the fourth volume, covering the period from the birth of Peter the Great to the revolution which brought Catherine II. to the throne, will appear in English translation this autumn (London, Dent).

An illustrated memoir of the *Empress Marie of Russia, and her Times*, by Vladimir Poliakov, will be published this autumn in London by Messrs. Thornton Butterworth; it has been based on large amounts of original material from the reigns of her husband, Alexander III., and of her son, Nicholas II.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Comm. M. Weil, *L'Assassinat de Paul Ier, d'après des Documents Inédits* (*Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, July).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Many readers may find useful the small book written in English by Professor Henry Marczali, of the University of Budapest, on *Hungary's Past: a Synopsis of the History of Hungary* (Budapest, William Borsodi, pp. 112).

Two or three years ago (XXIX. 405) we mentioned Professor Robert Gragger's *Bibliographia Hungariae*, I. *Historica*, prepared under the auspices of the Ungarisches Institut of the University of Berlin, and listing some 9000 titles of independent publications of 1861-1921, in other languages than Magyar, on the history of Hungary. This is now followed by *Bibliographia Hungariae*, II. *Geographica; Politico-Oeconomica* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Company, 1926, pp. xlvii, cols. 319-710), of similar scope and authorship, and even greater extent.

Conrad Chapman, an American, has written in French an account of *Michel Paléologue, Restaurateur de l'Empire Byzantin, 1261-1282* (Paris, Figuière, 1926).

The Brussels house of Van Oest offers for subscription a work on *La Miniature Byzantine* by J. Ebersolt, to appear in 1926 (pp. 120).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Little, Brown, and Company have published a volume by Dr. Herbert H. Gowen entitled *Asia: a Short History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*.

The late Sir George Forrest prepared, and B. H. Blackwell of Oxford has published two volumes of *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India: Lord Cornwallis*, framed on much the same lines as his *Selections from the State Papers: Warren Hastings*, published in 1910. The first volume is devoted to an estimate of Cornwallis and his career in India, the other to a selection of his letters and minutes, almost all taken from Colonel Ross's edition of Cornwallis's *Correspondence*.

A selection of the hitherto unpublished papers and despatches of Lord Ellenborough, prepared by Sir Algernon Law, is to be published this autumn by the house of Murray, under the title *India under Lord Ellenborough, March, 1842-June, 1844*.

Professor R. Coupland of Oxford has written a biographical study of Sir Stamford Raffles, founder of Singapore, which will shortly be published by the Oxford University Press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Adm. G. A. Ballard, *The Effect of the Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century on Indian Ocean Development* (*Mariner's Mirror*, July); Maurice Lewandowski, *Sun-Yat-Sen, Fondateur de la République Chinoise* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Among the special publications of the Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, under the auspices of King Fuad I., the most recent is a handsomely printed and illustrated monograph on *Les Premières Frégates de Mohamed Aly, 1824-1827*, by Lieutenant Georges Dou'n, well known for his studies of naval operations in Egyptian waters during the early nineteenth century (Cairo, Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1926, pp. viii, 125).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Émile Laloy, *Les Débuts de l'Affaire Marocaine, d'après les Documents Allemands* (*Mercure de France*, May 1).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington published in June, a few days after our last number went to press, the third volume of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (pp. lxii, 582), containing 706 letters, or parts of letters, of the year 1778. The first volume of

Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro, edited by Mrs. R. C. H. Catterall, will apparently be published on about the same day as this number of the *Review*. Vol. II. of the Bandelier documents, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, etc.*, edited by Professor C. W. Hackett, and vol. II. of Dr. Stock's *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America* are waiting only for the completion of their indexes. Vol. I. of Mrs. Surrey's *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives relating to the Mississippi Valley* is nearly ready.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress are: photostat copies of the Samuel Adams papers in the New York Public Library (1296 sheets), and of the Franklin Pierce papers in the New Hampshire Historical Society, 1820-1869 (768 sheets); transcripts from the Danish archives, 1671-1763, relating to the Virgin Islands; manuscript account-books of Richard Crawford, 1755-1823; ninety letters of William Vans Murray, 1784-1804; additions to the papers of Matthew F. Maury, relating to his stay in England; and Japanese drawings and paintings illustrating Commodore Perry's expedition of 1854. The Library has published for this division the usual annual list of *Accessions of Manuscripts, Broad-sides, and British Transcripts* acquired during 1925.

The Government Printing Office has arranged to place the Treaty Series on sale hereafter through the Superintendent of Documents. The Department of State will therefore hereafter limit its gratuitous distribution of this series to official requests exclusively.

The new Norwegian-American Historical Association, though founded little more than a year ago, is already highly prosperous, a list dated May 1, 1926, showing a total membership of 566. The first of its publications, *Studies and Records*, vol. I. (Minneapolis, the Society, pp. 175), is a volume of great interest and most creditable scholarship. The longest article, the first in this vol. I., is a paper on Health Conditions and the Practice of Medicine among the Early Norwegian Settlers, 1825-1865, by Professor Knut Gjerset of Luther College, and Dr. Ludvig Hektoen, professor of pathology in the University of Chicago, a valuable contribution to the *Kulturgeschichte* of the Northwest. This is followed by an article on the Norwegian Quakers of 1825 and their relation to the immigrants of the *Restoration*, by the translation of a pastoral letter against emigration published by the Norwegian Bishop Jacob Neumann (Bergen, 1837); by a valuable account of the Norwegian settlements in the West in 1844, translated from J. R. Reiersen's *Veiviser for Norske Emigranter*; by a description of an emigrant voyage made in 1854 by a former sea-captain; and the reminiscences of a pioneer Norwegian-American editor, Carl Fredrik Solberg, connected with the newspaper *Emigranten* from 1856 to 1868 (d. 1924). The new society has a rich and important field and is entitled to a hearty welcome.

A new issue, brought out this spring, in the series of *Smith College Studies in History* (XI. 3), is *Austria and the United States, 1848-1852*, a study of the diplomatic relations of those two governments, by Professor M. E. Curti of that college, which, on the basis of documents in Austrian and American archives, treats of the mission of A. Dudley Mann, the Kossuth and Hülsemann affairs, and other episodes of that revolutionary period. The next preceding issue in the same series was *The Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy*, by Miss Rose Mildred Stahl, a careful, intelligent and fair-minded account, based on thorough study and good reasoning.

Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem: Select Documents (pp. 901), by Edith Abbott, is from the University of Chicago Press (Social Service Series).

Resuming the interrupted issue of *Hefte der Theologischen Amerika-Bibliothek*, Professor Karl Bornhausen, of Breslau, has published under the title *Der Christliche Aktivismus Nordamerikas in der Gegenwart* two essays on the relation to political life of American churches and foreign missions.

In the March number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society appear the annual address ("Quadragesima Annis, 1884-1924") of the president, Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday; an article on the Gallipolis Colony in southern Ohio, by Rev. John McGovern; and the concluding installment of Sister M. Eulalia Herron's papers on the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States, the present article relating to the diocese of Dubuque from 1867 to 1893 and to the archdiocese from 1893 to 1921.

A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-Day Adventists, by Mahlon E. Olsen, is published in Takoma Park, D. C., by the *Review and Herald* Publishing Association.

The Mind of the Negro as reflected in Letters written during the Crisis, 1800-1860, edited by Dr. Carter G. Woodson, is a publication of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (Washington, D. C.), brought together from successive numbers of the *Journal of Negro History*.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has brought out a pamphlet on *Early American Sign Boards*.

The Stagecoach, a history, by George Estes, is published in Portland, Oregon, by George Estes' Publishers.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Heinrich Charles of 116 Nassau Street, New York, is author and publisher of a small volume (pp. 184) on the *Romance of the Name America*, in which the story of Waldseemüller and his book is recounted, with emphasis on the influence of Mathias Ringmann, and the history of

the prenomén Amerigo is traced, with much romantic narrative of the Amalungs.

A useful *Hilfswörterbuch für den Amerikanisten*, containing the most important Indian words incorporated into the vocabularies of the great European colonizing nations during the period of the discoveries, has been compiled by Captain Georg Friederici (Halle, Niemeyer, 1926, pp. xix, 115). The words are rendered into German, Spanish, and English. The book forms part of the series, *Studien über Amerika und Spanien*, edited by Karl Sapper, Arthur Franz, and Adalbert Hämel.

In the *Mariner's Mirror* for July Mr. R. C. Anderson, English expert in the making of naval models, gives an account, with interesting illustrations, of the *Mayflower* model ("model of an English merchantman of the size and date of the *Mayflower*") which he made for the hall of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth on order from their late president, Mr. Arthur Lord.

In the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* for July, 1925, with continuance in the October number, Father Jerome Goyens presents an elaborate biographical study of Father Louis Hennepin.

Philip Guedalla's volume of biographical studies which we have mentioned under its English title of *Independence Day* appears in the United States with the title *The Fathers of the Revolution* (Putnam).

Doubleday, Page, and Company will shortly publish a life of Button Gwinnett, signer of the Declaration of Independence, by Charles F. Jenkins. The volume will include also a rare map of the state of Georgia, together with a number of hitherto inaccessible documents.

Sometime ago Professor F. A. Golder of Stanford University discovered in the Russian archives a body of letters belonging to the Russian period of John Paul Jones's career. It is understood that these letters, for which Professor Golder will write an appropriate introduction, will presently be published by Doubleday, Page, and Company.

The Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag (House Doc. no. 258, 69th Cong., 1st sess.), by R. C. Ballard Thruston, has been issued as a separate (Washington, Government Printing Office).

Dr. Randolph G. Adams has had printed for the William L. Clements Library a quarto volume containing facsimiles of three passports, of different form, printed in France by Benjamin Franklin in 1780; they are accompanied by interesting comment.

The New York Historical Society commemorates the sesquicentennial of the Revolution by publishing a handsome and elaborate quarto volume, of 297 pages, on *Uniforms of the American, British, French, and German Armies in the War of the American Revolution*, edited by Alexander J. Wall, librarian of the society. It contains fifty six-color-process illustrations, from water-color sketches by the late Lieut. Charles M. Lefferts,

with a text supplying full information respecting all these uniforms (the Society, \$30.00).

The Houghton Mifflin Company has published *The Best Letters of Thomas Jefferson*, selected and edited by Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. The purpose of the volume is "to bring together such selections from Jefferson's writings as will best illustrate his views on questions of large importance then and now", to make Jefferson "better known to a generation which has need of him as the most significant interpreter of Americanism". Besides the letters there are four representative writings: the Statute for Religious Freedom in Virginia (1786), the first Inaugural Address (1801), the Solemn Declaration and Protest of Virginia (1825), and his Epitaph.

Mr. John Hill Morgan's *Gilbert Stuart* (New York, W. E. Rudge, 4 vols., \$100.00) is elaborate in the matter of biography, characterization, and critique, and presents a catalogue of 1058 portraits (111 of Washington), and in the third and fourth volumes 606 reproductions of Stuart's paintings.

To the mention of histories of "centennial firms" in our last number may be added *The Firm of Alexander Brown and Sons* [founded in 1800] (Baltimore, Frank R. Kent, pp. 215).

The Friedrich List Gesellschaft's second volume of List's writings, containing the writings of his American period, 1825-1831, will be edited by Professor William Notz, of Georgetown University.

C. E. Byrne is the author of a history of the Indian wars in the 'sixties and 'seventies, more particularly of the Custer disaster, to which he has given the title *Soldiers of the Plains* (Minton, N. Y., Balch). *The Old Sergeant's Story: Winning the West from the Indians and Bad Men in 1870 to 1876*, by Capt. Robert G. Carter, is chiefly a collection of letters from a sergeant of cavalry to his captain (New York, F. H. Hitchcock).

Don Carlos Seitz is the author of a volume which is described as "a chronicle of some political, moral, military, and financial phases of the United States of the '70's" and bears the title *The Dreadful Decade* (Bobbs-Merrill).

The second installment of the six-volume edition of President Woodrow Wilson's public papers, vols. III. and IV., *Principles of Democracy*, embracing all the important addresses and messages and notes, domestic and foreign, written by Mr. Wilson from the time of his inauguration in 1913 to the entry of the United States into the war in 1917, is published this autumn by the house of Harper.

The Harvard University Press has published the third book, completing the series, of the *Naval History of the World War*, by Captain Thomas G. Frothingham, this volume (pp. vii, 310) being concerned with the participation of the United States in the war.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Religion of New England, by Thomas Van Ness, is an historical study of the Christian religion in New England from the times of the Pilgrims, published for the Second Unitarian Society of Brookline, Massachusetts (Boston, Beacon Press).

A History of the Town of Stratford, New Hampshire, 1773-1925, by Jeanette R. Thompson, is published in Concord by the Rumford Press.

Harold W. Slocum has written *The Story of Vermont*, which Charles Scribner's Sons have published.

The December-January serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society has for its main contents a body of letters of 1775, by Isaac Smith, sr. and jr., and their connections. There is also a brief paper on DuLuth by W. B. Munro, an account of the various copies of Columbus's "Book of Privileges" by Dr. Charles L. Nichols, with special explanation concerning the abridgment in the John Carter Brown Library. Mr. James White's controversion of Senator Lodge's account of his participation in forming the convention on the Alaska boundary in 1903 is reprinted from the *Canadian Historical Review*.

The Connecticut Historical Society and the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut have joined in preparing for publication the *Records of the Particular Court of Connecticut*, covering the period from the early settlement of the colony to 1666.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Courts and Lawyers of New York: a History, 1609-1925, in three volumes, by Alden Chester and Edwin M. Williams, is put forth by the "American Historical Society", so called, of New York.

Mr. Henry Collins Brown's continuation or revival of *Valentine's Manual* has proceeded this year to its tenth number, *The Last Fifty Years in New York*, in which a multitude of half-forgotten aspects of social history, some merely entertaining and some of high importance, are set forth with abundant illustrations.

Prepared with great care, and privately printed in a small edition, Mr. Otto Hufeland's *Westchester County during the American Revolution* (pp. 478) is accompanied by four entirely new maps of the county as it existed at the time referred to, made from the best sources of information.

In the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, July issue, is an article by Edward S. Rankin on the Newark-Elizabethtown-Barbadoes Controversy (an eighteenth-century boundary controversy). The other principal articles are continuations: the Loyalists of New Jersey, contributed by E. Alfred Jones; the Argonauts of Jersey City, by Wil-

liam H. Richardson; and Dr. John C. Honeyman's contributions concerning Zion, St. Paul, and other Lutheran Churches in the state.

The principal articles in the July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* are: Pro-Jackson Sentiment in Pennsylvania, 1820-1828, by Herman Hailperin; Benjamin West and the Royal Academy, by Charles I. Landis; and the concluding installment of the sketch of Jeremiah S. Black, by the late Francis N. Thorpe.

William J. Campbell, 223 South Sydenham Street, Philadelphia, publishes facsimile reproductions of two of the earliest and rarest maps of Philadelphia and its vicinity, Thomas Holme's map of 1687 and John Reed's of 1774, being the facsimiles of full size published originally in 1870 and accompanied by Reed's *Explanation*. He has also published *A Descriptive List of Maps and Views of Philadelphia, 1683-1865*, by the late P. Lee Phillips.

The Wyoming Historical and Geographical Society (Wilkes-Barré) has just issued, as a part of the results of its archaeological survey of Eastern Pennsylvania, an illustrated volume on *Aboriginal Rock Shelters and other Archaeological Observations in the Wyoming Valley and Vicinity* (pp. 186), by Max Schrabisch.

Following are the recent *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society: Migration of Lancaster County Mennonites to Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1825, by A. G. Seyfert (March 5); the so-called "Kentucky Rifle", as made in Lancaster County, by D. F. Magee (April 9); Notes on Reamstown, Lancaster County, by Pierce Leshner (May 5); and a sketch of Colonel Adam Reigart (1739-1813), Revolutionary innkeeper of Lancaster, by Edward P. Brinton.

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* has in the July number, aside from continued articles, a paper by Annie Clark Miller, entitled Old Houses and Estates in Pittsburgh.

E. B. Burgess has prepared a *Memorial History of the Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1748-1845-1924*, which is published in Greenville, Pennsylvania, by the Beaver Printing Company.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

A History of Southern Methodist Missions, by James Cannon, is published by the Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tennessee.

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* includes some material on the Worcester County Militia of 1794, edited by Harry F. Covington; a paper on Washington's Relations to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, by Paul E. Tittsworth; one on St. John's Church, Queen Caroline Parish, Howard County, by Henry J. Berkley; and a continuation of the letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman, "Eighteenth Century Gossip of two Maryland Girls", edited by J. Hall Pleasants, as also of the Life of Thomas Johnson, by Edward S. Delaplaine.

The Virginia State Library has published vol. I. of the *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, the first of a series of ten or a dozen such volumes. Vol. I. of *Official Letters of the Governors of Virginia* is nearly ready for delivery. The Library has also brought out *Notes on Southside Virginia* (pp. 346), by Walter A. Watson, edited by Mrs. Watson. The *Notes* include a variety of miscellaneous materials gathered by Judge Watson with a view to writing a history of Southside Virginia, namely, that region lying south of the James and east of the Blue Ridge mountains. There are, for instance, abstracts and copies of records, biographical sketches, genealogical notes, occasional letters, extracts from Judge Watson's diaries (1888-1916), and several biographical sketches of him, including one by his widow, Mrs. Constance T. Watson.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints, in the July number, the Phi Beta Kappa address delivered at William and Mary College last December by Dr. Albert Shaw, and the diary kept by Captain Philip Buckner of a journey from Kentucky to Natchez by water and return by land, 1801. Mr. William Buckner McGroarty furnishes extensive annotations to the diary. Another interesting contribution is by Robert M. Hughes and is entitled the Genesis of the F. F. V., being a reply, as regards Virginia, to some recent strictures on colonial history.

The July number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* includes a letter, relating to William and Mary College, found in Purdie's *Virginia Gazette* of Nov. 22, 1776, and believed to have been written by Jefferson; some Webster-Tyler correspondence; and a discussion by Robert M. Hughes, jr., of the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has published volume I. of *Calendars of Manuscript Collections* (pp. 308), prepared from original manuscripts in the collections of the commission by D. L. Corbett, calendar clerk. This volume contains briefs of transcripts of the Dartmouth Manuscripts, 1720-1793; the Hayes Collection, 1748-1806; North Carolina letters from the Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library, 1757-1847; the David L. Swain Manuscripts, 1772-1869; proceedings of the court-martial trial of Col. Charles McDowell, 1782; the Thomas Henderson letter-book, 1810-1833; North Carolina letters from the Van Buren Papers in the Library of Congress, 1824-1858; North Carolina letters from the Crittenden Papers, *ibid.*, 1827-1863; the E. J. Hale Manuscripts, 1850-1866; and the Spencer Papers, 1859-1903.

The July number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* has articles on School Support and our North Carolina Courts, 1868-1926, by Professor Charles L. Coon; one on an Antigua Plantation, 1769-1818, based on its accounts, by Professor U. B. Phillips; and one on Defeatism in the Confederacy, by Professor Frank L. Owsley. The magazine also contains a reprint of a sermon on the duty of subjection to the civil powers,

preached before Governor Tryon and his militia by Rev. Dr. George Micklejohn (Newbern, 1768—misprinted MDCCLXIII in the reprint), and a variety of newspaper communications of 1771 attacking and defending Tryon.

The latest issue among the University of North Carolina's *James Sprunt Historical Publications* is a dissertation on *Slaveholding in North Carolina: an Economic View* (pp. 103), by Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, assistant professor of history in Furman University, in which importations, the various employments of slave labor, migration to the southwestward, sales and hiring of slaves, and the management of plantations, are all treated with great care and intelligence.

F. H. Hitchcock, New York, has published a reprint of Wheeler's *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851*.

The University of North Carolina Press has published a volume entitled *Old Days in Chapel Hill: being the Life and Letters of Cornelia Phillips Spencer*, of which the author is Hope S. Chamberlain.

The Burckmyer Letters, March, 1863-June, 1865, edited by Charlotte R. Holmes, is a collection of letters exchanged between the grandfather and grandmother of the editor. They have an especial value for the light which they throw upon life in Charleston and in the Confederate colony in Europe during the war (Columbia, S. C., the *State Company*).

The July number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Professor James O. Knauss on the Growth of Florida's Election Laws; an account of the Massacre at Indian Key, Aug. 7, 1840, being the narrative of Hester P. Walker, a survivor; a letter of G. I. F. Clarke relating to Port St. Joseph, East Florida (1823); and some letters relating to MacGregor's attempted Conquest of East Florida (1817).

The American Antiquarian Society has received a small collection of papers relating to affairs in Florida in the year 1841, among them two letters from Thomas Douglas to Hon. H. M. Brackenridge regarding the division of the territory into East Florida and West Florida, proposed in order to balance the admission of the Northern states of Wisconsin and Iowa. Other letters concern legal matters, preservation of timber, and political affairs.

Much good Alabama history is printed in the *Pageant Book* of the celebration held in Montgomery last May, along with what relates to the specific occasion. The pamphlet (pp. 80), edited by Peter A. Brannon, has many interesting illustrations.

WESTERN STATES

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June contains a paper on Early Land Communication with the Lower Mississippi, by Professor Julian P. Bretz of Cornell University; an account of a Cattleman's Com-

monwealth on the Western Range, by Louis Pelzer of Iowa; a critical study of Thomas Ashe and the authenticity of his *Travels in America*, by Professor Francis H. Herrick; and a document, edited by Professor Beverley W. Bond, jr., from the Force Collection in the Library of Congress, containing an account of the captivity of Charles Stuart during the French and Indian War, 1755-1757—one of the best of "captivity" narratives. The September number gives first place to Professor J. A. Woodburn's presidential address delivered before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association last May, an excellent paper on Western Radicalism in American Politics. This is followed by an article on the Five Nations in Queen Anne's time, by Professor W. T. Morgan, and a very useful one on the Notion of a Great American Desert east of the Rockies, by Ralph C. Morris. The nineteenth annual meeting of the society named is fully described by Bruce E. Mahan. The documentary material is a translation of the baptismal register of St. Joseph, Michigan, 1721-1773, from the archives of the seminary at Quebec.

The June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a sketch, by Howard R. Burnett, of James D. Williams, the last pioneer governor of Indiana; the autobiographies of the Rev. George Knight Hester and his wife, which throw light upon life in southern Indiana prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, and, by the former, the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Educational History of Clark's Grant; a sketch of Professor John I. Morrison (1806-1882) and the Washington County Seminary, by Mrs. Annie Morrison Corwin; and one of James F. D. Lanier (1800-1881), by George S. Cottman. There are also in this issue some letters (1821-1844) from the correspondence of Noah Noble, contributed by Mrs. Esther Noble Carter. These include two letters from William Henry Harrison and five from Henry Clay.

The October (1925) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains an extended study, by Sivert Erdahl, of Eric Janson and the Bishop Hill Colony; an address, by Richard Yates, at the Jacksonville Centennial, Oct. 6, 1925; some Letters of Jean Girault relating to the Illinois Country, with extended comment by H. W. Roberts; and Personal Recollections of the Early Settlement of Carlinville, Ill., by Mary B. Wright. The January number contains an article by Edgar L. Masters entitled Days in the Lincoln Country; the Civil War Diary of Colonel William Camm, covering practically the entire period of the war; sketches, by members of his family, of Joseph Smith (1786-1852); and a number of letters (1832-1834) from Gen. Henry Dodge, Governor John Reynolds, Brig.-Gen. T. M. Neale, and others.

The principal contents of the July number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* are: a Life of James Marquette, by Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S.J.; an article by Rev. John Rothensteiner, entitled From Chicago to St. Louis in the Early Dawn of Western History; an address by Judge Victor J. Dowling, of New York, entitled Heroes of America's Origin:

Isaac Jogues, René Goupil, Joseph Lalande; an autobiographical sketch of the Right Reverend James Oliver Van de Velde, second bishop of Chicago; and an account, by Rev. A. Zurbonsen, of the Institutions conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis, Springfield, Ill.

The Filson Club has brought out (*Publications*, no. 31) reprints of William Littell's *Political Transactions in and concerning Kentucky*, and *Letters of George Nicholas to his Friend in Virginia* (Louisville, J. P. Morton and Company).

Professor E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia has published through the University of North Carolina Press a study of *The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky*.

The latest publication of the Michigan Historical Commission is a volume of great interest prepared by that indefatigable historical student, Justice William R. Riddell of the Supreme Court of Ontario, and entitled *Michigan and the British Rule: Law and Law Courts, 1760-1796* (pp. 493). After a preliminary treatise on the British law courts exercising jurisdiction in what is now Michigan, under British authority *de jure* (1760-1783) and *de facto* (1783-1796), the volume presents the records of the court of common pleas for the "district of Hesse", Upper Canada, 1788 to 1796, and of a court of oyer and terminer in 1792—all illuminated by a large body of learned and interesting notes.

Articles in the July number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: Recollections of Early Days at Mackinac, by Grace F. Kane; What Indians knew about Manistique and Schoolcraft County, by William F. Gagnieur, S.J.; the "Hutchins" Map of Michigan, by William L. Jenks; and the fourth of Mr. Henry A. Haigh's papers concerning the Ford Historical Collections at Dearborn.

Mr. M. M. Quaife offers in the May number of the *Burton Historical Leaflet* the Story of Brownstown, being chiefly an episode in General Hull's Detroit campaign.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has received a gift from the Wisconsin Society of Colonial Dames of America for the purpose of making an experimental study of church records, in the hope of being able to use such records for the study of migration into and from the state. A new volume in the *Domesday Book* series, prepared by Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the Society, and dealing with the history of four lakeshore counties, Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, and Ozaukee, is now in press.

The contents of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, July number, include an article on the Origins of Milwaukee College, by Louise P. Kellogg; one on the Wisconsin Press and Slavery, by Kate E. Levi; and one on Early Lumbering on the Chippewa, written by William W. Bartlett from an interview with Bruno Vinette. The biography of Judge William P. Lyon, by Clara Lyon Hayes, is concluded.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin is publishing a facsimile reproduction of the *Pharmacopoeia Augustana* (1564), with a careful bibliographical introduction by Dr. Edward Kremers. The reproduction has been procured from the University of Würzburg at the instance and at the expense of Dr. Joseph Schneider of Milwaukee. The Wisconsin society has a special collection of old medical and pharmaceutical works, accompanied by a fund for publication.

The Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee has brought out in its *Bulletins* two illustrated monographs by Alanson Skinner, the one, *Ethnology of the Ioway Indians* (pp. 174), the other, *The Mascoutens or Prairie Potawatomi Indians*, part II., *Notes on the Material Culture* (pp. 64). The Ioway Indians (Siouan) offer, in the opinion of the author, an especially interesting object of study because, "while they belong to one linguistic family, their material culture and folklore are largely identified with those of the component peoples of another group, the Central Algonkian", having been much influenced by migrations from woodlands to plains. There are few survivors (79 in Oklahoma, 162 in Kansas and Nebraska), and their native culture is dead in practically all its branches. The Mascoutens, in their material culture, are "almost wholly typical of the Central Algonkian group", although "there are also a number of examples of Plains influence".

Dr. Solon J. Buck's address, the Promotion of American History and of History in America, delivered before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in May, appears in the June number of *Minnesota History*. The same magazine contains a paper by Theodore C. Blegen on Minnesota Pioneer Life as revealed in Newspaper Advertisements, and a group of materials brought together by Bertha L. Heilbron, pertaining to Isaac I. Stevens and the Pacific Railroad Survey of 1853.

The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900, by Henrietta M. Larson, is no. 269 of the Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains an article by Earle D. Ross on the Evolution of the Agricultural Fair in the Northwest, and one by Henry A. Bennett on Fish and Game Legislation in Iowa.

Articles in the July number of the *Annals of Iowa* are: James W. Grimes *versus* the Southrons, by F. I. Herriott; some specimen lists (twenty counties) of Iowa men and women lost in the World War; and a continuation of Benjamin F. Pearson's diary of the Civil War.

Graduate students and members of the staff of political science in the State University of Iowa have begun under the direction of Professor B. F. Shambaugh an extensive study of municipal government and admin-

istration in Iowa, intended to result in a comprehensive survey of all its types of municipal government, forming one or more volumes in the *Iowa Applied History Series* published by the State Historical Society.

The June number of the *Palimpsest* has an account, by M. M. Hoffman, of a missionary enterprise among the Sioux Indians in the region of Fort Snelling, beginning in 1839, while in the July number Granville Stuart describes his boyhood experiences on the frontier.

The Missouri Historical Society has received another installment of the P. Chouteau Maffitt Collection, the gift of Mr. Maffitt's daughter, Mrs. R. H. Keiser, embracing some 25 bound volumes and about 1350 unbound manuscripts, mostly letters addressed to Pierre Chouteau, jr., and illustrating to an important degree the history of the fur trade from 1809 to 1850.

The *Missouri Historical Review* has in the July number, besides a number of brief articles, some Recollections of George C. Bingham, the painter, by C. B. Rollins; the sixth chapter of Thomas S. Barclay's study of the Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri; and the tenth installment of Daniel F. Grissom's Personal Recollections of Distinguished Missourians (Claiborne F. Jackson).

The Missouri Historical Society has brought out *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, in two volumes, edited by Professor Thomas M. Marshall.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* has in the July number the Diary of James K. Holland, a Texan Volunteer in the Mexican War; an article by Joseph Ellison on the Mineral Land Question in California, 1848-1866; one by Harbert Davenport on Captain Jesús Cuellar, Texas Cavalry, otherwise "Comanche"; and a letter (1839) from Daniel O'Connell, the Irish political agitator, to Joseph Sturge, the Quaker philanthropist, respecting a plan for the colonization in Mexico of free persons of color by the British government. The letter is contributed, with an introduction, by Dr. Annie H. Abel.

The contents of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* include some Notes of the Settlement of No Man's Land, by Elmer E. Brown; an article on the Opening of Oklahoma, by Hamilton S. Wicks; an account, by Guy A. Crossett, of life and customs among the Choctaws ("A Vanishing Race"); one by W. B. Morrison on the Choctaw mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and other brief articles concerning the Choctaws.

The Harlow Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, has reprinted for its "Western Series" of English and American classics Washington Irving's *Tour of the Prairies*, edited for school use by George C. Wells,

high-school inspector of Oklahoma, and Joseph B. Thoburn, secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The volume also includes pertinent extracts from Irving's *Journals* and from Charles J. Latrobe's *Rambler in North America* (London, 1836).

The May number of the *Colorado Magazine* contains an article by L. R. Haften on the Status of the San Luis Valley, 1850-1861, one on Early Days in Canon City and South Park, being the narrative obtained by H. H. Bancroft from Warren R. Fowler, and other brief articles.

The July number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains a paper by J. Lloyd Meacham on the Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico, 1581-1582; one by F. S. Curtis, jr., on the Influence of Weapons on New Mexico History; and one by Benjamin M. Read entitled the Last Word on "Montezuma". The contributions on New Mexico in the Great War are continued, as is also the serial publication on the Founding of New Mexico.

Eighty-one Years in the West, the autobiography of George Bruffey, is brought out in Butte, Mont., by the author.

The diary of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, which has appeared in installments in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, with editorial notes by Professor Edmond S. Meany, has been brought out in a volume entitled *The Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest* (Seattle, University of Washington Press).

The Blazed Trail of the Old Frontier, by Miss Agnes C. Laut, which McBride has published, is "the log" of the Upper Missouri Historical Expedition of 1925.

The July number of the *Washington Historical-Quarterly* contains a History of Pig Iron Manufacture on the Pacific Coast, by Joseph Daniels; Ben Burgunder's Recollections of the Inland Empire, contributed, with an introduction, by J. Orin Oliphant; a History of the Seattle General Post Office, by Nicholas C. Cullinan; and some Notes and Observations on the Origin and Evolution of the Name of Oregon as applied to the River of the West, by William L. Lewis.

The June number of the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society contains the third installment of Lewis A. McArthur's studies of Oregon Geographic Names, and a brief account, by Charles H. Carey, of an interview with the late Binger Hermann, in part respecting the admission of Oregon as a state.

The Old Missions of California: the Story of the Peaceful Conquest of the State, by Nolan Davis, has been brought out in Oakland by the Mission Publishing Company.

CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* for June presents a brief statement regarding the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, held at Ottawa on May 17 and 18, a valuable article by Mr. William Smith, of the Public Archives of Canada, on Canada and Constitutional Development in New South Wales, and a paper by Professor W. R. Livingston, of the University of Iowa, on the First Responsible Party Government in British North America (Nova Scotia). A long letter of Louis Riel and Ambroise Lépine to Lieutenant Governor Morris of Manitoba (1873) is presented in translation with elaborate notes by A. H. de Trémaudan.

Canadian Public Opinion on the American Civil War, by Helen G. Macdonald, is no. 273 of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

An important study of *The Unreformed Senate of Canada*, by Robert A. Murray (pp. xvi, 284), prepared under the advice of Professor E. S. Corwin at Princeton, is published in Toronto by the Oxford University Press.

Vol. II. of the *Papers and Records* of the Welland County Historical Society contains an authoritative study of the Fenian Raid of 1866 by Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, followed by seven or eight papers containing personal reminiscences of the raid.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The *Papers* of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. XI., no. 2, embodies the official reports on the towns of Tequizistlan, Tepechpan, Acolman, and San Juan Teotihuacan sent by Francisco de Castañeda to Philip II. and the Council of the Indies in 1580. The reports are translated and edited by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall (Cambridge, the Museum).

The *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, XXIV. 1-6, lately issued, will be valued for the "Diccionario Geográfico de la Isla de Cuba" finished in manuscript in 1875 by José de J. Marquez, which constitutes the greater part of this volume, and contains many data not to be found in Pezuela.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dr. G. Friederici, *Die Heimat der Kokospalme und die Vorkolumbische Entdeckung Amerikas durch die Malaio-Polynesier* (Erdball, I. 2); Caroline F. Ware, *The Effect of the American Embargo, 1807-1809, on the New England Cotton Industry* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, August); William Notz, *Frederick List in America* (American Economic Review, June); André Maurois, *Joseph Smith, Fondateur du Mormonisme* (Revue de Paris, August 1);

James D. Hill, *The Burning of Columbia Reconsidered* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); James O. Knauss, *The Farmers' Alliance in Florida* (*ibid.*); Georg Karo, *Walter Hines Page* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, August); A. L. Leymarie, *Le Canada pendant la Jeunesse de Louis XIII.* [journal of Héroard] (Nova Francia, February 24); C. S. S. Higham, *The General Assembly of the Leeward Islands*, II. (English Historical Review, July); M. Cadwalader Hole, *Early Latin-American Press and Development of the Press of the Argentine Republic* (Bulletin of the Pan American Union, April).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. Albert T. Olmstead is a professor of history and curator of the Oriental Museum in the University of Illinois.

Dr. Carl Stephenson is a professor of history in the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. Wallace Notestein is Goldwin Smith professor of English history in Cornell University.

Dr. Merle E. Curti is an assistant professor of history in Smith College.

Mr. Waldo G. Leland is a member of the staff of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Mr. Roger P. McCutcheon is a member of the department of English in Tulane University.

Mr. Carroll B. Malone is a professor of history in Tsing Hua College, Peking.

Hon. Lewis Einstein is United States envoy to Czechoslovakia.

The
American Historical Review

WAR AND HISTORY¹

ONE hundred and twenty years ago the National Institute of France set as a subject for a prize essay: "To examine the influence of the Crusades upon the civil liberty of the peoples of Europe, upon their civilization and upon the progress of knowledge, commerce and industry."

This marked a change in the conception of the Crusades. In the preceding century the prevailing point of view had been expressed by Voltaire: "Thus the only fruit of the Christians in their barbarous crusades was the extermination of other Christians."

The action of the Institute led to the writing of several essays; in particular two, which shared the prize and are well worth reading at the present day.² Both of these treated briefly of the influence of the Crusades on history, a subject which has been almost entirely neglected in the more recent discussions of the results of the Crusades.

What influence upon history and historiography was exerted by this great series of wars? It was threefold. First, the Crusades broadened the subject-matter. In the centuries preceding the First Crusade historical writing had been confined to annals, chronicles, and biographies; statements of facts, accounts of prodigies or miracles, eulogies of saints or rulers. The writers were usually so concerned with strictly local interests that it is often possible to detect the name, or at least the habitat, of an anonymous author by the events which he recorded, or left unrecorded, because his outlook was so closely limited to his own monastery or its immediate neighborhood.

¹ Presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association at Rochester, December 28, 1926.

² A. H. L. Heeren, *Versuch einer Entwicklung der Folgen der Kreuzzüge für Europa* (Göttingen, 1808); Choiseul-Daillecourt, *De l'Influence des Croisades sur l'État des Peuples de l'Europe* (Paris, 1809).

Just before the First Crusade there was some broadening of outlook and interests due to the struggle over lay-investiture and of the wars of conquest by restless Normans. The latter had only a slight effect, introducing new geographical names and some interest in the new lands, the scenes of conquest. The struggle over lay-investiture led to an eager, but not very fruitful, study of history for precedents by which either papal or imperial partizans might bolster up their claims to hegemony of papacy or empire. The very barrenness of their efforts shows how little they could know of history.

The Crusades brought a great change, especially in France. As Molinier says:³ "It is perhaps in historiography that the results of this great movement were the most marked; up to that time, for more than a century, each section of the former kingdom of Charles the Bald had lived in isolation, thrown back upon itself as it were, confined by a narrow horizon. Now the barriers fall and Europe begins to be self-conscious; it has common interests and common enemies, and above the petty quarrels of its princes soars a higher ideal, that of the Christian community in strife with Islam." "By the contact with the Orient, the historical horizon of the Western writers was marvellously extended, the impulse was given and the time was ripe in France for the composition of universal chronicles." New countries and new peoples came within the ken of history. The abbot Guibert, in his history of the First Crusade, felt it necessary to give an account of the prophet Mohammed and the religion of Islam. Other writers describe the glory and greatness of Constantinople, the fortifications of Antioch, the characteristics and antecedents of the Greeks, or Turks, or Arabs.

The second influence of the Crusades was the popularization of history. Men were impressed with the importance of the events in which they or their neighbors were participating. Robert the Monk wrote, in the preface to his history of the First Crusade: "If we except the salutary mystery of the crucifixion, what has happened since the creation of the world that is more marvellous than this which has been done in modern times, on this expedition of our men to Jerusalem? The more studiously anyone directs his attention to this subject, the greater will be his stupefaction."

There were few parts of Western Europe which were not in some way brought into contact with one or more of the first three Crusades. The number of those who went on the First Crusade has been grossly

³ A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France* (Paris, 1904), vol. V., pp. xciii, xcvi.

exaggerated, both by contemporary writers and modern historians, but it was very great in comparison with the population at that time. The lines of march of the various contingents took them through many parts of Europe and those who stayed at home frequently had opportunity to see or hear of the expeditions. The participation of the kings of France and of Germany in the second great Crusade occasioned interest in the movement throughout their dominions. The necessity of paying the ransom of Richard the Lion-Hearted, when on his return from the Third Crusade he was held as a prisoner by the Emperor Henry VI., brought the matter home to everyone in England. We are told that every man, woman, and child in his kingdom had to contribute to raise the enormous sum of £ 100,000 which the Emperor demanded. Also it must not be forgotten that other monarchs went on the Third Crusade, thus spreading interest in the movement throughout their lands. When we recall the large number of other expeditions *Outre Mer* and their continuance for nearly two centuries, we can realize the interest aroused in the West concerning these new lands and their inhabitants.

To satisfy this interest and the natural curiosity of the people histories were written and songs were sung. The best of the sources from a modern historian's standpoint, the so-called *Gesta Francorum*, written by an anonymous layman, was considered unsatisfactory by his contemporaries. They criticized it because it was a bare, unadorned narration of facts and because it did not tell of the beginnings at the Council of Clermont. Using the *Gesta* as a basis, writers attempted to popularize the history by writing it in a more literary form, by arranging the facts in a logical order, by demonstrating the causes and results of these facts. Molinier says: "French historiography was profoundly transformed and the true meaning of history began to emerge." But these works were written in Latin, the language of the learned, and others had to get their information from the songs or oral accounts. To reach a wider audience, and sometimes for purposes of propaganda, some writers used the vernacular, the language of the people.

A change is to be noted in the kind of men who wrote the histories. In contrast with the humble, often anonymous, monks by whom the earlier chronicles had been written, clerical leaders, abbot and archbishop, took up their pens to write the account in a more literary form. Men of action recounted the deeds in which they had had a part. As examples may be cited: William, archbishop of Tyre and chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; Walter, chancellor of the principality of Antioch; Jacques de Vitry, bishop of

Acre and cardinal; Ville-Hardouin, one of the influential leaders of the Fourth Crusade; Joinville, the friend of St. Louis. It may be noted that the last two, and other writers as well, were not members of the clergy; history was becoming laicized.

Among the Arabs the Crusades had a similar influence on history and historiography. For a long time before the Crusades little or no attention had been given by Moslems to the study or writing of history. The glorious events under Nūr-ad-Dīn and Saladin awakened the enthusiasm of the followers of the prophet. History became popular and its scope was broadened. The authors were usually men of high rank who had participated in some of the events which they described. Ibn al-Athīr was the son of an emir and served in the wars under Saladin; his position and prestige gave him access to the documents of the rulers. Imād ad-Dīn was secretary of state under Nūr ad-Dīn. Bahā ad-Dīn was cadī at Jerusalem and at Aleppo and was sent on diplomatic missions. Kamāl ad-Dīn was a vizier. Abū-l-Fidā was a kinsman of Saladin and sultan of Hamah.

Have other wars, in later ages, had a similar influence? If so, what importance does this fact have for the present day? Let us first determine the facts.

After the Crusades ceased to arouse popular enthusiasm the character of historical writing changed. Western Europe was no longer conscious of having common interests and a common enemy. Local interests were dominant and writing local chronicles again became the prevailing fashion. In France historiography often was merely a tool of propaganda. This can be attributed, in part, to the Hundred Years' War when local feeling was strong and partizan writers used history to justify the alliances or defections of their lords.

The humanistic movement in its earlier period made little change in this respect; in fact, it emphasized the tendency to stress the history of a single locality and to glorify the policy of a ruler. To find a new impulse in history, a return to a larger canvas, we must go to Florence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. For, to restore history to a prominent position, to free it from its parochial tendencies, came after a long interval the invasion of Italy by the French king in 1494.

Florence went through a critical period, suffering terribly from the invasion and from the ensuing strife between the French and Spanish kings. Together with the other city states of Central Italy it lost its independent position in European affairs. It changed

suddenly from the rule of the Medici to a republic, and it was necessary to establish a new constitution. In this respect its position was not unlike that of the American colonies after the Revolutionary War. History was studied for instruction in politics. Historians eagerly scanned all past history to which they had access. Every political event of the past or present was analyzed and its consequences examined because they hoped to find material for the formation of their constitution. But in their study of universal history they paid heed only to wars and politics, there was no interest in the history of culture. In order to win a larger audience they wrote in the vernacular. The historians were usually men of affairs who had interests at stake. Machiavelli and Guicciardini are only the most striking examples among a number who had held high office in the state. It is interesting to note, that in Florence "this efflorescence of historical writing lasted only as long as the struggle for the constitution lasted".

In this case a war had the same three effects that the Crusades had had: it caused history to broaden its horizon; it created a greater popular interest, and history was more widely read, because written in the vernacular; lastly, authors were statesmen who had themselves participated in the events.

Except in Florence the men of the early sixteenth century did not produce notable histories. There was great activity in historical work but mainly as a tool for propaganda, and the writings were not of a character to arouse popular interest. Renan's statement that "historical criticism is a daughter of Protestantism" has often been quoted and is partially true. But only partially true. Excellent beginnings in historical criticism had been made in the preceding period; for example, by Laurentius Valla, and by many opponents of the existing order in Church or State. But historical criticism was now used more extensively as a weapon to attack an adversary. It was very much like the search for historical precedents during the Investiture Struggle in order to prove that the other party was wrong. The great advance which history had made in the course of the centuries is clearly evident when the productions of the two periods are contrasted. The outstanding examples in the sixteenth century are the *Magdeburg Centuries* and the *Annals* of Baronius. A group of Protestant scholars in their zeal to prove that the Roman Catholic Church had been led astray by Anti-Christ and had become more and more corrupt throughout the ages, compiled and published at Magdeburg, in 13 folio volumes, a history of the Church from its origin till the close of the thirteenth century. To meet this

attack Cardinal Baronius published his *Annales Ecclesiastici* to 1198, in 12 folio volumes. Neither of these productions was intended for popular reading. At first the cardinal's work, filled with documents, drawn from the Vatican archives, seemed a crushing refutation of the *Centuries*. But Protestant scholars rushed to the fray; Casaubon published 12 folio volumes in refutation of the *Annals*; Holstenius is said to have detected more than eight thousand misstatements of fact in the cardinal's volumes. This strife determined the main line of historical work during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Scholars occupied themselves in controversy over religious history or dogma, in seeking for and publishing new documents, or in critical studies of the texts; sometimes in forging documents which were useful for their cause. They did not confine themselves to ecclesiastical sources, but also collected and edited medieval material on the history of their native lands. In Italy and France, in England and Germany, the productive work was mainly in "catalogs of writers, publication of sources, collections of sources".

Yet the wars of religion did have an influence on history, as the Crusades did. The scope of history was broadened. While most of the works produced could not appeal to popular interest, and most of the men of affairs who participated in the movement did so as collectors or editors or critics, there were notable exceptions, especially in the seventeenth century. Bacon, Raleigh, Clarendon, de Thou, d'Aubigné, Grotius, Sarpi, and others, all of them men of affairs, produced valuable histories. Sarpi wrote the history of the Council of Trent, a polemical work. Bacon, de Thou, d'Aubigné, Grotius, and Clarendon wrote histories of their own times; Raleigh, during his imprisonment in the Tower, experimented in chemistry and wrote part of a history of the world, to while away the time. All of these authors were widely read and Clarendon, in particular, exerted a great influence on historical writing in England. The fact that the period of the wars of religion was not more productive of great historians can be attributed in part to the dominant interest in controversy over theological history and dogma, in part to the zest for collecting and criticizing documents.

The French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon had a profound effect upon history. In the early period, when for the young and enthusiastic it was bliss to be alive, privileges both feudal and ecclesiastical were abolished; the monarchy in France was overthrown; new constitutions were made; the rights of man were proclaimed; men of low degree rose to positions of power; but it is not necessary in this audience to catalogue the work of the Revolution. In the

ensuing period the inevitable reaction set in and much that had been striven for in the Revolution seemed to be lost. But new and powerful factors combined to kindle the imagination of the people; in France, the worship of Napoleon, the possibility of securing a marshal's baton by bravery, the ideal of glory, the pride in a victorious France against the world. In the other countries there was the seething of revolutionary ideas; there was the unwilling admiration and popular dread of the Emperor; Bonaparte, or "Boney", became a bogey in England to terrify the children, as Richard the Lion-Hearted had been in Palestine six hundred years before. People became keenly interested in other lands and their history. The formation of new constitutions and the rise to power of hitherto obscure individuals diverted attention from monarchs and nobles to the men of the third estate; the scope of history was broadened.

The great historians came only in the next generation and they were not, as a rule, men who had participated in the events; in fact, most of them were in their infancy during the period of the Revolution. They were not confined to any one country: Guizot, Ranke, Thiers, Macaulay, Bancroft, Grote, Prescott, Carlyle, Parkman, Motley, to name only a few, of especial interest to us. Some of them were men of affairs and held public office; but the office was sometimes attained because of prestige as an author. The ability which had made a man pre-eminent in his historical work marked him as worthy to represent his country in an administrative position or as a minister at a foreign court.

Evidently all wars do not create an interest in history or produce great historians. If they did Europe would have had a constant succession of great historians during the last four hundred years. It is not sufficient to beg the question by saying that only the great wars cause changes in historiography. Dynastic wars did not; nor did civil wars if we can judge from the Civil War in England or in our own country. The former did incite Clarendon and produce a great interest in history as is shown by the mass of pamphlets; and the latter is true of our own Civil War, witness the wealth of articles on history in the popular periodicals of the 'eighties. If an analysis is made of the wars which seem to have influenced historiography, certain facts emerge. They were wars which excited the popular imagination; wars in which men were conscious of common interests; wars which were due to or caused a change in the social polity; wars by which men's interests were broadened or directed into new channels. This is emphatically true of the Crusades and of the French Revolution and may explain their great influence on historiography.

New ideas seem to have been the most important factor. Great wars seem to have accelerated the change in ideas by the horror which they aroused, compelling men to evaluate their opinions and to discard those which were in part, at least, a cause of war; by producing changes in government or administration which required study and thought to make them effective.

The nationalism which characterized the nineteenth century is frequently explained as a result of the French Revolution. It is not necessary here to challenge this generalization. At all events the concept of nationality was given a great impetus by the Revolution and developed rapidly after it. The revolutionary ideas had been eagerly accepted in many parts of Germany and it might be argued that the German nation was a product of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. When the editors began their work on the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* they chose as their motto *Sanctus amor patriae dat animum*, and this sentence is the key-note to much of the historical writing of the nineteenth century.

It would be inaccurate to credit all the advance made in historical work to the Revolution. The ground had already been prepared. In the eighteenth century Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and others had influenced the thought of the age; Robertson, Hume, and Gibbon had produced their great works; Adam Smith had written the *Wealth of Nations*. It would carry us too far afield to catalogue other products of the eighteenth century which were influential in shaping the historical thought of the following age. Some of the characteristics on which the last century prided itself were already in evidence in the preceding: the attempt to secularize history; the attention to the third estate; the stress upon the national character and the spirit of the age as explanations of historical phenomena. To consider all the advance as the result of the French Revolution would be to fall into the error, already discarded by some writers in the eighteenth century, of attributing changes in human history to a succession of catastrophes.

Changes in points of view which have not caused or been accompanied by great wars have often influenced history. The period of the *Aufklärung* has just been mentioned. The seething discontent and the changes which occurred in the 'thirties and 'forties of the last century are reflected later in the significant stress upon the people, shown by such titles as *The History of the English People*, *The History of the People of the United States*.

With these facts as a basis what can be said about the probable influence of the Great War? Will it produce great changes in his-

tory and historiography? Will the next generation be marked by great men who will write history because they realize its importance in molding the minds and conduct of their fellow-citizens?

No historian can prophesy what the future holds in store. He may argue from past analogies and traits already discernible in the present that certain results are probable. There is one consoling thought about any attempt at prophecy—only posterity can prove the prediction false.

Some influences of the Great War are readily apparent. Along certain lines it has given a new impetus to forces already at work; *e.g.*, in actually enlarging the domains of history. Theoretically, before the war, history embraced all that men had done or thought or striven for since man's first appearance on this earth. James Harvey Robinson in his *New History* had argued that the historian must assimilate the results obtained by the natural sciences and give a new orientation to his subject. "The New History" became a name to conjure with and was eagerly adopted by a host of imitators. The attempts at an economic, or a geographic, or some other interpretation of history led many into new fields from which they sometimes garnered a rich harvest. Freeman's dictum that "History is past politics" was almost universally condemned as inadequate; and, as Webster has remarked, as a result the field of foreign politics was generally neglected so that in 1914, in spite of "the feverish haste" with which scholars attempted "to repair the omissions of past years, men of action were left almost entirely to the tender mercies of the journalist and the sciolist". Many here present will recall the "feverish haste" with which scholars in this country were asked to supply data for the Peace Conference. The studies made for Versailles called attention to many neglected fields. The rise of racial consciousness among the Arabs and the expulsion of the Turkish sultan has caused a re-examination of Moslem history and the correction of some errors, such as those concerning the position of the caliph. The rapidly increasing opposition in Asia to Western civilization, the Russian Revolution, the attempt to control immigration into this country, have given incentive to study of new fields. Even our text-books are showing the result of the broadening of the horizon of history.

The Great War has made history a matter of greater interest to the reading public. The popularity of H. G. Wells's *Outline of History* and of Van Loon's writings is a striking illustration. I may be permitted to add that the hearty editorial support in our leading newspapers of our campaign for the endowment of this Association

has been a great encouragement to us. The amount of space which they have given to our publicity matter is a proof not only of the editors' interest in history but also of their belief that the public has a similar interest. Publishers are including more histories in their lists. The situation to-day is different from that described in the recently published report on the *Writing of History* by the committee headed by Jusserand. The periodicals will eventually fall into line and will contain articles on history as they did for the generation following the Civil War. To increase this present interest it is absolutely essential, as the report urges, that histories should be better written and presented in a more literary form. It is necessary also to keep in mind the larger audience which is now interested, as Wells and Van Loon did. While the authors of the report are right in their general strictures on the style which has prevailed, there have been exceptions, for instance in the case of their own writings, which have not been dry as dust. The "spade-work" which has characterized the scholarship of the last two generations is not incompatible of combination with excellent literary expression and a presentation which will command popular interest. The learned work of Henry C. Lea on the *Inquisition* was translated into French, sold in a popular form, and proved a valuable political weapon in the struggle over the law for the separation of Church and State. A recent Scottish review of Cheyney's two volumes on the last years of Elizabeth, a product of true "spade-work", gives them high praise for their literary quality, "although", to quote the reviewer, "they are based on original sources and conceived in a critical spirit".

Because of these tendencies I think that we can predict that there will be a still greater broadening of the scope of history and a greater interest in it on the part of the public. The most interesting query is, will the next generation see a succession of great historians, and if such there be is it possible to predict how they will view history and undertake their task? Of course the first part of the question can not be answered except as a matter of faith. We may note, however, to quote Jameson, that "any study of the history of historical writing makes clear the fact that each great crisis in human affairs has evoked in the next generation a striking access of interest in human history and a crop of great historians to meet the need",⁴ and living under the shadow of the recent war, we may believe that it was a "great crisis". It has already evoked "a striking access of interest in human history", and we may hope that the great historians will not be lacking.

⁴ J. F. Jameson, *The American Historian's Raw Materials* (Ann Arbor, 1923).

Anyone who attempts now to predict how the great historian will undertake his task will proceed, as authors of Utopias have always done, by setting forth what he considers desirable. His imagination would be handicapped because he is of this generation and has grown up amid the ideas and prejudices of the pre-war period, from which the historian, born during or after the war, will be partially emancipated. I shall not yield to the temptation of depicting an historical Utopia, which would have no greater reality than all the other Utopias. From an analysis of the present tendencies, however, it may be possible to make tentative statements as to some of the interests of the future historians. And it may be of practical utility to do so, in order that we may direct our energies, in part, to preparing the way for them.

Undoubtedly some, at least, will take a broad view and will be interested in social history in its broadest aspects. They will realize that it is as complex as life itself; that man does not live by bread alone; that he is swayed sometimes by one motive, sometimes by another, and that consequently any one method of interpreting history leads only to partial truth. They will give their assent to Sombart's statement that the economic interpretation of history is no more true and no more false than any other single interpretation of history, and they will seek to profit by all the results obtained by the various methods of interpreting history.

Because of this attitude the future historian will use a wider range of sources of all kinds and will control them more carefully, as the "spade-work" improves in quality. In particular he will have no reverence for the diplomatic documents as something sacrosanct; the memoirs and revelations which are now appearing in such numbers will help him to evaluate their worth. He will keep in the background of his mind the scepticism caused by Bismarck's statement, "As for using", to quote him, "the diplomatic reports, some day, as material for history, nothing of any value will be found in them". "Even the dispatches which do contain information are scarcely intelligible to those who do not know the people and their relations to each other." "The most important points, however, are always dealt with in private letters and confidential communications, also verbal ones, and these are not included in the archives." Bismarck was not wholly right, as Webster has pointed out.⁵ But it is necessary to subject each document to a very rigid study, before using it. And this is one of the fields in which the present generation

⁵ C. K. Webster, "The Study of British Foreign Policy", in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX. 730.

can do useful "spade-work" in preparing the way. The study of modern documents demands a technic more rigid even than medieval diplomatics. The usages of each foreign office must be studied. These change, sometimes radically, under different administrations, as anyone at all familiar with our own Department of State is aware. The methods of the English Foreign Office differ from those of our Department, as is shown by Lord Grey in his chapter on the Foreign Office in his recent book *Twenty-five Years*. Until the usages in each foreign office are known, the documents issued by it can not be studied without grave danger of error. The points of view and opinions of the foreign secretaries and of the ambassadors and of responsible subordinates must be ascertained. In handling many other classes of sources an equally exacting technic will be necessary.

Some of the future historians will probably make more use of co-operative work, because of their realization of the complexity of their task. The need of such organization in historical work is apparent, and the present generation is experimenting. We have our great co-operative undertakings such as the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the *Guide to Historical Literature*, the new *Ducange*. Everyone recognizes the necessity of co-operation in such tasks. In historiography too we have co-operative works, such as the *Cambridge Modern*, *Cambridge Medieval*, and *Cambridge Ancient History*. But in these each author writes his chapter, or chapters, independently, and the editors are not successful in fusing the material into an organic whole; in fact, they make little attempt to do so, allowing each author to express his own views and to follow his own methods of treating the subject; hence there are repetitions and contradictions. I am not decrying the usefulness of these works nor regretting that the authors are allowed such liberty. But I think you will all agree that the finished product is not especially attractive to anyone except a student, and he reads to obtain guidance or to criticize. A volume in one of these series is not enjoyed as a literary masterpiece or taken to while away a week-end.

There is much fruitful co-operation between professors and their students who prepare material for them and often illuminate a subject by discussion in seminar exercises. Every good teacher is indebted to his students for aid and inspiration. This approximates, I think, more nearly the method which the future historian will follow. He will realize the need of co-operative work, that the field is too extensive to be intensively cultivated by one man.

If he shall have been a statesman, or man of affairs, before taking to historical writing, he will have been accustomed to having

material prepared for him and to discussing the various aspects of each subject with the assistants specially versed in the matter. This will seem to him the natural method of procedure and he will utilize the specialized knowledge of all the trained men he can secure. There will be ample need of "spade-work". Each member of the group will have responsibilities and should have credit for his share in the finished product. But the leader, after full discussion, will, by his ability, fuse the mass together and produce an organic whole, in good literary form. In this way, I think, some great histories will be written.

Some of the historians will probably try to find and state historical laws and draw lessons from history for the guidance of their fellow-men. A tendency in this direction is already apparent. Langlois and Seignobos, nearly thirty years ago, laid stress upon the necessity of constructing formulas in history. The question whether it is possible to find historical laws was brilliantly discussed by Cheyney in his presidential address three years ago. There can be little doubt that this subject will command more attention in the future.

It is frequently asserted that the social sciences are lagging behind. The progress of the natural sciences has increased our national wealth, has prolonged human life, and has made our civilization ever more complex. Man has not learned from the social sciences how to organize government or administration to handle this complexity, so as to make life better worth living. To do this requires education and research in which history as the necessary foundation, in part, of all the other social sciences ought to take the leadership. This is being more fully recognized and is, in part, the cause of the greater interest in history. If any laws of history can be ascertained, it will be a great step forward in making the social sciences more useful for guidance. This fact will be a stimulus to historians in seeking to find historical laws.

It may be interesting to note, in conclusion, that while historiography before the war had a tendency to confine its attention mainly to the description of the normal life of a nation and to the study of its institutions and customs, neglecting, as far as possible, the portrayal of wars, the Great War has made history more popular and may lead to its wider usefulness.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY BEFORE CAESAR

As archaeological discoveries at Rome are confirming much of the tradition which Mommsen and his successors rejected it is becoming necessary for us to revise our conception of the methods of the early Roman historians. We now know that in its essentials the traditional picture of a large and prosperous Rome at the end of the regal period is correct. We know something of its extensive walls, of its imposing temples, and of its far-reaching commerce. We are gaining no little respect for Livy's conception of a strong Sabine element in Rome, of the participation of Latins and Etruscans in the revolutionary wars that ended the regal period, and of a temporary weakening of Rome in the early decades of the Republic, when the Latins gained their independent status and the Sabellic tribes threatened the existence of the Latin League. If Mommsen were writing to-day he would certainly accept a large part of the early political history as he himself in his *Staatsrecht* rehabilitated much of the constitutional history which he had previously excluded from his volumes. I do not mean that we are ever going to reinstate the embroidery of fictitious battle-scenes and long senatorial debates woven from family legends into Livy's first decade. Livy himself warns the reader adequately when he explains why he has freely included legend in the first part of his work. But with the archaeological evidence before us, it is now possible to estimate what knowledge of the earlier period was available to the annalists and to judge from this what use they made of their knowledge. We know, for example, that they had access to large collections of laws, *senatus consulta*, treaties, and priestly annals, and that they drew the correct inferences from the extensive remains of the city about them, a city which did not greatly change its ancient aspect until after the Second Punic War. The fact that in the attempt to synchronize the consular list with temple records they fell into a slight discrepancy of a few years in the chronology of the early period does not materially affect its value.

Various recent books¹ on historiography make little or no reference to these revisions of our knowledge. They are being written as though nothing had been discovered since Wachsmuth and the

¹ *E.g.*, Rosenberg, *Einleitung und Quellenkunde* (Berlin, 1921); and J. T. Shotwell, *Introduction to the History of History* (New York, 1922).

early vagaries of Païs. What is equally disturbing, they continue to assume that Roman senators like Fabius and Cato, who constantly had to consult Rome's laws and treaties in order to direct senatorial debate on intricate matters of international relations, immediately forgot the value of facts when they undertook to write history. It is no longer justifiable, however, to group all Roman annalists together in one category. If the early annals of Rome tell practically the same story as the remains there must have been a great difference between the statesmen who first recorded the facts and the romancers of Sulla's day who wrote popular books for the purpose of entertainment.

We may classify the historical writers² of the republic into three distinct groups with reference to their methods and their employment of their sources. In the century before Tiberius Gracchus we know of some eight statesmen who told the story of Rome from the beginning up to their own day. These are Fabius Pictor, senator and pontifex, who had served in the army in 225 B. C., L. Cincius Alimentus, a praetor and general in the Hannibalic War, C. Acilius, a senator, Postumius Albinus, a consul, Cato, consul and censor, Cassius Hemina, Fabius Servilianus, consul and commentator on pontifical law, Calpurnius Piso, consul, censor, and reformer of the courts, and Sempronius Tuditanus, a jurist, who while consul conquered Histria. They all wrote at a time when there were few "general readers", and their works were intended for the information of magistrates, senators, jurists, and a small circle of readers closely connected with the ruling classes. These men were all thoroughly acquainted with Rome's laws and treaties.

After the Gracchan revolution we find a decided change in the tone and purpose of history. The democratic upheaval had enlarged the circle of readers by bringing large masses into the political arena, and had created a demand for histories that were more easy to read and more sympathetic toward the aspirations of the common people. In addition, a diffusion of the knowledge of Greek, which made available the colorful histories that Alexandrian culture had produced, and which fostered a taste for a more florid style in written and spoken Latin, tended to turn readers away from the dry factitive annals of the preceding century and to encourage professional writers to satisfy the new taste. The first story-teller to meet the new demand was Gellius of the Gracchan age, who not only wrote in a popular style but was the first to fill in the

² The fragments are edited by Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1883).

meagre outline of early Republican history with an abundance of interesting legends. The period that had been covered in seven rolls by the sober Piso required ninety-seven in the library that Gellius produced.

This feat marks an epoch in Roman historiography. Where Gellius found all his material we are not told, but we may surmise with some degree of accuracy. He seems not to have added much to the legends of the regal period, for even the earlier annalists had, with due warning to the reader, repeated the household tales of that epoch. Most of the padding appears in the section devoted to the first two centuries of the Republic. In this portion the older statesmen-historians had shown their restraint by excluding all oral tradition and confining themselves to the bare statements found in the priestly annals and in the archives. Piso, for instance, gave only two books to the two hundred years from 500 to 300 B. C., an average of about twelve lines per year. He apparently adhered closely to archival material. Gellius devoted twenty books to this period. To do so he must have gathered up every family legend available for the period before the Third Samnite War. After him Sempronius Asellio and Claudius Quadrigarius, although both were popularizers, nevertheless reverted to a conservative treatment of the semi-historical period, but Valerius Antias of the Sullan age, the most successful of the romancing historians, followed the dangerous example of Gellius. Thereafter it was quite impossible to satisfy the general taste in history without including the legendary stories of the middle period. It was this group, writing for a large semi-educated public, and providing patriotic, dramatic, and attractive sets—in which vivid pen-pictures served the purpose that colored illustrations might to-day—that destroyed the taste for the sober old annals.

During the same period and catering to the same taste, many histories of special periods and propagandizing biographies appeared. Coelius, a professional writer, produced a history of the Second Punic War in which dramatic composition and stylistic values counted for more than reliability. He wrote not for the information of statesmen but rather for the delectation of the young and the leisured dilettanti. Some of the autobiographies and histories of the time were produced by important statesmen, but their value was in many cases marred by a willingness to cater to the lower public standards of the day and by a desire to excuse their political behavior at a time when factional strife had raised dangerous animosities. Fannius, indeed, seems to have written with some sobriety regarding

his part in the Gracchan struggle, but Aemilius Scaurus, Sulla, Marius, and Catulus pleaded their cases with more or less open effrontery. Of similar tendency, though more restrained, were men like Licinius Macer, Cornelius Sisenna, and Sallust, who, having engaged in the factional struggles of their day, wrote history with a political bias and furthermore heeded the new demand for stylistic attractiveness to the extent of disregarding now and then the requirements of accuracy.

The third group of writers, the professional researchers, appears during the Ciceronian period. As the first extension of a superficial culture had created a demand for easy and interesting general histories, so the spread of a more thorough education produced a class of readers who became suspicious of popular accounts and demanded solider works on special topics. Furthermore the increasing number of writers desired reference books that presented details in more compendious and reliable form than did the voluminous histories of the Sullan age. It was in response to such demands that dry antiquarians now wrote their crabbed commentaries and encyclopaedias. Varro, for instance, compiled reference books on Roman law, on religious institutions, on the Roman tribes, and on geography. The great jurist Sulpicius wrote commentaries on the Twelve Tables and a history of the praetorian edicts. Tubero in his history submitted the careless remarks of Licinius Macer to sharp criticism, and even Cicero so far entered the field of the specialist as to write a history of Roman oratory, in the preparation of which he carried out extensive investigations. Such special studies naturally did not supplant the popular accounts—in fact a score of less serious writers were busy at the same time—but their influence upon historiography was abiding. Livy, for example, not only used their digests of material but learned from them to be skeptical of the Sullan romancers and to respect the data provided by the early annalists whose books were no longer in general circulation. Hence, while endeavoring to create a great work of art that might supplant the most fascinating of his predecessors, he also attained to a higher standard of accuracy than his rivals.

In this brief sketch of Republican historiography it becomes apparent that it is in the second period, the time of popularization and of Hellenistic influence, that the historical conscience weakened. We must now revert to the earlier annalists to see how they worked, and to understand how it was that they succeeded in preserving the essential basis of facts that modern discoveries are verifying. The field covered by these annalists may be divided into three parts:

(a) the regal period (largely legendary); (b) the first two centuries of the Republic (500–300 B. C.), for which some archival materials existed; and (c) the period after 300 B. C., in which archival material could safely be supplemented by reports of eye-witnesses, and later by the written records. Critics of the nineteenth century popularized the view that Fabius Pictor must have worked with unsafe conceptions of history because he told several of the early legends in full. This criticism misses a vital distinction which the Romans themselves recognized. The early annalists knew that the first period provided no reliable sources, but, with due warning to the reader, they reported the legends for what they might be worth. Fabius³ seems to have been rather meticulous in giving these exactly as he had heard them without any attempt to rationalize them, for Dionysius enjoys pointing out their unpalatable elements. Where we must test the scientific attitude of the early annalists is in their treatment of the second and third periods.

As regards the second period, we have seen that Piso, the last of the group—whose statements are as full as any—has in this portion an average of only about twelve lines per year. There is in fact no trace of legendary material in the fragments of any of the earliest historians of this period, and we can well understand why Cicero constantly compares the oldest accounts with the wiry *Annales Maximi*, why Dionysius says that in this portion they touched only upon outstanding facts, and why Asellio complains that no annalists before him had discussed the causes of the events which they recorded.

The archives had some material of value for the whole of these two centuries. The high priests' tablets of the Regia, though originally intended only as a record of sacrifices to be performed, contained many noteworthy items because the pontifex was usually one of the most distinguished statesmen and accordingly interpreted political events as of sacred importance. Each year's tablet therefore included the names of the consuls, and often gave the dates of declarations of war, of victories, defeats, famines, pestilences, destructive fires, earthquakes and eclipses, or other events that had called for expiations or thank-offerings. We are told that when the contents of the *Annales Maximi* were published about the Gracchan time they filled eighty volumes. Since the period covered was nearly

³ See E. S. Duckett, *Studies in Ennius* (Bryn Mawr diss., 1915), p. 22. Cato's first three books of *Origines* similarly recorded the legends of other Italian cities without pretending to judge of their historical value. Piso, the last of the early annalists, introduced the unwise method of editing the early myths in order to make them more plausible.

four centuries we may assume on the average a volume, presumably of about a thousand lines, for every five years or about two hundred lines per year. If only a tenth of the material was of interest to an historian these annals would still contain enough to fill the earlier books of a writer like Piso. In the Capitoline temple were stored almost all of Rome's treaties, engraved upon stone or bronze. Since Rome's fetial customs were carefully observed during the long period of expansion these treaties provided a dependable record of her external history. Before Vespasian's reign, as we happen to hear, three thousand of these documents had accumulated. In Fabius's day, judging from the extent of Rome's federation, we may safely assume at least a hundred. In the temple of Saturn were kept the laws passed by the centuriate assembly, in the temple of Ceres the important decrees of the senate. There were also temple records, inscriptions upon public buildings and, furthermore, independent local records in Rome's various colonies, which in some measure provided a check for those at Rome. And finally the existence of the old walls and temples up to the time of these historians furnished visible evidence of what Rome's ancient culture was like.

We are, of course, constantly told that the Gallic fire of 390 B. C. probably destroyed the old temples together with their records. This is one of the assumptions that archaeology has disproved.⁴ We now possess a fairly complete analysis of Rome's building materials and we have discovered that in almost every instance the old walls of the ancient temples remained standing into the late Republic and were used again in the reconstruction of those temples long after the Gallic fire. The original Capitoline temple with all its treaties survived till Sulla's day; the Regia, in which the pontifical tablets were stored, remained intact till after the tablets were published; the original temple of Saturn with its valuable archives stood till it was rebuilt after Caesar's death; the temple of Castor survived till it was rebuilt in 117 B. C., and we know from Pliny that Ceres's temple, where the senate's decrees were kept, remained intact till the Augustan period. If the Gauls spared the temples in fear of divine vengeance—the Celts and early Romans were equally religious—they would also spare the consecrated contents. There is no longer any excuse for repeating the unfounded conjecture that all of Rome's early archives were destroyed in the Gallic fire. The places in which they were kept certainly survived and the fact that the early annalists to a remarkable extent stand the test of modern investigation indicates that the archives also survived.

⁴ Roberts, in *Memoirs of the Am. Acad. in Rome*, II. (1918); Tenney Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic* (Rome, 1924).

Whether or not such material existed in the temples would, however, be a futile question, if, as Mommsen held, the Roman historians neglected to consult their archives. It is certainly true that after the Sullan period we hear little of research among original documents. But quite apart from the decay of historical standards, it is obvious that the desired materials were then largely accessible in published form. After the Sullan day every few years brought out new biographies and contemporary histories which incorporated from daily observation the facts of interest. Such sources became very numerous and men no longer needed to go to the archives for the kind of material that was wanted in popular histories. Hence it became customary to turn to books rather than to stored documents.

The situation had been wholly different during the century before the Gracchi. Then published source-books were just beginning to be made, and there were no convenient libraries of extensive histories. There seems to have been an anonymous digest of the priestly tablets before Fabius, but of this we are not sure. A complete edition was not made till the Gracchan period. An old code of sacred rules existed under the name of *Jus Papirianum*, and Sextus Aelius (consul in 198) had put out an edition of the Twelve Tables with a commentary and a list of the *legis actiones*. That was all. And yet senators were expected to know all the important documents that might be involved in senatorial debate. As Cicero puts the matter in his *De Legibus* (41), "It is necessary for a senator to know the commonwealth—completely I mean—to know its military and financial resources, what allies, 'friends', and subjects it has, and the laws, terms, and treaties by which each attained to its position, and he must also know the parliamentary rules of the senate and the history of Rome". To attain to such command of the archival material in the early days necessitated much first-hand study and doubtless the making of individual digests. We are reminded of the medieval law-men of Iceland who conducted the "things" in the period when no written codes existed and when they were compelled to keep all the laws and precedents at the command of their memories. Such senatorial practice was a preparation for historical composition which was very different from that attained by the professional writers of a later period. To assume that Fabius did not know the source-material because Livy seldom refers to original documents is to misunderstand the diverse methods that obtained in each man's day.

Roman historians of course knew the worth of Fabius Pictor. Livy went to him frequently to check up extravagant statements;

Dionysius refers to his conciseness and accuracy; Cicero, whose historical material in the *De Republica* and the *De Legibus* was based upon Fabius, vouched for his lack of rhetorical adornment, and Polybius followed him closely in the story of early Rome, in the first ten and last two years of the First Punic War, and in the Roman sections of the period from 241 to the end of the Second Punic War. The most meticulous of historians, Polybius, criticized Fabius only on the score of patriotic bias when giving generalized judgments of recent events. Polybius was of course a foreigner who could readily detect the nationalistic prejudice, and after observing the aberrations of history during the last war we can readily comprehend that Fabius may have failed in objectivity in writing of the wars in which he took an active part. But there is no reason for supposing that he did not set himself a high standard in telling the story of more distant events.

Polybius has received very great praise for his insistence upon accuracy. Professor Shotwell ends an enthusiastic chapter with the sentence, "But as long as history endures the ideals of Polybius will be an inspiration and guide". The praise is deserved, especially when we remember that Polybius had behind him in Greece nearly two centuries of extravagant rhetorical history. But when we ask how it happened that he turned his back upon all that tradition, no explanations are offered. It is not an adequate interpretation to say that by living in banishment he was removed from the temptations of historians writing the story of their own people, for he succeeds in being quite objective even when he writes of the Achaean League. Is it not likely that his contact with matter-of-fact and legal-minded Roman senators induced him to adopt some of their manners and methods? His respect for the integrity, sanity, and uprightness of Roman senators of the Scipionic period he voices repeatedly⁵ in contrasting their qualities with the unreliability, astuteness, and fickleness of his countrymen. It would seem at least worth considering whether Polybius did not owe some of his qualities as an historian to the fact that he served his apprenticeship in history among the early Roman annalists and that he adapted his work to the public which had been brought up on those matter-of-fact books. At any rate he is unique among the Greeks who lived after the classical period.

There is of course nothing to indicate that Fabius and his immediate followers were in any sense great historians. Without any literary background, with only such practice in writing as would

⁵ Polybius, VI. 56, XIII. 3, XVIII. 35, XXXII. 8-9.

come from composing state documents, occupied every day with concerns of a rapidly expanding state, they recorded only public acts and public discussions. What men did and strove for, outside of the voting, legislating, and fighting groups, was not recorded. Not even within their chosen field does there appear a penetrative analysis of senatorial policy. Fabius, to be sure, enumerated the immediate causes of both of the Punic Wars but only with a jurist's interest in deciding at what point the enemy had committed the breach for which he deserved punishment. As historians these men had the limitations of their qualities and of their occupations. But on the other hand there is no evidence that they knowingly garbled facts.

Finally, one may perhaps be permitted to object to an error of judgment regarding the nature of what is called the "scientific method" in ancient history. Students who have to deal with the gullible medieval chronicles seem to assume that historical criticism has but recently succeeded in creating a respect for objectivity and honesty in history, as though the logical processes of the mind were not fully developed in the human race twenty thousand years before the invention of the historical seminar. The incubus of religious authority dominant for centuries in the Middle Ages was a passing phase, as was the overweening respect for dramatic values in the Hellenistic historians and the eagerness to glorify families and the state in the Sullan romancers. But just as Polybius, when transplanted into a soberer atmosphere of action, rid himself with ease of the Hellenistic methods; as Julius Caesar, when occupied with absorbing actualities, could free himself from the habits of his day so far as to record the very crimes for which he was being assailed by Cato in the senate; as Ari Froði in Iceland escaped churchly influence sufficiently to write the history of his island with the same respect for truth that he used when judging a case at the "thing", so the early statesmen-annalists of Rome, when recording what was available for the historical period of the Republic, employed documents and personal observations with the same meticulous care that they used when presiding as praetors in the courts or when as senators arguing cases of international relations. Their brief historical notes are largely preserved for us in Polybius, in Cicero's *De Republica*, in Diodorus, and in the central skeleton structure of Livy, and the continuous existence of these notes in Roman times kept the legends from ever straying wholly beyond the reach of actuality. This also explains why it is that archaeological knowledge now coming to hand is so frequently found to fit in with what we have been wont to call "tradition".

TENNEY FRANK.

THE ALLEGED FRANKISH PROTECTORATE IN PALESTINE

RECENT years have witnessed a marked renewal of interest in the problem of the Frankish protectorate in Palestine. Notable contributions to the subject have been made by the Russian scholars MM. Barthold and Vasiliev,¹ and by the French medievalist M. Bréhier.² But the results reached by the first-named of these savants are diametrically opposed to those at which the other two have arrived. Barthold's position is negative to the extent of a denial even of the recorded diplomatic intercourse between the Frankish monarchs and the caliphs of Bagdad. Rejecting these conclusions as savoring of hypercriticism, Vasiliev holds that while the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd retained his sovereignty over Palestine, "Charlemagne received, with the permission of the caliph, the right of protection over Christians and pilgrims and also the right to construct hospices and churches at Jerusalem". In essential accord with Vasiliev and not without indebtedness to the earlier work of Count Riant, M. Bréhier has undertaken to define more precisely the character and function of the protectorate; and he has endeavored to prove that this institution long survived its reputed founder, that it functioned "normally" as

¹ Since the articles of both Barthold and Vasiliev were written in Russian, I have been able to acquaint myself with them only through the medium of reviews. Fortunately we have had several very good ones. In the (German) journal *Der Islam* (vol. III., 1912, pp. 409-411), F. F. Schmidt has given a detailed analysis of both the method and the conclusions of Barthold; and in the same publication (vol. IV., 1913, pp. 333-334), Barthold has disapprovingly compared the procedure and the results of Vasiliev with his own. Vasiliev's work has been favorably reviewed by L. Bréhier in the French periodical *Larousse Mensuel Illustré* (no. 91, September, 1914, pp. 223-224, s.v. "Palestine"); and brief notices of both articles will be found on page 27 of Louis Bréhier, "Les Origines des Rapports entre la France et la Syrie: le Protectorat de Charlemagne", in *Chambre de Commerce de Marseille: Congrès Français de la Syrie, Séances et Travaux*, fasc. II., Section d'Archéologie, Histoire, Géographie, et Ethnographie (Marseilles and Paris, 1919).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-39. This work is supplemented by the same author's "La Situation des Chrétiens de Palestine à la Fin du VIII^e Siècle et l'Établissement du Protectorat de Charlemagne", in *Moyen Age*, XXI. (1919) 67-75. Cf. also his *L'Église et l'Orient au Moyen Âge: les Croisades*, originally published in 1907 and now in its fourth (enlarged) edition (Paris, 1921), pp. 22-34. The first-mentioned work of M. Bréhier will hereafter be cited simply by the author's name; the others will be specified by title.

late as *ca.* 867–870, and that it did not pass out of existence until the opening of the eleventh century.³

In English no thoroughgoing presentation of the subject has yet appeared. Partly for this reason and partly because, in my judgment, the conclusions above indicated are all in one way or another open to challenge, it has seemed worth while to re-examine here the evidence upon which the theory of the protectorate⁴ is grounded. With the interpretation of M. Bréhier as its *terminus a quo*, the present discussion will be carried through the reign of Charlemagne and into that of Louis the Pious. To proceed farther would, as we shall find, be a work of supererogation.

If we may believe the testimony of a single Western chronicler, relations between the Frankish court and the court of Bagdad had their inception prior to the reign of Charlemagne. In the year 765, it would seem, Pepin the Short despatched *missi* to the Abbassid caliph Manşūr (754–775). What commission had been entrusted to these *missi* is not divulged. But after an absence of three years they returned (probably early in 768) to Marseilles, accompanied by an embassy from the caliph which brought many gifts. The Saracens were honorably received and were assigned winter quarters in Metz. On April 10, 768, they were granted formal audience by Pepin at Sellus, and they there presented to him the gifts of Manşūr. Reciprocating the courtesies of the caliph with gifts of his own, Pepin had the distinguished visitors escorted with much honor back to Marseilles, where they embarked on ships homeward bound.⁵

The probable significance of these relations between Pepin and Manşūr will subsequently be adverted to.⁶ Just now it is sufficient to observe that there is nothing about them which points toward the establishment of a Frankish protectorate in Palestine.

³ Bréhier, pp. 35–36.

⁴ It may be observed that the modern term "protectorate" really can not, in its strict legal sense, be applied to the Frankish régime which is alleged to have obtained in Palestine during the ninth and tenth centuries. "Exterritoriality" would have been a less inaccurate term. But if the conclusions arrived at in this article are accepted as valid, objections on the point of terminology become *ipso facto* superfluous.

⁵ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici Continuationes*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, SS. Rerum Meroving.*, vol. II. (Hanover, 1888), pp. 191–192, c. 51. Cf. J. F. Böhmer, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern* (ed. Mühlbacher, Innsbruck, 1908), p. 54, no. 104 x; L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches unter König Pippin* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 396, n. 1, p. 411; Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes* (Paris, 1912), I. 289–292.

⁶ See *infra*, p. 259.

Charlemagne is known to have communicated not only with the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786–809),⁷ but also with two or possibly three successive patriarchs of Jerusalem. During the decade 797–807 no less than nine embassies are recorded to have passed between the Frankish court and the Levant. Charles twice despatched envoys to the caliph, in 797 and in 802, and once to the patriarch, in 799. To the Frankish embassies Hārūn responded with two embassies of his own, in 801 and 807; while the patriarchs sent representatives to Charles at least four times, in 799, 800, 803, and 807.

Our sources show that Charlemagne took the initiative in the exchanges with the court of Bagdad. In the year 797 he despatched three men, the legates Lantfrid and Sigimund together with a Jew named Isaac, to Hārūn.⁸ While we have no satisfactory information on the purpose of this embassy, two questionable sources⁹ indicate that its object was to procure an elephant, and it is certain that the Jew Isaac did eventually bring back such an animal. Whether the envoys of Charles passed through Jerusalem on their way to Bagdad remains indeterminable;¹⁰ and whether diplomatic negotiations took

⁷ Huart, *op. cit.*, I. 293 ff.; cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I. (London and Leiden, 1913), II. 271–272.

⁸ *Annales Regni Francorum*, 801 (ed. Kurze), in *SS. Rer. Germ. in Usum Schol.* (Hanover, 1895), p. 116. In the opinion of Soetbeer (see *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, vol. IV., Göttingen, 1864, p. 319), Isaac was not himself a legate but was sent along with Lantfrid and Sigimund as their interpreter and guide. Cf. S. Abel and B. Simson, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Karl dem Grossen*, II. (1883) 255, n. 2.

⁹ *Chronicon Moissiacense*, 802, *M. G. H.*, *SS.*, I. 307; Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, c. 16 (ed. Halphen, Paris, 1923), p. 48. On the *Chronicle of Moissac*, see Abel and Simson, II. 255, and n. 2, 283, n. 2, and cf. L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1921), p. 59, n. 2, end. See also Halphen's criticism (*ibid.*, pp. 88, 93, 95–97) of Einhard's *Vita Karoli*.

¹⁰ Bréhier (pp. 24, 25, 29) affirms that they did, and bases his opinion on the following passage from the (eleventh century) *Miracula S. Genesii* (*M. G. H.*, *SS.*, XV. 170): "Contigit etiam eodem in tempore, missos domni imperatoris Karoli id ipsum in iter directos fore, qui ab Aaron rege Saracenorum elephantem expetebant atque cum aliis muneribus quae Karolo transmiserat, quamvis longa more interveniente, in Franciam detulerunt; nam quartum dimidium annum in via feruntur [the italics are mine] demorasse. Sed missi praefati comitis [Gebhardi] praesbiter et diaconus una cum illis Hierosolimam adventantes, reditum illorum, quia diu demorati sunt, praestolare non poterant." The insertion of the word *feruntur* shows that the first part of this passage is not an independent statement of the writer (cf. Abel and Simson, II. 255, n. 2). His further statement, that the messengers of Count Gebhard arrived at Jerusalem together with the envoys of Charlemagne, can therefore not be accepted without reservations. Einhard (*Vita Karoli*, c. 16, ed. Halphen, pp. 46, 48) tells us that: "legati ejus [*i.e.*, Karoli] quos cum donariis ad sacratissimum Domini ac salvatoris nostri sepulchrum locumque resurrectionis miserat, ad eum [Aaron regem Persarum] venissent . . . ; et revertentibus legatis suos adjungens, . . . ingentia illi dona direxit, cum ei

place between them and the caliph is problematical.¹¹ There is nothing which proves that Charles was in touch with his legates after their departure in 797. Probably he remained utterly ignorant of their fortunes until intelligence on that subject was brought him in June, 801,¹² by two Saracen envoys. Of these envoys, whose names are not given, one, a "Persian from the Orient", was the ambassador of the caliph Hārūn; while the other, a "Saracen from Africa", represented the semi-independent emir Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab of Kairwan, or rather of al-'Abbāsiya, in North Africa.¹³ Advised that the envoys had arrived at the port of Pisa, the emperor promptly sent to meet them, and they were formally presented to him somewhere between Vercelli and Ivrea in northwestern Italy. They reported to Charles that the Jew Isaac was returning with an elephant and other magnificent gifts, but that his legates, Lantfrid and Sigimund, had both died on the journey. In October Isaac landed with his bulky baggage at Portovenere and, having spent the winter in Italy, he finally delivered the elephant and the other gifts to Charles at Aix-la-Chapelle in July, 802.¹⁴ Had the Saracen envoys in the meantime been negotiating with Charles? We do not know. There is no record even of their departure.

While the Frankish envoys of 797 were absent in the Levant, there had been interchanges of gifts and civilities between the patri-

ante paucos annos [the italics are mine] *eum quem tunc solum habebat roganti mitteret elefantum*". Bréhier assumes (p. 29) that these words of Einhard support his theory (p. 25) that "en 797-798 l'ambassade de Charles au calife traverse Jérusalem". In fact they do not. Einhard distinguishes the embassy which (he says) proceeded via the Holy Sepulchre to Hārūn, from the one which had been sent to procure the elephant. The embassy which received the elephant was anterior to the other by several years. This leaves no support for the theory that the Frankish envoys of 797 passed through Jerusalem, save the suspicious statement in the *Mirac. S. Genesii*; and that, we may agree with Abel and Simson (II. 203, n. 1, 368, n. 1), probably represents nothing more than a misunderstanding of Einhard's *Vita*, for the *Vita* and the *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi* appear to have been the sources from which the hagiographer drew his information (*ibid.*, p. 255, n. 2).

¹¹ According to Bréhier (pp. 28-29): "Eginhard affirme que la question de protection des chrétiens de Palestine a été traitée directement entre le calife et les ambassadeurs envoyés par Charlemagne en 797." In fact Einhard says nothing of the kind. What he does say applies to the embassy of 802, not to that of 797. See *infra*, pp. 250 ff.

¹² Böhmer (Mühlbacher ed.), p. 168, no. 374 a.

¹³ See *Encycl. of Islam*, II. 434, s.v. "Ibrāhīm B. al-Aghlab", I. 16, s.v. "al-'Abbāsiya".

¹⁴ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 801, 802 (ed. Kurze), pp. 114-117. Cf. Abel and Simson, II. 282-283. Soetbeer (in *Forsch. z. D. Gesch.*, IV. 319) correctly states that it is impossible to determine whether the legates died on the way to Bagdad or on the return therefrom.

arch of Jerusalem and Charlemagne. And let it be emphasized that the initiative to these relations came from the patriarch.

Late in 799,¹⁵ and probably two years after the departure of the first Frankish embassy to Hārūn, Charles received at Aix-la-Chapelle a certain monk whom the patriarch of Jerusalem¹⁶ had sent to him with a benediction and relics from the Holy Sepulchre. After Christmas, the monk expressed his desire to return and was duly dismissed. Zacharias, a palatine priest to whom Charles entrusted his offerings for the Holy Places, was ordered to accompany the monk on the journey to Palestine.¹⁷

Nearly a year passed before Zacharias in December, 800, returned to Europe. He came to Rome on December 23,¹⁸ the same day on which Pope Leo III., in the presence of Charlemagne and a large assembly of clergymen and laymen, by an oath of purgation cleared himself of the vile accusations of his enemies. Zacharias was accompanied by two monks, one from Mt. Olivet and the other from St. Sabas, sent by the patriarch to the king of the Franks. This *legatio honesta sanctae civitatis*, as Alcuin afterwards called it,¹⁹ brought to Charles, by way of a blessing, keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the place of Calvary together with a banner.²⁰ We derive this information from contemporary sources, the *Annales Regni Francorum*, commonly known as the *Royal Annals*. There are, however, two versions of these annals: the original so-called *Annales*

¹⁵ Böhmer (Mühlbacher ed.), pp. 158, 799, no. 350 h.

¹⁶ Was the patriarch in question George, to whom Alcuin wrote a letter *ca.* 800 (*M. G. H., Epp.*, IV. 350–351, no. 210)? Since the letter congratulates George on his accession to the patriarchate, it may be presumed that he had not long held that office. The predecessor of George was Helias (*Vita S. Stephani Sabaitae Thaumaturgi Monachi* in *AA. SS. Boll.*, July, III. 524). It is possible that the monk who came to Charles in 799 had been sent by Helias, but it seems more likely that he represented George, the new patriarch, who is known to have sent representatives to the emperor in 803 (*cf. infra*, p. 252). Bréhier (p. 25) assumes that the monk had been sent by the patriarch to entreat Charlemagne to accept the rôle of protector of Christians in Palestine. His assumption is based partly on an alleged unsatisfactory condition which he asserts then obtained for the Christians of Palestine (see *infra*, n. 32), and partly on untrustworthy statements in sources dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (*cf. infra*, n. 25). It should be emphasized that the contemporary sources for the year 799 have not a word concerning any solicitation of this kind.

¹⁷ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 799, 800 (ed. Kurze), pp. 108, 110; *cf. Ann. q. d. Einhardi, ibid.*, pp. 109, 111. On the identity and position of Zacharias, see Abel and Simson, II. 544, n. 2.

¹⁸ Böhmer, nos. 370 a, 370 b; *cf. Halphen, Études Critiques*, pp. 223, 232. Bréhier (pp. 25 ff.) wrongly gives the date as November 30.

¹⁹ *M. G. H., Epp.*, IV. 358, no. 214.

²⁰ *Ann. q. d. Einhardi*, 800 (ed. Kurze), p. 113: "qui benedictionis gratia claves sepulchri Dominici ac loci calvariae cum vexillo detulerunt."

Laurissenses Maiores; and the revision, now usually cited as the *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*. In the extant manuscripts of the *Annales Laurissenses Maiores* it is stated that the envoys brought also "the keys of the city and of the mountain".²¹ But whether these words appeared in the original manuscript of the *Annales Laurissenses Maiores* is at least questionable; and they do not appear in the extant manuscripts of the *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*.²² Accordingly, since in general the two versions are of equal authority,²³ it would be unwise to accept the dubitable statement in the former

²¹ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 800 (ed. Kurze), p. 112: "qui benedictionis causa claves sepulchri Dominici ac loci calvariae, claves etiam civitatis et montis cum vexillo detulerunt."

²² Both Kurze (*Ann. Regni Franc.*, pp. 112-113) and Pertz (*M. G. H.*, SS., I. 188-189) indicate, by not reporting variations in the MSS. at this point, that the words "claves etiam civitatis et montis" are present in all the MSS. of the *Ann. Laurissenses* and are wanting in all the MSS. of the *Ann. q. d. Einhardi*. It is generally admitted that the *Ann. q. d. Einhardi*, at least down to the year 801, constitute a revised version of the *Ann. Laurissenses Maiores* (cf. A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, 1^{re} partie, I. [Paris, 1902] 224-226); and save for the obstinately dissenting opinion of Kurze, which is negligible (see the editorial notes in *Neues Archiv der Gesellsch. für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXVI. [1901] 153, XXVIII. [1902-1903] 621—cf. Halphen, *Études Critiques*, pp. 3, 80-81), there is virtual agreement that the revision was prepared very soon after the original, not later than 817 and possibly as early as 801 (cf. W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen* [Berlin, 1893], I. 201; G. Monod, *Études Critiques sur les Sources de l'Histoire Carolingienne* [fasc. 119 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Philologiques et Historiques*, Paris, 1898], pp. 145-147; H. Bloch, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, vol. CLXIII., pt. II. [1901], p. 886). Now, since the words "claves . . . montis" do not appear in the revised version, it is obvious that the reviser either did not find those words in the original or, if he found them, omitted them from his version. But to conceive this as a case of omission, either accidental or deliberate, is difficult if not impossible. The reviser's habitual accuracy (cf. Monod, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144, 148) renders inadvertence in this instance highly improbable. The words could hardly have been excluded on stylistic grounds. Nor is it likely that the reviser was attempting to suppress for "reasons of state" what had already been published in the original and official annals. The only remaining possibility seems to be that he omitted these words because, in his judgment, they were not true. But whether we take that position, or assume that the words did not appear in the original annals, is, for the purposes of the present argument, immaterial. In neither case could it be admitted that "the keys of the city and the mountain" were presented to Charles. It is also worth noting that Einhard in his *Vita Karoli* (c. 16, ed. Halphen, pp. 46, 48) does not mention a concession to Charles of "the city and the mountain", but only a grant of the Holy Sepulchre. Einhard, writing in 830 or thereafter (cf. Halphen, *Études Critiques*, p. 103), drew his information both from the *Ann. Laurissenses Maiores* and the *Ann. q. d. Einhardi* (*ibid.*, p. 78 and n. 5; cf. Monod, p. 146). What possible reason could he have had for suppressing such highly flattering information in a work designed to be a eulogy of his hero?

²³ Monod, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

without reservation. Moreover, it must be carefully noted that both versions specify that the keys and the banner were brought *benedictionis causa* (or *gratia*).

The delivery of the keys and the banner is usually interpreted as a symbolic act whereby the patriarch of Jerusalem implicitly did homage to the king of the Franks and placed himself under that monarch's direct protection.²⁴ This interpretation rests in last analysis²⁵ upon an assumed analogy between the above-mentioned act of the patriarch and similar acts by Popes Gregory III. and Leo III. on earlier occasions. Analogies, however, are doubtful auxiliaries in the search for the true significance of historical facts. By directing attention to superficial similarities they often obscure essential differences, thus generating misunderstanding and error. Between the act of Leo III. in 796²⁶ and that of the patriarch in 800 there is, after all, a very important difference. In 796 the Frankish protectorate over the Holy See, definitely established in the time of Pepin the Short, was already forty years old, and Leo's act must be interpreted in the light of the relations which had obtained between his predecessors and the Frankish kings.²⁷ Such relations did not, in 800 at least, obtain between Charlemagne and the patriarch of Jerusalem. Gregory III.'s presentation of keys to Charles Martel is somewhat more in point. For at the time it took place, in 739, the Frankish protectorate over the see of St. Peter was not yet in existence. And the act of Gregory was more than a mere gesture; it was undeniably a direct, though symbolic, request for protection.²⁸ Yet, precisely for that reason and in that respect, does it differ from the act of the patriarch in 800. The latter act was, according to our

²⁴ Cf. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, III. (1883) 185-186; E. Caspar, *Pippin und die Römische Kirche* (Berlin, 1914), p. 4, n. 1; Bréhier, pp. 25-26.

²⁵ Bréhier (pp. 30, 31) has marshalled posterior sources, such as the *Annales Nordhumbrani*, the *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, Hugh of Fleury, and William of Malmesbury, in support of this interpretation, his contention being that they furnish new facts unknown both to the *Royal Annals* and to Einhard. Since, however, this point has not been proved, it can not be regarded as anything more than a gratuitous assumption. The truth is that all the sources in question are palpably steeped in the tradition of the eleventh or twelfth century (cf. Böhmer, Mühlbacher ed., p. 165, no. 370 b; Abel and Simson, II. 234, n. 1) and therefore can not be relied upon for the actual facts of the closing eighth century. Even the *Northumbrian Annals*, to which Bréhier attributes special value, show unmistakably the influence of twelfth-century crusading ideas (see Pauli, "Karl der Grosse in Northumbrischen Annalen", in *Forsch. z. d. Gesch.*, XII. [1871] 164).

²⁶ See Abel and Simson, II. 111-113.

²⁷ On these see Caspar, *op. cit.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-9.

sources, which are explicit and in perfect agreement on this point, merely *benedictionis causa*. This highly significant explanatory phrase does not occur in any of the accounts which announce the delivery of keys by Gregory III. and Leo III.²⁹ Its presence in all the contemporary sources for the year 800 is sufficient proof that the writers did not attribute political significance to the ceremony by which the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the place of Calvary together with a banner were presented to the king of the Franks. To interpret that ceremony as the first step in the establishment of a Frankish protectorate in the Holy Land is, therefore, completely to ignore a very explicit statement in the sources and to read into them what is not there. Moreover, what has been recorded of Charlemagne's reaction to the patriarch's courtesies in 800 yields no support to such an interpretation. We know only that Charles received the envoys graciously, that he kept them with him for several days, and that in April of the following year (801) he sent them back with return gifts.³⁰

Were the patriarch's communications with Charlemagne in any way related to those of the caliph? It has been pointed out that Charlemagne initiated the negotiations with the caliph in 797. This was two years before the first envoy of the patriarch arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle in 799. Whatever the object of Charles when he opened communications with the caliph in 797, obviously it could not have been suggested by representations on the part of the patriarch in 799. Whether the Frankish envoys passed through Jerusalem on their way to Bagdad is, as we have seen, not certain.³¹ M. Bréhier, it is true, would have us believe that the despatch of the patriarch's first envoy in 799 was occasioned by the arrival of Charlemagne's embassy in Palestine and that the mission of the envoy was to solicit Charles to accept the rôle of protector.³² But these are gratuitous assumptions resting on no real evidence.

²⁹ See T. Breysig, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches, 714-741, die Zeit Karl Martells* (Leipzig, 1869), p. 93, nn. 4, 5, and Abel and Simson, II. 112, n. 1, where the respective sources are conveniently quoted. Cf. G. Richter, *Annalen der Deutschen Geschichte*, I. (Halle, 1873) 200, note d; II. (*ibid.*, 1885) 132-133, note e.

³⁰ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 800 (ed. Kurze), p. 112; cf. *Ann. q. d. Einhardi, ibid.*, p. 113.

³¹ Cf. *supra*, n. 10.

³² Bréhier, pp. 24, 25, 31. In a separate article ("La Situation des Chrétiens de Palestine", etc.—see *supra*, n. 2) Bréhier has set forth at some length four incidents which in his opinion show that the situation of Palestinian Christians at the close of the eighth century was sufficiently difficult to justify and explain an appeal for protection by the patriarch to Charlemagne. The first three of these incidents may be promptly dismissed as irrelevant. The fourth

To bring the mission of Zacharias into relation with the embassy to the caliph is likewise impossible. It is true that Einhard in his *Vita Karoli*, after having alluded to certain legates whom Charlemagne had sent with gifts to the Holy Sepulchre, adds that they also visited Hārūn; but the view that these were the legates of 797 is mistaken, for a few lines further on Einhard clearly indicates that he was referring to a later embassy.³³ If Zacharias was charged with some errand beyond that of bringing Charlemagne's gifts to the Holy Places, the sources fail to signalize it. On his return Zacharias, as we know, was accompanied by the two monks whom the patriarch—not the caliph—had sent to deliver the keys and the banner. Could the delivery have taken place without the previous assent of the caliph? Certainly not, if it signified the inception of a Frankish protectorate in Palestine.³⁴ But if it was merely *benedictionis causa*, as our sources state, the necessity of authorization by the caliph is not apparent. Not only is there no evidence that such authorization had been sought by the patriarch, but our sources do not credit either Hārūn's envoys of 801 or the returning Isaac with having made any mention whether of the delivery of the keys and banner or of the concession of a protectorate.³⁵

The impossibility of proving that the keys and the banner were presented with the express consent of the caliph has given rise to the conjecture that this ceremony was only a point of departure and that the definite organization of the Frankish protectorate took

is perhaps deserving of a little more attention. In 796-797 attacks were made on the monastery of St. Sabas by "une de ces tribus de Bédouins nomades qui ont infesté de tout temps le désert de Syrie et qu'aucune domination régulière n'a pu assujettir" (*ibid.*, p. 72). Bréhier admits that the (Saracen) garrison of Jerusalem had dispersed these same Bedouins from the environs of Bethlehem and had prevented them from entering the Holy City. Yet we are asked to believe that the failure of the garrison to forestall the subsequent attacks on the monastery of St. Sabas so completely undermined the patriarch's faith in the ability or the desire of the Saracen authorities to protect their Christian subjects that he determined to place himself and his flock under the patronage of Charlemagne, "dont l'autorité serait assez forte pour intervenir en leur faveur" (*ibid.*, pp. 73-74)! This position lacks the support of the contemporary sources (*cf. supra*, nn. 16, 25) and inherently seems, to say the least, highly improbable. Is it conceivable that the patriarch could have imagined that the influence of Charlemagne might accomplish in Palestine what the Saracen authorities could not, what no regular government had ever accomplished? And if the patriarch had entertained such wild ideas, would he have dared to intimate them to the caliph? Bréhier answers these questions by affirmative conjectures (see pp. 28, 31, of his "Les Origines des Rapports", etc.), which I find it impossible to accept.

³³ See *supra*, n. 10.

³⁴ *Cf.* Bréhier, p. 28.

³⁵ *Cf. supra*, p. 244.

place in the course of subsequent negotiations.³⁶ Our next task, therefore, is to examine the later dealings of Charlemagne with the caliph and the patriarch.

Probably in 802, the year of the arrival of the elephant at Aix-la-Chapelle, Charlemagne again despatched envoys, one of whom was a certain Radbert, to the Levant. Concerning their errand we have two varying accounts. The *Royal Annals*, without indicating the nature of their mission, simply state that the envoys were sent to the caliph.³⁷ According to Einhard's *Vita Karoli*,³⁸ they were sent with offerings to the Holy Sepulchre, and, presumably after having discharged this part of their mission, journeyed on to Hārūn. Of negotiations with the caliph the *Royal Annals* say nothing. But Einhard tells us that "when the legates . . . had indicated to him [Hārūn] the wish of their master, he not only permitted those things to be done which were requested, but also granted that that sacred and salutary place [*i.e.*, the Holy Sepulchre] be assigned to his [Charlemagne's] power". The value of this testimony of course depends partly upon the character of Einhard's sources of information and partly upon his own accuracy as a writer. It has been pretty well established not only that the *Vita Karoli* was written after that portion of the *Royal Annals* with which we are here concerned, but also that a very large part of the *Vita* depends directly upon the *Royal Annals*, and particularly upon the revised version, the *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*.³⁹ M. Halphen in his recent penetrating and, to my mind, convincing criticism of the *Vita* does, it is true, admit that Einhard was at one time in position to peruse the diplomatic correspondence of the early ninth century and that some details gleaned from this correspondence may have been present in his mind when he wrote the chapter containing the words quoted above. But the same scholar gives clearly to understand that what Einhard retained of this correspondence "est bien peu de chose";⁴⁰ and that in general the *Vita*, by reason of its author's inaccuracy and partiality, "constitue un document auquel on ne saurait jamais se fier entière-

³⁶ Bréhier, p. 28. In his *L'Église et l'Orient* (p. 25) Bréhier supposed that the caliph's envoys of 801 "étaient chargés sans doute de lui [Charles] apporter la confirmation officielle de l'investiture du protectorat de la Terre Sainte", and cited the *Ann. Einhardi* (*M. G. H.*, SS., I. 190) as his authority. But the portion of these annals which is printed on the page referred to lends no support to this conjecture.

³⁷ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 806, 807 (ed. Kurze), pp. 122, 123.

³⁸ C. 16 (ed. Halphen), pp. 46, 48.

³⁹ Halphen, *Études Critiques*, pp. 78-79. Cf. *supra*, n. 22, end.

⁴⁰ Halphen, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

ment et dont toutes les affirmations appellent le plus sévère contrôle".⁴¹

Just now we have to do with those statements of Einhard which refer to the Frankish embassy of 802, and we are concerned with them only to the extent of their variation with the *Royal Annals*. What does Einhard say about this embassy which is not corroborated by the *Royal Annals*? He says (1) that Charlemagne's envoys had been sent with offerings to the Holy Sepulchre; (2) that when the envoys appeared before the caliph they presented to him certain requests of Charlemagne, to which Hārūn consented; and (3) that the caliph (not satisfied with merely granting what was requested) also, and of his own accord, promised to place the Holy Sepulchre under the power of Charles. The first of these affirmations probably represents what Einhard remembered of the mission of Zacharias, who, according to the *Royal Annals*, had been sent with offerings to the Holy Places in 799.⁴² Quite obviously Einhard has here confused Zacharias with the second embassy to the caliph.⁴³ The envoys mentioned in the next statement can, for reasons already elucidated,⁴⁴ be identified only with those despatched by Charles in 802. What Einhard says of their negotiations with the caliph has no clear prototype in the *Royal Annals*. Hence M. Bréhier⁴⁵ contends that this passage may contain information derived by Einhard from the diplomatic correspondence of Charlemagne. The possibility can not be denied. But it will be noted that Einhard's recollection of what he may have read in that correspondence was extremely poor. He remembered only that the Frankish envoys had made certain requests which the caliph most obligingly gratified; the specific things requested, he had completely forgotten. The third assertion of Ein-

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103. Recently F. L. Ganshof ("Notes Critiques sur Eginhard, Biographe de Charlemagne", in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, III. [1924] 725-758) has raised objections to what he regards as the too severe conclusions of Halphen concerning the originality and credibility of Einhard's testimony in the *Vita Karoli*. This is not the place to estimate the general validity of Ganshof's position. For the present purpose it is sufficient to note that Ganshof admits (1) that the *Vita* must be used with the same caution as any other narrative historical source of the Middle Ages (p. 741, n. 1) and (2) that with reference to Hārūn's despatch of embassies and gifts to Charlemagne, "ces faits, nous les connaissons beaucoup mieux par la lecture des Annales, qui nous sont au moins aussi accessibles qu'elles l'étaient à Eginhard" (p. 744).

⁴² In the *Royal Annals* there is no other mention of such offerings. But cf. *infra*, pp. 253-255.

⁴³ Abel and Simson (II. 203, n. 4, 368, n. 1) admit this as a possibility.

⁴⁴ *Supra*, n. 10.

⁴⁵ P. 28, bottom. Ganshof (*op. cit.*, pp. 741, 744-745) obviously shares the view of Bréhier on this point.

hard, which refers to the concession of the Holy Sepulchre, need not detain us; for even M. Bréhier is constrained to admit that it "n'est peut-être qu'une interprétation personnelle faite par Eginhard de la tradition des clefs".⁴⁶ But after the grant of the Holy Sepulchre has been reduced to the level of a mistaken assumption, nothing remains of Einhard's testimony which may be interpreted as pointing to a protectorate. Even if it be assumed that the undefined requests presented by the Frankish envoys and granted by Hārūn are not a mere fiction of Einhard's imagination,⁴⁷ it is still necessary to prove that they were requests for a protectorate, and such proof may be set down as impossible.

The Frankish envoys of 802 returned to Europe in 806. At that time hostilities were in progress between the Frankish and the Byzantine empires, and the coast of the upper Adriatic was being blockaded by a Byzantine fleet.⁴⁸ But the ships bearing the envoys contrived or were permitted to pass through the blockade, and, unnoticed by the enemy, reached the port of Treviso in safety. One of the envoys, the above-mentioned Radbert, died (on the journey northward from Treviso?) early in the following year (807).⁴⁹

During the time that the *legati* of 802 were executing their mission to the caliph, Patriarch George of Jerusalem sent two monks⁵⁰ to the emperor. In the summer of 803⁵¹ they came to Charles at Salz on the river Saale. When, in October, the emperor arrived at Salzburg in Bavaria, the monks were still with him.⁵² What the

⁴⁶ Bréhier, p. 33. Ganshof (*op. cit.*, pp. 744-747), on the contrary, insists that we must believe that Hārūn "soumit les Lieux-Saints au pouvoir de Charlemagne", solely because Einhard says so (p. 745). In view of Ganshof's previous admissions (see *supra*, n. 41) this position seems strange. Einhard is surely not infallible; nor can it be assumed that his testimony is of necessity accurate whenever it is not contradicted. If the Holy Sepulchre had been placed in the power of Charles sometime between 802 and 807, why is there no reference to that fact in the *Commematorium* of ca. 808 (see *infra*, n. 60)? Finally, it must be insisted that even if Hārūn had assigned the Holy Sepulchre to the power of Charles, it would not necessarily follow that a general right of protection over the Christians and their establishments accompanied that gift. This alleged right of protection is pure conjecture, to which not even Einhard yields support.

⁴⁷ See *infra*, n. 82.

⁴⁸ Cf. Abel and Simson, II. 357 ff.; J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), p. 324.

⁴⁹ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 806, 807 (ed. Kurze), pp. 122, 123.

⁵⁰ The identity of the monks remains uncertain, but cf. *infra*, n. 53.

⁵¹ Cf. Böhmer (Mühlbacher ed.), p. 179, no. 398 b; Abel and Simson, II. 291, n. 5.

⁵² *Annales Maximiniani*, 803, M. G. H., SS., XIII. 23; *Annales Inuvavenses Maiores*, 803, *ibid.*, I. 87. On the value of these sources, see Halphen, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff., 47. See also Abel and Simson, II. 298, nn. 3, 6, 7, and cf. pp. 296-297.

errand of this embassy was we do not know, and there is nothing to show that Charlemagne responded to it.

The next envoys from Jerusalem were the abbot George of Mt. Olivet and the monk Felix, representing Patriarch Thomas.⁵³ Probably George and Felix journeyed to Europe in the company of Abdallah, an ambassador of the caliph. In any case they arrived together with him at Aix-la-Chapelle early in 807. Einhard tells us that the caliph had arranged to have his embassy join the Frankish envoys (of 802) when the latter set out on their return voyage. With the envoys the caliph forwarded a number of splendid gifts to the emperor: a pavilion, or marquee, with appendant tents, all of large size and great beauty, made of linen and dyed in various colors; precious silken garments, perfumes, ointments, and balsam; a brass horologe, or waterclock, with an intricate and ingeniously devised mechanism; and two large brass candelabra.⁵⁴

For the assumption that Abdallah and the monks had been despatched to the Frankish court on the same errand⁵⁵ there is no real evidence. The fact that the *Royal Annals* carefully distinguish Abdallah, as the *legatus regis Persarum*, from the abbot George and the monk Felix, *qui legatione Thomae patriarchae fungebantur*, points rather toward two separate and mutually independent missions. Whether Abdallah had a commission beyond that of delivering the caliph's gifts, and what the real errand of the monks was, are matters upon which our sources shed no light.⁵⁶ The three envoys remained with the emperor for some time and were then directed by him to proceed to Italy, there to await the time of navigation.⁵⁷

The evidence cited for the operation of the protectorate in the later years of Charlemagne (807-814) gathers around three points:

⁵³ It is possible that George and Felix had also been the envoys of the patriarch in 803 (see Abel and Simson, II. 298, n. 7). Abbot George, the envoy, who was of German nationality and had been named Egilbald by his parents, must not be confused with the patriarch of the same name (*cf. supra*, n. 16), the predecessor of Thomas. Thomas held the office of patriarch from *ca.* 807 to *ca.* 829 (Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, IV. [1867] 386, n. 2; Abel and Simson, II. 298, n. 7).

⁵⁴ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 807 (ed. Kurze), pp. 123-124; Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 16 (ed. Halphen), p. 48.

⁵⁵ Bréhier (p. 29, bottom) seems to make that assumption.

⁵⁶ Bréhier (p. 30) regards this embassy as "proof" that negotiations relative to Palestine were being conducted by the caliph; and, according to him, the magnificence of the caliph's gifts signifies that the embassy had come to close the negotiations; hence from this time the accord between the two monarchs is to be considered complete. Abel and Simson (II. 368-369) are of a similar opinion. Nonetheless it all remains pure and unwarranted conjecture.

⁵⁷ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 807 (ed. Kurze), p. 124.

(1) Charles furnished regular resources to overseas Christians by periodic levies of alms; (2) he caused a number of religious establishments to be founded in Palestine; (3) he was called upon to settle a theological controversy which had arisen in Jerusalem. The first two of these points may be taken up together.

That Charlemagne sent gratuities to Palestine is not to be denied. Probably he did it repeatedly if not regularly. According to Einhard, the emperor out of sympathy for the penury of overseas Christians "was wont to send money" not only to Jerusalem but also to Alexandria and Carthage, where he had learned that the Christians were living in poverty. A capitulary informs us that in 810 he proposed to despatch alms to Jerusalem for the restoration of churches.⁵⁸ He has been credited also with the erection of new ecclesiastical structures—monasteries and hospices as well as churches. M. Bréhier assures us that as a result of these activities "a whole Frankish quarter was grouped around the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre", and that the emperor's property rights in the Latin monasteries of Mt. Olivet and St. Mary the Latin were "recognized". The "Frankish quarter" is said to have included the church of St. Mary the Latin, a hospice for pilgrims, and a marketplace.⁵⁹

The documentary basis upon which these comprehensive claims rest seems inadequate. In the strictly contemporary sources there is, as already noted, some evidence that Charles was interested in the *restoration* of churches, presumably old ones needing repair; but there is no indication of building operations on a broader scale.⁶⁰ The only testimony we possess relative to the "Frankish quarter" is furnished by Bernard the Monk (867–870), who states that he

⁵⁸ Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 27 (ed. Halphen), p. 78. The capitulary issued at Aix-la-Chapelle in 810 (*M. G. H., LL.*, sectio II., t. I., p. 154, c. 18) does not justify Bréhier's assumption (p. 33) of a *levée périodique* (cf. my dissertation, *The Danegeld in France*, in *Augustana Library Publications*, no. 10 [Rock Island, Ill., 1923], p. 200 and n. 47). See also *supra*, p. 245 and n. 17; p. 248 and n. 30.

⁵⁹ Bréhier, pp. 33–34.

⁶⁰ The author of the contemporary (ca. 808) *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei vel Monasteriis* (in T. Tobler and A. Molinier, edd., *Itinera Hierosolymitana* [Publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin, Série Géographique, I.–II., Geneva, 1879], pp. 299 ff.) does not indicate that Charlemagne was either the founder or the owner of any one of the various ecclesiastical establishments enumerated in this inventory. Indeed the only reference to Charlemagne in the entire document is the following (p. 302): "De imperio domini Caroli que ad sepulcrum Domini serviunt Deo sacrate xvij, inclusa de Hispania j." These few Frankish ecclesiastics seem insignificant in comparison with the large number (over one hundred and fifty) of other clerics connected with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*ibid.*, p. 301).

was "received into the hostel of the most glorious emperor Charles, where all are admitted who come to this place for devotional reasons and speak the Roman tongue". Bernard also mentions a church of St. Mary located hard by the hostel. He informs us that it "has a noble library through the care of the aforesaid emperor"; but he does not say that it had been built by Charles. Nor does he indicate that the market had been established or was owned by the Franks.⁶¹ From the tenth century we have two brief references to other building activities. One of these is to the effect that Charlemagne, by sending much money to Palestine, caused many monasteries to be built;⁶² the other indicates that he founded a hospital on the "Field of Blood".⁶³ Neither, it is submitted, deserves unqualified credence. Summed up, the admissible testimony signifies: (1) that Charles despatched alms to Palestine, and that some part of these alms may have been expended upon the repair of churches; (2) that he may have been the founder of the hospice which *ca.* 867-870 bore his name; and (3) that he may have equipped the library which elicited the admiration of the monk Bernard. But to concede thus much is not to arrive at a protectorate. For the benefactions were neither necessarily nor demonstrably dependent upon a protectorate.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Itinerarium Bernardi Monachi Franci*, in Tobler and Molinier, *op. cit.*, vol. I., p. 314, c. 10. Cf. the English translation, "The Itinerary of Bernard the Wise", in *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, vol. III. (London, 1893), p. 7. It may be worth noting that the library possessed by the Frankish monks of Mt. Olivet in 809 (*cf. infra*, n. 67) was, in part at least, a gift of Charlemagne (Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.*, IV. 384).

⁶² Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, c. XXVI, (ed. Bekker) in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, III. (Bonn, 1840) 115.

⁶³ Druthmar, *Expositio in Matthaeum Evangelistam*, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CVI. 1486.

⁶⁴ Einhard's statement (*cf. supra*, p. 254 and n. 58) that Charlemagne "sought the friendships of overseas kings chiefly in order that some alleviation and relief might reach the Christians living under their dominion", does not prove such a relation. We must scrupulously avoid discovering in this statement what really is not there. Einhard does not say that Charlemagne either solicited or received anything resembling a protectorate, but merely that he sought friendships—*amicitias expetens*; these friendships were sought with more than one overseas "king" (evidently Einhard was thinking not only of the caliph of Bagdad, but also of the governors of Egypt and the semi-independent princes of North Africa); and, avowedly, the chief purpose of the friendships was to make possible the delivery of European alms to Christians living under the dominion of the various aforesaid "kings". Not that much faith can be reposed in the motives which a panegyrist ascribes to his hero (*cf. Halphen, Études Critiques*, pp. 85-91); but it must be insisted that the words of Einhard, even at their face value, do not lend any real support to the theory of the protectorate. If they defined what Bréhier terms (p. 33) "toute la politique du protectorat", it would follow that the Frankish protectorate included not only Palestine but also Egypt and North Africa!

It has been contended that the function of the alleged institution was not only to safeguard Christians against hostile action on the part of the Mohammedan authorities, but also to maintain peace within the Christian community itself and to provide a court of last resort for the final settlement of controversies arising within that community. Proof of this, according to M. Bréhier, is furnished by a certain episode in the controversy over the insertion of the *filioque* into the Nicene Creed.⁶⁵ Without narrating all the particulars of this episode,⁶⁶ it may be stated that M. Bréhier is in error when he asserts that "the patriarch of Jerusalem invoked the arbitration of Pope Leo III. and despatched two monks of Mt. Olivet to Charlemagne who received them at Aix-la-Chapelle in November, 809". Not the patriarch of Jerusalem, but the Frankish brethren of the monastery of Mt. Olivet,⁶⁷ petitioned the pope for instruction on the authenticity of the *filioque* clause. Evidence that Charlemagne received representatives of the patriarch in November, 809, there is none. Leo III., it is true, after he had prepared a *Symbolum Orthodoxae Fidei* for the Frankish monks of Mt. Olivet, referred to Charles the matter which had caused these brethren embarrassment. The purpose of this action, however, was not to secure a theological decision, but to ascertain whether the monks were right in asserting that they had heard the creed recited with the *filioque* in Charlemagne's chapel, a practice of which Leo III. did not approve. The later stages of the episode, including the council summoned by Charlemagne, may be passed over as irrelevant to the point under discussion. Two facts are clear: (1) no one in Palestine resorted to the tribunal of Charlemagne; (2) in their appeal to the pope the monks of Mt. Olivet merely cited the emperor as a witness on their

⁶⁵ Bréhier, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁶ The sources are as follows: *Epistola Peregrinorum Monachorum in Monte Oliveti habitantium ad Leonem Papam III.* (Baluze, *Miscell.*, VII. [Paris, 1715] 14-17; also in Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.*, IV. 382-385); a letter of Pope Leo III. to Charlemagne (Baluze, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18; Jaffé, *op. cit.*, p. 386); *Symbolum Orthodoxae Fidei Leonis Papae* (Baluze, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-21); *Annales Regni Franc.*, 809 (ed. Kurze), p. 129. For comment see Abel and Simson, II. 403 ff.; J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, III. (1877) 750 ff.; A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II. (1890) 301 ff.; J. Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel*, I. (1867) 696 ff.; J. A. Ketterer, *Karl der Grosse und die Kirche* (Munich, 1898), p. 97.

⁶⁷ These monks, six of whom are named in the letter addressed by them to Pope Leo III. (Jaffé, *op. cit.*, p. 385), are there referred to as being "in sancta civitate Ierusalem peregrini" (p. 382) and as "Franci, qui sunt in monte Oliveti" (p. 383); also they are clearly distinguished from the "Hierosolymitas" (*ibid.*). According to the *Commemoratorium* of ca. 808 (see *supra*, n. 60), p. 302, there were only five Latins at Mt. Olivet, all the others being Greeks or Orientals.

side. These facts⁶⁸ invalidate the theory that the Christian community of Jerusalem looked to Charlemagne as its court of last resort.

Space restriction forbids presentation here of the evidence which, in the opinion of M. Bréhier, points to a survival of the protectorate for almost two centuries after the death of Charlemagne. It may be safely asserted, however, that as a whole this evidence is utterly incompetent; and in almost every instance it is so plainly irrelevant as hardly to require detailed refutation.⁶⁹ One point only, that which comes nearest to being pertinent, has any real claim to consideration.

To the general assembly held by Louis the Pious at Thionville in 831 came three envoys, two Saracens and one Christian, from the caliph Ma'mūn (813-833). They brought magnificent gifts including diverse kinds of perfumes and woven fabrics. The purpose of the embassy, according to the unanimous testimony of the sources, was to negotiate or confirm a treaty of peace between the caliph and the Western emperor.⁷⁰ There is nothing to prove that this treaty included recognition by the caliph of a Frankish protectorate in Palestine.⁷¹ On the other hand, it is clear that the hostile relations of Ma'mūn with the Byzantines and with the Umayyads of Spain could very well have induced him to reach the hand of friendship to the emperor of the Franks, who was likewise an enemy of the Umayyads, and in whom the Eastern emperors seem to have recognized a potential foe.⁷²

⁶⁸ A letter from Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem to Pope Leo III., which arrived after that of the Olivetan monks, and which was delivered to the pope by different messengers, does not request Charlemagne to extend his protection over Palestinian Christians, as some scholars have supposed. The true sense of this often misunderstood passage is given in Abel and Simson, II. 406 and n. 3.

⁶⁹ This is true not only of the evidence adduced for the tenth century, but also of that which is held to prove that the protectorate functioned "normally" ca. 867-870 (Bréhier, pp. 31-32, 35-36). The *Itinerarium* of Bernard the Wise (*supra*, n. 61) and the letter written in 869 by the patriarch of Jerusalem to the patriarch of Constantinople (J. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* [Venice, 1771], XVI. 26) indicate that the Saracen authorities in the Levant maintained good order and that they were disposed to be benevolent toward their Christian subjects so long as these remained loyal and submissive; but neither document contains the faintest allusion to a Frankish protectorate.

⁷⁰ *Annales Bertiniani*, 831 (ed. Waitz), *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum* (Hanover, 1891), p. 3; *Vita Hludowici*, M. G. H., SS., II. 634; *Annales Xantenses*, 831, *ibid.*, p. 225.

⁷¹ B. Simson (*Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, II. [Leipzig, 1876] 11-12) denies the existence of the protectorate in the time of Louis the Pious.

⁷² *Cambridge Medieval History*, III. 6, 8. Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 16 (ed. Halphen, p. 50): "Erat enim semper Romanis et Graecis Francorum suspecta potentia. Unde et illud Graecum extat proverbium: 'Τὸν Φράγκον φίλον ἔχεις γεί-

The sum total of the available trustworthy information on the relations of the Carolingian monarchs with the caliphs of Bagdad and the patriarchs of Jerusalem has now been set forth. Virtually all of this information comes from Frankish sources. We are reliably advised that on the entire subject there is no word to be gleaned from the contemporary Oriental writers, whether Mohammedan or Christian.⁷³ Must we then reject the Frankish testimony on the ground that it is not corroborated in the Oriental sources?⁷⁴ To do that would be to repose a wholly unwarranted reliance in the deceptive argument from silence. It may be admitted that the taciturnity of the ninth-century Mohammedan chroniclers on the diplomatic intercourse of their rulers with the Christian princes of the Occident is a challenging problem.⁷⁵ But without doubt Vasiliev has correctly insisted that the mere silence of those chroniclers does not

τοια οὐκ ἔχεις.' ” The significance of this passage is increased if Einhard wrote it at some time between 830 and 836, as it seems very probable that he did (see *ibid.*, introduction, p. viii; Halphen, *Études Critiques*, pp. 98-103).

⁷³ See the reviews of Barthold and Vasiliev cited *supra*, n. 1, and *cf.* the article on Hārūn in the *Encycl. of Islam*, II. 271-272.

⁷⁴ Essentially this is the position of Barthold though he appears not to have consistently adhered to it. For according to F. F. Schmidt's review of his work (see *supra*, n. 1), Barthold, while he vigorously combats the credibility of the reported relations between the Frankish rulers and the caliphs on the ground that they are not mentioned in the Arabic sources, concedes the authenticity of the recorded interchanges between those rulers and the patriarchs of Jerusalem. In fact our knowledge of both sets of relations is derived exclusively from Frankish evidence.

⁷⁵ Some day Orientalists may undertake to find the solution of this problem. A possible starting-point for investigation is suggested by the well-known passage in the Koran (chap. V.) which forbids Mohammedans to enter into alliance with unbelievers (E. H. Palmer, ed. and transl., *The Qur'ān*, Oxford, 1880, I. 105): "O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and Christians for your patrons: they are patrons of each other; but whoso amongst you takes them for patrons, verily, he is of them, and, verily, God guides not an unjust people." The prohibition appears to have been more strictly construed by the Mohammedan legists in the time of the early Abbassids than it had previously been (*cf.* *Camb. Med. Hist.*, IV. 281), just as the Abbassid caliphs, in contradistinction from their predecessors, strongly emphasized the religious character of their rule (*ibid.*, pp. 275, 288). Barthold, in his review of Vasiliev's article (see *supra*, n. 1), indicates that a political alliance with the Frankish monarchs against the Spanish Umayyads would, in the second century of the Hegira, have been disastrous for the reputation of the Abbassids. But if such alliances were nonetheless concluded, is it not likely that, precisely by reason of the danger indicated, the Mohammedan chroniclers either lacked, or advisedly and discreetly suppressed, information concerning them? Anything like a strict interpretation of the Koran would, it seems, have precluded not only an actual alliance but even amicable diplomatic relations with a Christian state.

render the Western sources incredible, does not impair the intrinsic value of uncontroverted Frankish evidence.⁷⁶

There is, accordingly, no valid reason for doubting, as Barthold does, "that the persons who appeared at the courts of the Frankish rulers, Pepin, Charles, and Louis, really had the right to speak in the name of the caliph". The official character of these envoys is indicated not only by the uniform application to them of the term *legati*—their mission is called a *legatio*—but also by the fact that they are signalized either as the *legati Amormuni* (*Amiralmumminin*)—i.e., of the Commander of the Faithful, the caliph⁷⁷—or as the *legati (Aaron) regis Persarum*. Charlemagne's envoys to Hārūn are likewise denominated *legati*.⁷⁸ But that term is never applied to the representatives sent either by or to the patriarch of Jerusalem,⁷⁹ these being usually referred to simply as monks or priests. The sources do not reveal what the specific business of the various embassies exchanged in the time of Pepin and Charlemagne was, but they do inform us that Ma'mūn's *legati* to Louis the Pious in 831 came to negotiate a treaty of peace. It is very unlikely that the envoys of the period prior to Louis the Pious were merely bearers of gifts and forwarders of polite but meaningless courtesies. And in view of the well-known contrariety of interests between the Frankish rulers and the caliphs on the one hand, the Byzantine emperors and the Umayyad emirs of Spain on the other,⁸⁰ it is difficult to conceive that the diplomatic exchanges of the two former could at any time have been devoid of political meaning. More than that can scarcely be said without entering the insecure realm of conjecture.

As for the patriarchs of Jerusalem, there can be no doubt that they held Charlemagne in high estimation. That fact is well attested by the benedictions, the relics, the keys, and the banner, that were showered upon the emperor in 799 and 800. But by the delivery of the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of Calvary together with the banner the patriarch did not either explicitly or implicitly place himself under the power or protection of Charles. MM. Vasiliev

⁷⁶ See the reviews cited *supra*, n. 1.

⁷⁷ See T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 31–33.

⁷⁸ It seems unnecessary to repeat here the various references to the sources already given. But it should be noted that the Continuator of the *Chron. of Fredegar* (cf. *supra*, n. 5) calls Pepin's envoys *myssi*.

⁷⁹ The errand of the monks George and Felix in 807 is called *legatio Thomae patriarchae* simply to distinguish it from the errand of Abdallah; Abdallah, but not the monks, had the character of a *legatus* (*supra*, p. 253). The application of the term *legatio* to the errand of Abbot Dominic of Mt. Olivet in 826 (*Vita Hludowici*, c. 40, *M. G. H.*, SS., II. 629) is obviously pure courtesy.

⁸⁰ Cf. Bréhier, pp. 23, 27.

and Bréhier are doubtless right in assuming that the patriarch could not have ventured upon a step fraught with such deep political meaning without the prior consent of the caliph.⁸¹ There is no evidence that this consent was either sought or received. But the sources clearly and unanimously declare that the keys were delivered *benedictionis causa*. Whether the presentation of these symbolic emblems was intended to convey anything beyond a homage of respect and reverential regard, remains doubtful.⁸² On what errands the later representatives of the patriarch and of the Frankish monastic community of Mt. Olivet came to the court of the Western emperors, can only be surmised. It seems not unlikely that their mission was, in large part, to solicit alms.

From these facts and probabilities to a Frankish protectorate in Palestine is indeed a long and impossible journey. The foregoing study leads inevitably to the conclusion that such an institution was never established. It is a myth quite analogous to the legend of Charlemagne's crusade to the Holy Land. But the myth concerning the protectorate is of earlier origin than the legend of the crusade. Twenty years after the death of the great emperor it was already in process of formation. For even then Einhard erroneously, if not deceptively, stated in his *Vita* that Hārūn had placed the Holy Sepulchre within the power of Charles. Fifty years later the Monk of St. Gall, in his *Two Books concerning the Deeds of Charles the Great* (ca. 883 or later), a work which must be classed as imaginative literature rather than history⁸³ and which for that reason has probably had an even larger influence than Einhard's less exaggerating biography, wrote unblushingly that Hārūn had given into the power of Charlemagne "the land which was promised to Abraham and shown to Joshua"; to which assertion the pious monk discreetly added that the caliph had proposed to rule over the land as the representative of the emperor, transmitting, after the fashion of a faithful

⁸¹ Bréhier, p. 28.

⁸² Strange to say, no one seems ever to have suggested that Charlemagne may have wished to secure for his own Frankish clergy the privilege of being represented among the ecclesiastics of various nationalities who officiated at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We know that about the year 808 seventeen clerics *de imperio domini Caroli* served at this church (*supra*, n. 60). Must we not suppose that a previous arrangement had been made with the patriarch whereby certain rights were obtained for the Frankish clergy in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? And may not the transmission of the keys, etc., to Charles have betokened the patriarch's consent to this arrangement? This of course is mere conjecture and a conjecture which presupposes another error or misrepresentation on the part of Einhard. But it is not so far-fetched nor so unfounded as the theory of the concession of a protectorate by the caliph.

⁸³ Halphen, *Études Critiques*, p. 142.

steward, the revenue of the province.⁸⁴ But while the myth of the protectorate had begun to flower before the end of the century in which Charlemagne died, another hundred years passed before the legend of his crusade to Palestine made its appearance.⁸⁵ Without attempting to follow the subsequent evolution of either,⁸⁶ we may note that though the latter gradually ceased to be identified with history after the fifteenth century, the former has in our generation been equipped with a more effective historical guise than it ever possessed in the past.

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⁸⁴ Monachus Sangallensis, *De Carolo Magno*, bk. II., cc. 8, 9 (Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.*, IV. 674-679). Cf. the English transl. by A. J. Grant (*Early Lives of Charlemagne*, London, 1907), pp. 116-125.

⁸⁵ On this well-known subject, see Bréhier, pp. 37-38, and the references there cited. Bréhier's views on the protectorate have led him to overestimate the historical elements in the legend of the crusade.

⁸⁶ The twelfth-century *Annales Nordhumbrani* (800, *M. G. H.*, SS., XIII. 156) clearly indicate that the myth of the protectorate prospered during the period, and probably under the influence, of the Crusades. Cf. *supra*, n. 25.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CONFEDERATE COTTON

ONE of the puzzling things in the economic and military history of the Civil War is the seemingly inconsistent attitude of the Union government regarding trade with the Confederacy. On the one hand it enforced a rigorous blockade of the Southern sea-coast to bar Southern cotton from the world markets, while on the other it connived at a more or less corrupt domestic trade in the same cotton smuggled across its own military lines. There were excuses for this policy. Cotton was needed to keep Northern factories in operation and also cotton had to be doled out for French and English mills to prevent active interference by those governments in aid of the Confederacy and free cotton. But it is the purpose of this paper to show that this policy, while undertaken for reasons of weight, nevertheless was a grave error of judgment on the part of the Federal government. Through this trade the morale of the Union troops was undermined, the Confederate army was supplied, and, because of the consequent prolongation of the war, needless suffering was inflicted on the people both South and North.

While the demand for cotton in the North to supply the war-time needs of the country was great and received serious consideration from Lincoln, the foreign situation claimed his closest attention. Affairs in that field were in a very critical condition. In England, by January of 1863, one-third of the cotton mills had shut down completely for lack of supplies and nearly half a million factory hands were out of work.¹ In France, because cotton manufacturing was not so important as in England, the distress, while acute, was not so general.² Yet the diplomatic situation there, as regarded the needed supplies for the factories, was much more strained than with Great Britain. In fact things came to such a pass that, in 1862, Thurlow Weed, one of Seward's unofficial representatives, thought that more than one government was getting ready to turn against the United States because of the need for cotton.³ The French minister for foreign affairs in two interviews with Weed told him emphatically that France must have cotton and that she looked to the North to get it for her in one way or another.⁴

¹ C. F. Adams, *Charles Francis Adams* (Boston, 1900), p. 267.

² *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

³ F. W. Seward, *Seward at Washington* (N. Y., 1890), III. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 85 and 86.

In addition to these reasons for allowing trade in cotton, another, based on humanity, developed during the war. As the Southern territory was occupied by Union troops large numbers of people were left destitute except for some cotton which they had stored away. Since they could not be left to starve they were allowed to exchange their cotton for the necessities of life.⁵ The Federal government therefore concluded that the trade in cotton should be encouraged as much as was safe. Secretary Chase, in a letter to his friend and subordinate, W. P. Mellen, stated the government's policy in regard to the trade. He said that he could "see no way in which safe intercourse can be established between citizens of the loyal states and those under insurgent control. The question is not one of revenue nor one of rights in a state of peace but a question of supplies to enemies. . . . The best thing to be done, as it seems to me, is to . . . let commerce follow the flag".⁶ This statement of the administration's views is borne out by the President's proclamation of August 16, 1861. By this the Southern states, with certain exceptions, were declared to be in a state of insurrection and all trade with them to be unlawful unless licensed by the President through the Secretary of the Treasury.⁷ So the government's policy may be summed up as follows: trade with inhabitants of districts occupied by Union troops was to be allowed under supervision so far as was compatible with military safety.

The laws passed by Congress on the subject, the executive proclamations, and the departmental orders which were issued in pursuance thereof were all intended to carry out this line of conduct. They were drastic and rigorous. Under them the needy planter inside the Union lines could obtain supplies in exchange for his cotton and the cotton went to satisfy the demands of the North and of Europe. All possible precautions were taken against fraud or injury to the service. The corruption that accompanied the commerce in cotton and the failure of the rules to function as was expected can not be ascribed to the laxity of the government nor to lack of care in drafting the regulations. The trouble arose from the difficulty of assembling the right kind of personnel. The successful handling of a process of this sort, where wrongdoing was not only easy but

⁵ J. W. Schuckers, *Life of Salmon P. Chase* (N. Y., 1874), p. 324.

⁶ May 29, 1861. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁷ The exceptions were Virginia west of the Alleghenies and such other parts of the Southern states as might maintain their loyalty to the Union or be occupied and controlled by the United States forces. *Commercial Intercourse with States . . . in Insurrection* (Washington, 1863), pp. 39 and 40. Hereafter referred to as *Commercial Intercourse Pamphlet*.

exceptionally profitable,⁸ called for a force of experienced men whose honesty was unshakable. Such a body of men can not be created by act of Congress and it was here that the administration's policy broke down.

As a rule the generals of the army, especially those of high rank, did what they could to carry out the policy of the government. Among the officers who labored zealously to enforce the rules and to prevent abuses four men are particularly noteworthy: Generals Grant, Sherman, Washburn, and Canby. General B. F. Butler, on the other hand, is the most notable example of an officer of high rank who was accused of corruption and of profitting by the trade. His attitude toward the matter is well shown by a letter to Reverdy Johnson written by Butler when in command at New Orleans. In this he said that he would "assure safe conduct, open market, and prompt shipment of all cotton and sugar sent to New Orleans, and the owner, were he Slidell himself, should have the pay for his cotton if sent here under this assurance".⁹ Nothing of this sort came from Grant or Sherman. The whole tone of their correspondence and orders was one of hostility to the trade and to traders. Orders from Washington directing that the commerce should not only be allowed but even facilitated¹⁰ were obeyed reluctantly though faithfully.¹¹ A note of rigid restriction runs through all of Grant's orders concerning the traffic, and when, in February, 1865, he was given entire charge of the matter he wrote General Canby telling him that he could use his own discretion but that in his, Grant's, opinion entire non-intercourse was the speediest way to bring about a permanent peace.¹²

General Sherman's letters and orders sound much like Grant's in their uncompromising opposition to the commerce in cotton. He forbade all dealing in it on his first Vicksburg expedition¹³ and both at Atlanta and at Savannah the trade was limited to that which was necessary to supply needy planters with food and clothing.¹⁴ General Washburn, who succeeded Grant and Sherman in command at Memphis, one of the most important centres of the trade, also did

⁸ Cotton was worth from ten to twenty cents a pound at the front and from sixty cents to one dollar a pound in the North. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁹ July 21, 1862. *War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), ser. III., vol. II., p. 239. This work will be cited hereafter as *Official Records*.

¹⁰ Halleck to Sprague, Aug. 25, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 460.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ser. I., vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 163.

¹² Feb. 13, 1865. *Ibid.*, vol. XLVIII., pt. I., p. 829.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. XVII., pt. I., p. 620.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXVIII., pt. V., p. 648; vol. XLVII., pt. II., pp. 52 ff.

what he could to restrict the cotton traffic, especially along the river.¹⁵ The successor to Butler at New Orleans, General Banks, found the situation there to be extremely difficult. The supervision of the cotton-trade was very lax and the department was rife with corruption. Furthermore, while Banks's integrity is unquestioned he was not a soldier by profession and was too much inclined to subordinate military needs to political considerations. Under his régime New Orleans was the market. All goods sent there could be freely sold for United States currency and plantation supplies could be taken out.¹⁶ When General Canby replaced Banks the tone of the correspondence affecting the trade changed at once. His attitude was one of hostility toward the traffic and he limited it as closely as the authorities at Washington would permit.¹⁷ Not until the end of May, 1865, when he removed all military restrictions on trade in the pacified districts, did his attitude change.¹⁸ But by this time the general policy toward the trade was to do away with restrictions and to get cotton out of the country and money and supplies into it as fast as possible.¹⁹

There was little trouble over the trade during the first year of the war, for it did not become important until the spring of 1862, when the fall of New Orleans and Memphis brought the Union armies into contact with the Southern cotton belt. These two cities at once became the principal shipping points of a commerce in cotton that spread with the progress of the Union arms throughout the southern part of the Mississippi Valley. The authorized trade²⁰ that followed was on a small scale; the latitude consisted for the most part in allowing farmers to bring their cotton into town and to sell it for supplies. It was encouraged by General Sherman at Memphis because it relieved the farmer's distress and showed him his dependence on the Union government.²¹ The Federal commander at Vicksburg, General McArthur, was more lax and allowed the cotton growers to sell their produce on the plantation to any author-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIX., pt. II., pp. 22, 27, 170 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XV. 615, 649, 690, 691.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. II., pp. 534, 535, pt. IV., pp. 789 ff.; vol. XLVIII., pt. I., pp. 849, 1062, 1063.

¹⁸ May 29, 1865. *Ibid.*, vol. XLVIII., pt. II., p. 650.

¹⁹ *E.g.*, *ibid.*, vol. XLVII., pt. III., p. 602.

²⁰ This trade was carried on under the law of July 13, 1861, which allowed the President to license individuals to carry on trade under regulations laid down by the Secretary of the Treasury. *Statutes at Large . . . of the United States* (Boston, 1863), XII. 257.

²¹ Nov. 8, 1862. *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 861.

ized purchaser.²² This was undoubtedly one of the causes of the corruption that centred around this town.

The other legal method of bringing out cotton was through confiscation. In this the procedure usually followed was to seize in the name of the United States what cotton was available and to give receipts for it if privately owned. After the war the holder of the receipts, on proof of loyalty, would be compensated.²³ Cotton owned by the Confederate government was, of course, confiscated outright.²⁴ At Atlanta the rather high-handed position was taken that all cotton was tainted with treason and no private title in it would be respected.²⁵ Occasionally expeditions were sent out partly to intimidate the Southerners and partly to seize cotton.²⁶ On these raids any cotton found was taken without regard to ownership; the proceeds either went directly to the government or were used to indemnify loyalists whose property had been damaged by Confederates. An example of this was an expedition sent up the Yazoo River in March, 1865. On this raid 1728 bales of cotton were seized which were used to pay Unionists for property destroyed by guerrillas. The planters were warned that just as long as the guerrilla fighting kept up raids would be made on them.²⁷

The army was always on the alert for a chance to seize "C. S. A." cotton, for every bale captured was a direct loss to the Confederacy and was clear gain to the Union cause. The search for this continued after the close of the war. In such cases the trouble was caused by the former owners of the cotton, who, upon finding the bonds worthless for which their produce had been sold, were naturally loath to give it up. In May, 1865, there were about 200,000 bales belonging to the Confederate government in the Gulf states and while the civil officers of the Confederacy acted in good faith, the planters wanted to keep it.²⁸ The search for it near New Orleans was discontinued by the end of the month and it was stopped everywhere by September of that year.²⁹

²² Feb. 28, 1864. *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXXII., pt. I., p. 330.

²³ *Ibid.*, vol. XLVII., pt. III., pp. 593, 602.

²⁴ This was cotton given to the Confederate government in payment for either bonds or taxes. It was generally known and hereafter will be referred to as C. S. A. cotton.

²⁵ Sept. 3, 1864. *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXXVII., pt. V., p. 778.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIV., pt. I., p. 213, pt. III., pp. 18, 19; vol. XLVIII., pt. I., p. 553.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXII., pt. I., pp. 183, 185, 320, pt. III., p. 36.

²⁸ Canby to Stanton, May 12, 1865. *Ibid.*, vol. XLIX., pt. II., p. 739.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 930; vol. XLVII., pt. II., p. 1168.

The illegal methods employed in getting out cotton included the fraudulent use of permits by traders, the sending out of government expeditions for private profit, and smuggling. An interesting glance at the workings of the first method is given in a letter from a planter named Stevenson to the Confederate Secretary of War. According to this letter General Butler, then in command at New Orleans, told Stevenson's agent that cotton could be sent to New Orleans for shipment to any port in the world and that supplies of an equal value, excluding munitions of war, could be taken out in return. Stevenson pointed out that the supplies could be forwarded to the Confederate army and the cotton could be placed to the credit of the Confederate government at some European port.³⁰ But this well-considered plan to run the blockade with the aid and consent of the Federal authorities failed, probably because of the removal of General Butler.

Butler's successor, General Banks, put an end to plans of this nature, but the illicit trade around New Orleans went on aided by permits granted by the Treasury agents. Mr. Dennison, the supervising agent, while probably honest, was so persuaded of the necessity of getting out cotton that he became careless as to the methods used. In one case a ship loaded with cotton consigned to a Mobilian at Havana was captured off Mobile by the Federal fleet. Those on board claimed that they were really going to New Orleans and showed a permit from Mr. Dennison allowing them to bring out cotton from the rebel lines and ship it to any port. Dennison, when questioned, declared that he had General Banks's authority for his action and that it made no difference whether the cotton came through a blockaded port or not, so long as it got to New Orleans. Rear-Admiral Bailey, of the blockading fleet, pointed out in his report that this was not only trading directly with the enemy but was also a virtual abandonment of the blockade. General Banks disavowed all connection with the affair and denounced it vigorously. He declared that he had merely allowed planters in the immediate vicinity of the city to exchange their produce for a limited amount of plantation supplies.³¹ While this is a very glaring case of the misuse of permits it is not unique. Constant complaints were made of the provisioning of the Confederate forces near the Mississippi River through the abuse of trading licenses.³²

Another method of defrauding the government that was much used consisted in selling to the Treasury agents, in the legal way,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, XV. 861.

³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI., pt. I., pp. 670, 702.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 647; vol. XXXII., pt. II., p. 259; vol. XLI., pt. IV., p. 613.

cotton that ostensibly was privately owned but really belonged to the Confederacy and was therefore subject to confiscation. This was the more easily done because private and "C. S. A." cotton were stored together at the gin and the only means of identification was through markings on the bales, which could be changed easily. Some of the army officers suspected the truth and protested against the practice. A Union officer denounced as a Confederate agent a buyer named Parkman³³ who had permits to purchase fifteen thousand bales of cotton when there were not fifteen hundred bales of private cotton in that district. The officer declared that the buyer was seeking goods belonging to the Confederacy.³⁴ By July, 1864, Baton Rouge was full of cotton, two-thirds of which was said to belong to the Southern government but which was all sworn through as the property of individuals.³⁵ The blockade had so reduced the Confederacy that by this time it was willing to sell its cotton to the United States and to take greenbacks in payment.³⁶

Probably the most harmful variety of this fraudulent trade in cotton was that carried on by the trade-boats plying up and down the rivers. They would clear from some town loaded with supplies and stay out for as long as forty days at a time, renewing their cargo from passing boats, entertaining Confederates, and trading with anybody and everybody. Both General Sickles and General Buford denounced the practice. They declared that it was semi-treasonable and no better than blockade-running.³⁷ The value of this trade to the Confederates is shown by the fact that even late in 1864, when every available man was needed at the front, they spared two regiments to convoy cotton to the river.³⁸

The Union cause was also harmed by the sending out of military expeditions ostensibly to forage and recruit but actually to bring in cotton. One of the worst examples was the Grand Gulf expedition under Brigadier-General A. W. Ellet which set out on February 15, 1864. The report of the officer in charge is very illuminating and his recapitulation is worth quoting. "To sum up, we marched 250 miles, injured our transportation, exposed our lives, got but few recruits, and as far as ending the war is concerned, we did just nothing at all; but, if anything, served to prolong it by assisting a lot of rebels

³³ Or Parkham; the *Official Records* give it both ways.

³⁴ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXXIX., pt. I., p. 900; vol. XLI., pt. IV., p. 629.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. II., p. 329.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIX., pt. I., p. 900.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIV., pt. IV., p. 410; vol. XXXIX., pt. II., pp. 27, 60, 61.

³⁸ Earl's report, Nov. 24, 1864. *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. IV., p. 663.

and thieves to sell and get to market about 1515 bales of private, C. S. A., and abandoned cotton, and a lot of speculators, whose loyalty I very much suspect, in making fortunes.”³⁹ There are enough comments on these expeditions to show that this was but one of many where patriotic aims were used as a cloak to cover the enrichment of speculators and officers.⁴⁰ These “recruiting raids” not only forced the government to buy “C. S. A.” cotton which was legally subject to confiscation but, what was far worse, they injured the army morale. The officers and men were not fools; they knew that their superiors were conniving at these frauds, and they naturally wished to share the profits.

The other illicit method of bringing out cotton was by smuggling. For this unequalled advantages were offered by the Mississippi River with its numerous heavily wooded lagoons and branches. We hear from General Hurlbut of enormous smuggling around Memphis.⁴¹ General Emory asked Farragut’s aid in breaking up a nest of smugglers, on Lake Salvador near New Orleans, that was in direct communication with the Confederates.⁴² General Grant wrote Stanton that smuggling was carried on at Memphis and Helena and at every other place where trade was allowed within the disloyal states.⁴³ Because of the remarkable facilities offered by the great river for running goods it was probably impossible to prevent it.⁴⁴ The Union officers certainly failed in spite of their utmost efforts.

After the cotton was obtained the next question was whether it should be paid for in specie, in greenbacks, or in supplies. The Southerners naturally wanted specie, but this was forbidden by the Union officers in Tennessee. They ordered that the remuneration should be in Treasury notes.⁴⁵ Owing to the demand for cotton, however, the Secretary of War directed that the payment of gold should not be prohibited.⁴⁶ This aroused General Sherman’s ire and, in a letter to Secretary Chase, he pointed out that, if this were allowed, it would be impossible to keep munitions of war out of the Confederacy.⁴⁷ His protest evidently had its effect, for, in less than

³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXII., pt. I., p. 400, pt. III., p. 624.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 796; ser. IV., vol. III., p. 382.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, ser. I., vol. XXII., pt. I., p. 230, pt. II., p. 757.

⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI., pt. I., pp. 598, 702.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, ser. III., vol. III., p. 721.

⁴⁴ J. C. Schwab, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (N. Y., 1901), p. 261.

⁴⁵ Aug. 7, 1862. *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XVI., pt. II., p. 284; July 25, 1862, *ibid.*, vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 123.

⁴⁶ Aug. 2, 1862. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 150.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ser. III., vol. II., p. 349.

a month, Treasury regulations prohibiting the payment of specie for cotton were promulgated.⁴⁸ Despite the rules the use of gold persisted, and Grant advised that, in order to prevent this evil, all cotton should be bought by the government at a fixed price and that all traders should be driven out of the war zone.⁴⁹ His advice was not followed until the fall of 1864, when the Treasury regulations⁵⁰ of September 24 ordered that all cotton should be purchased by government agents, and further directed that only one-third of the value of the cotton should be paid for in supplies.⁵¹ The restrictions on the use of specie remained in force until the end of the war and were not everywhere removed until the middle of July, 1865.⁵² The change in policy on the part of the Federal authorities shown by making the trade a government monopoly was so effective that Generals Ma-gruder and Kirby Smith of the Confederate army both thought that the business was no longer profitable, and advised that the "C. S. A." cotton should be burnt.⁵³ Evidently General Grant's reasoning was sound.

After the cotton was bought and paid for the next thing was to get it to the markets. The easiest way to do this was to use government transportation, and the traders at once endeavored to avail themselves of this extremely handy cartage. The military authorities forbade such use of army property for fear of injury to the service,⁵⁴ though one officer thought that he could make some money for the government by allowing the speculators to use the wagons and making them pay well for the privilege.⁵⁵ When the authorities took over the purchase of cotton, the use of military wagons for its transportation was allowed if the army was reimbursed for any expense incurred, and if the commanding officer thought that it would not hurt the service.⁵⁶ These rules defined the legitimate use of government vehicles, but throughout the war charges were made that some

⁴⁸ Aug. 28, 1862. J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

⁴⁹ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 424.

⁵⁰ Issued by Secretary Fessenden under the Morrill Act of July 3, 1864. *Statutes at Large*, XIII, 376, 377.

⁵¹ *Rules . . . concerning Commercial Intercourse with . . . States in Insurrection* (Washington, 1872), pp. 139 ff. This work will be cited hereafter as *Commercial Intercourse Rules*.

⁵² *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XLIX., pt. II., p. 1080.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. IV., pp. 1025, 1093.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. XVI., pt. II., p. 80.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 120.

⁵⁶ *Commercial Intercourse Pamphlet*, p. 53.

officers were, for their personal profit, allowing private cotton to be carried on army wagons.⁵⁷

Another troublesome problem that confronted the government, before the business became a monopoly of the Treasury Department, was the choice of traders. For obvious reasons the authorities tried to have none but loyalists act as cotton buyers. In some localities where the secession element was strong only Union men were allowed to sell cotton, for fear that otherwise the secessionists would monopolize the market.⁵⁸ Generally speaking, however, the loyalty of the sellers was not investigated too closely, beyond requiring the oath of allegiance. The chief emphasis was placed on the sentiments of the buyer.⁵⁹ When, according to the regulations of July 29, 1864, trade-stores were established in the pacified districts, it was required that they should be kept by loyalists, and the kind of supplies as well as the amount per month that the stores could handle was limited.⁶⁰ The purpose in establishing them was to supply the residents of a district with the necessities of life in such a way as to be of no aid to the Southern cause. While the plan was good, like everything else it was subject to abuse, and many of the supplies from the stores went straight to the Confederate troops, to the great detriment of the Union cause.

The traffic in cotton which has thus been considered attained great dimensions during the war. According to Chase's biographer it "reached at the least an aggregate of two hundred million dollars".⁶¹ The regulation of the trade required hundreds of men, but the volume of business was so great that the fees derived from it made it self-supporting.⁶² While it was not of much importance until the spring of 1862,⁶³ it increased to such an amount that by the spring of 1864 enough cotton went north to provide for the manufacture of all the goods that could be sold at the prevailing prices and it was thought that a surplus would be left for exportation.⁶⁴ The surplus, if any existed, was not large, for only 53,000 bales of cotton were sent to Europe from June 30, 1861, to June 30, 1864, slightly more than one per cent. of the amount sent over in the two years preceding.⁶⁵ The

⁵⁷ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXII., pt. II., p. 714; vol. XXXII., pt. I., p. 395, pt. III., p. 39.

⁵⁸ Columbus, Ky., May 13, 1864. *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIX., pt. II., p. 26.

⁵⁹ *Commercial Intercourse Rules*, p. 67.

⁶⁰ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXXIV., pt. IV., p. 455.

⁶¹ J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 328.

⁶³ J. C. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 260; M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry* (N. Y., 1897), p. 262.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

value of the supplies that went south seems well-nigh incredible. In the spring and summer of 1864 goods worth \$118,000 went through Natchez in two months, and at Memphis the merchandise sent south amounted to \$500,000 a week.⁶⁶ Senator Chandler made the statement in the course of debate that "from Memphis alone between twenty and thirty million dollars' worth of supplies have gone into the hands of the rebels".⁶⁷ Such statements as these help to substantiate Schuckers's estimate of the size of the trade and to explain the difficulty in handling it.

Because of the profits speculators were very anxious to engage in this traffic.⁶⁸ They became centres of corruption. They infested the army, where their effect was worse than if they had been spies,⁶⁹ for they suborned the officers and, passing through the army lines, furnished the Confederates with supplies and information.⁷⁰ The corruption of the officers and consequent demoralization of the men spread throughout the troops until, according to one investigator, nearly every officer was in partnership with a cotton-trader and every soldier dreamed of adding a bale of cotton to his month's pay.⁷¹ Even the Confederates remarked upon the mania for cotton-trading among the Yankees. They declared the Federal officers to be in league with the traders. One Southerner said that the commanding officer at Vicksburg, General McArthur, not only had to be bribed to allow cotton to pass through the town, but had held up certain expeditions for two weeks because the Confederate agent had told the cotton contractors that he would be unable to supply them with cotton if the expeditions were made.⁷² Senator Ten Eyck certainly had good grounds for stating in his speech on the Morrill Act that if he were to mention the facts brought out before the committee the cheeks of every American senator would tingle with shame.⁷³

Severe as was the test put upon the integrity of the army officers the honesty of the Treasury agents was even more tried and, as was to be expected in a newly created service, many of them could not stand the strain. There seemed to be no sure way of judging what a man would do. Men with unblemished reputations would go into the service and under the stress of temptation would yield, others

⁶⁶ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXXIX., pt. II., pp. 60, 196.

⁶⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., p. 3324.

⁶⁸ J. C. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁶⁹ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXIV., pt. III., p. 118.

⁷⁰ J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁷¹ C. A. Dana to Stanton. *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. LII., pt. I., p. 331.

⁷² *Ibid.*, ser. IV., vol. III., p. 282; ser. I., vol. XXXII., pt. III., p. 796.

⁷³ *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2823.

with not so good a past record would come out of the ordeal untarnished.⁷⁴

The trade was entirely non-partizan in its corrupting influence. It demoralized the Confederate as well as the Federal service. This is shown by some proposals to get C. S. A. cotton out of the western Gulf states, which were made early in 1864 by officers in the Southern army to General Banks. According to one scheme the Confederate officers west of the Mississippi were to turn over to the United States government all the C. S. A. cotton in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. It would amount, Banks thought, to 200,000 bales. All the proceeds were to go to the government except eighteen cents a pound, which was to be paid to the Confederates when the Federal officers were satisfied that it would be used only for their private and personal benefit. The other plan differed in that it involved only 15,000 bales of cotton and that \$100,000 of the amount due was to be paid at once, the balance being held until it could be paid without possible injury to the government.⁷⁵ (At eighteen cents a pound, \$100,000 would be less than ten per cent. of the amount due.) Evidently there were Confederate as well as Union officers who were willing to feather their nests at the public expense. Whether or not all cotton was tainted with treason it was certainly accompanied by corruption. Complaints were also made by the Southern officers against the private citizens around Baton Rouge and Memphis who went into these cities and took the oath of allegiance so that they could trade. In many cases, it was said, they took their cotton in merely for speculation and to give the Yankees information. Many Southerners took the oath in order to secure their property.⁷⁶

All the Northern military leaders agreed that the effect of the trade on the Union army was very bad. The cotton runners acted as spies and rendered secrecy of movement next to impossible. When expeditions were pending that might result in the capture or destruction of cotton the traders would pass the word to the Southerners so that the raid would be foiled. The supplies paid for the cotton went to feed, clothe, and equip the Confederate forces and greatly lessened the value of the marine blockade.⁷⁷ General Grant thought that any trade with the Confederacy weakened the Union forces one-third and, according to Admiral Porter, the trade as carried on under the regulations of September 11, 1863, would enable

⁷⁴ J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, pp. 328 ff.

⁷⁵ Feb. 2, 1864. *Official Records*, ser. III., vol. IV., pp. 68 ff.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, ser. I., vol. XXXII., pt. III., p. 634; vol. XXXIV., pt. II., p. 924.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XXII., pt. II., p. 15; vol. XXXIV., pt. III., p. 185; vol. XXXIX., pt. II., p. 22.

the South to continue the war indefinitely.⁷⁸ In a speech in the Senate, Senator Ten Eyck said that the trade had prolonged the war and strengthened the South. Through it the Confederacy had obtained not only supplies but also money and munitions. In some quarters military and naval movements had been made with more intent to seize cotton and carry on trade than to strike at the enemy.⁷⁹

In considering the effect of the traffic on the Confederacy the Southern leaders realized that it caused a great deal of corruption and demoralization in the army,⁸⁰ but nevertheless thought that it was necessary in order to supply the troops. The Confederate Secretary of War declared that unless some cotton was allowed to go north he would be unable to feed the soldiers through the winter of 1862.⁸¹ The business was looked on as an important source of supply and the officers wished it to be made as productive as possible.⁸² The value and kind of supplies that the Confederacy wished to get by means of the trade is shown in the applications from Southerners for permission to take cotton through the lines. They promised to bring out not only clothes and salt but also fire-arms and ammunition.⁸³ The president of the Mississippi Central Railroad asked for permission to get railway supplies from the North in exchange for cotton so that the road could continue operations.⁸⁴ The Union officers realized this condition of affairs; we find both General Brayman and General Sickles not only attributing the success of Forrest's raids to the accumulation of supplies along his line of march, but even declaring that to be their motive.⁸⁵ Lieutenant Earl, a special scout, reported that when he was in Confederate uniform many leading Southerners had told him of the help their cause received through the commerce in cotton.⁸⁶ General Banks thought that the Confederacy had been greatly strengthened through the traffic.⁸⁷ According to General Canby, if it was carried on as the speculators in control wished, it would give the South aid equal to 50,000 men. In his opinion the Confederate armies on both sides of the Mississippi were sustained

⁷⁸ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXIV., pt. III., p. 538; vol. XXXIX., pt. II., p. 61.

⁷⁹ *Congressional Globe*, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁰ J. C. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁸¹ *Official Records*, ser. IV., vol. II., p. 15.

⁸² *Ibid.*, ser. I., vol. XLV., pt. II., pp. 637, 639; J. C. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁸³ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXIV., pt. III., p. 177; ser. IV., vol. II., p. 854.

⁸⁴ W. Goodman to General L. Polk, Jan. 7, 1864. *Ibid.*, ser. IV., vol. III., p. 9.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, ser. I., vol. XXXII., pt. I., p. 512, pt. III., p. 233; vol. XXXIX., pt. II., p. 60.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. IV., p. 663.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, XV. 695.

through the trade in cotton.⁸⁸ There seem to be good grounds for the statement that cotton was the most efficient instrument that the South had for obtaining the supplies necessary to carry on the war.⁸⁹

While neither the extent of the corruption that accompanied the trade nor the great aid that it would give the Confederacy could have been foreseen by the Union government, still the authorities realized that from the military point of view the wisest plan was to prohibit all intercourse with the South. Nevertheless, for what they considered good and sufficient reasons, they had insisted on the policy of letting the trade follow the flag. Were they justified in their action? Should any commerce have been allowed? In order to answer these questions it must be remembered that the traffic was permitted by the North partly to supply the New England mills but principally to obtain cotton for export to Europe to relieve the international situation. The first object was fairly well attained but the second was not, an export of 53,000 bales being but a drop in the bucket. Yet, as no intervention took place, this end was gained through other means. On the international side, then, the plan failed. The domestic situation was relieved, it is true, but was this relief worth what it cost? Judging from the statements of the officers, if all trade with the South had been cut off from the start the Confederate armies would have been forced by lack of supplies to yield at least a year earlier than they actually did. It would seem better to have had almost any amount of temporary suffering among the New England mill-hands if thereby Grant's campaign of attrition in the Wilderness, or Sherman's terrible march through Georgia and the Carolinas could have been averted. From our viewpoint it seems evident that permitting the trade was a gigantic mistake and that the true policy of the Union would have been to forbid all intercourse with the South.

A black picture of corruption and venality has been drawn in the preceding pages. But corruption is common to all nations in time of war. Weak natures break down under the test of fire. War brings out what is best and worst in man. A high patriotism and a lofty courage go side by side with the grossest venality and most debasing cowardice. It is a singular phenomenon that a man may not be above making money out of his nation's needs yet in time of stress may be willing to die for his country.

A. SELLEW ROBERTS.

⁸⁸ Dec. 7, 1864. *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. IV., pp. 785 ff.

⁸⁹ J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States, 1850-1877* (N. Y., 1896-1906), V. 411.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH PRINTED SOURCES FOR THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

THE extensive pamphlet literature which appeared in England during the early years of the Thirty Years' War is important rather as a proof of public interest in the fortunes of Frederick and Elizabeth of Bohemia than as a source of information. The greater number of these pamphlets are translations from Latin, German, or French, and many are printed in the United Provinces. News of the war did not appear at regular intervals until the end of the year 1620; at least there is no proof of a news service before that date. Curiously enough, the first weekly English newspapers, or "corantos" as they were called, were printed in Amsterdam, Alkmaar, and the Hague.¹ They are single folio sheets, printed on both sides, and bear the name of the Dutch publishers. Their foreign origin is quaintly illustrated by the information printed on one that it is "to be soulede by Petrus Keerius, dwelling in the Calverstreete in the uncertaine time". It is extremely probable that when in September, 1621, Nicholas Bourne, the well-known London stationer, began the publication of his weekly *Corante, or News from Italy, Germany, Hungary, Spain, and France*,² he was imitating the Dutch model. These translations of Dutch and German news-sheets were also printed in folio. A change to the quarto was made in the following year, and, in this form, Bourne, together with Nathaniel Butter and Thomas Archer, continued the publication of weekly "currantes of newes" until 1632. Charles I. was so jealous of the victories won by Gustavus Adolphus without England's assistance that "gazettes, and pamphlets of news from foreign parts" were suppressed by order of the Star Chamber.³ Butter and Bourne were licensed⁴ to renew publication in 1638 and their news-pamphlets appeared until the eve of the Civil War. The despatches in these early newspapers are headed, as in our own, with the place of origin and the date.

¹ Eighteen numbers have been reproduced from the originals by P. van Stockum under the title, *The First Newspapers of England, Printed in Holland 1620-1621* (the Hague, 1914).

² British Museum, c. 55, e. 2.

³ Order of the Council, Oct. 17, 1632, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1631-1633, p. 426; Gardiner, *History of England*, VII. 206.

⁴ Warrant, Dec. 20, 1638. *Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1638-1639, p. 182.

So long as the reporters confined themselves to events happening in the city from which they wrote accurate information was furnished. The rest was mere conjecture and rumor. So we find, in the Amsterdam paper of December 2, 1620, the following despatch from Cologne dated November 24: "that the Duke of Beyren should have any folk within Prague, is yet uncertaine, there-uppon under the merchants with us, in Neurenberge are laid many 100 Florins that the Emperour, nor the Duke of Beyeren have no folk within Prage."⁵ The victorious forces of the emperor and the duke actually entered the city on November 9!

No attempt was made to compose an English narrative of the events of the Thirty Years' War until 1623, when Edward Grimestone wrote a continuation of the *Imperial Historie, or the Lives of the Emperours*. Besides the English pamphlet-literature, Grimestone made use of the contemporary German historians Lundorp⁶ and "Gothardus";⁷ and the "French Mercurie". In describing military events, he only once cites an eye-witness, when a "discreet gentleman" gave him an account of the battle of the White Hill (1620). In telling of the circumstances attending Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian throne, he also informs the reader that he has received his information from "a worthy judicious knight in those parts". Although not printed until 1653, *The History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of King James the First*, by Arthur Wilson, should be mentioned here, for the historian accompanied Sir Horace Vere to the Palatinate, and wrote an interesting first-hand account of the campaign of 1620.⁸

Of far greater importance than the above works is *The Swedish Intelligencer*, printed in four parts in 1632 and 1633 for Butter and Bourne.⁹ It is evidently the work of a single author, generally be-

⁵ P. van Stockum, *op. cit.*

⁶ *Imperial Historie*, pp. 783-784.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 760, 827. Probably Gotthard Arthus, author from 1603 to 1626 of *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*, a news-periodical printed in Cologne.

⁸ *The History of Great Britain*, etc., pp. 136-139.

⁹ *The Swedish Intelligencer*, The first part . . . from his Majesties First Enttring into the Empire, untill his Great Victory . . . at the Battle of Leipsich . . . 1632; *The Swedish Intelligencer*, The Second Part . . . from the Victory of Leipsich, unto the Conquest of Bavaria . . . 1632; *The Swedish Intelligencer*, The Third Part . . . from the Norimberge Leaguer, unto . . . the Victory of Lutzen, With the Election of the Young Queene of Sweden: and the Diet of Heilbrun . . . 1633; *The Swedish Intelligencer*, The Fourth Part, Relating the Chiefest of those Military Actions of the Swedish Generalls: wherein the King himselfe was not Personally with the Armie . . . 1633. There is a bibliographical note on *The Swedish Intelligencer* and its continuation, by J. Frantz, entitled "Ein Englischer Bericht über den Dreissigjährigen Krieg", in *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie*, August Wilmanns . . . gewidmet (Leipzig, 1903).

lieved to be Dr. William Watts, a learned scholar of his day.¹⁰ He is very frank in giving the sources of his information. First there are "the papers of an honourable personage; a Commander of prime credit and activitie, with that victorious King. Wee", he continues, "have beene made to understand much of these Actions, by discourse with another gallant Gentleman: and he also a great Commander in the Army. Some printed High Dutch bookes we have had. For some things we have had private writing, and from good hands too. In other things we have made use of Gallobelgicus:¹¹ especially where he deales upon publick Record, and where we thought the poore man durst speake freely: Some times, sure, he writes but by Commission; and is everywhere sparing in reporting the Emperours losses. And yet in this", magnanimously remarks our author, "to take away all exception we have followed him too; notwithstanding wee by others found greater numbers and defeates, specified. Very good use have wee made of the Weekly Currantoes too: which if a man of judgement reades, he shall for the most part finde (especially of latter times) very true, and very punctuall. Whosoever will be cunning in the Topography of Germany, and would understand these warres, let him not despise Currantoes. All this, lastly hath passed the allowance of a Gentleman (of the best judgement and intelligence for these matters) in the Kingdome."¹²

The greatest value of *The Swedish Intelligencer* naturally must lie in those portions written on the authority of actors or eyewitnesses of the events described, and it is therefore worth while discussing a few of these. The battle of Breitenfeld (September 7, 1631)¹³ has been the subject of careful and painstaking research, and yet the most recent of its historians finds scarcely any informa-

¹⁰ See article in the *D. N. B.* The claim of Watts is based on Anthony à Wood's statement that he wrote "The History of Gustavus Adolphus" and that "He hath also published the several numbers of News Books in the English tongue (more than 40) containing the occurances done in the wars between the King of Sweden and the Germans. All published before the civil wars of England began". *Fasti Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss), part I., p. 383. Though without authority, the British Museum assigns the authorship of *The Swedish Intelligencer* to Sir Thomas Roe, while Mrs. Green in her life of *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (ed. Lomas), p. 289, n. 2, refers to the manuscript of *The Swedish Intelligencer*, by Roe. However this reference (Harl. MS. 7010, f. 228), is incorrect, and I have been unable to find the manuscript.

¹¹ *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*, the German news-periodical. The portion covering the years 1628-1634 is by J. P. Abelin, author of the *Theatrum Europaeum*. See article on Abelin in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.

¹² "Preface to the Reader", *The Swedish Intelligencer, the First Part*.

¹³ The dates throughout are old style.

tion concerning the part played by the brigades of Vitzthum and Hepburn.¹⁴ A detailed account, however, is given on the authority of Lieutenant-Colonel Muschamp of Colonel Lumsdell's Scots regiment which formed a part of Hepburn's brigade.¹⁵ One can well understand that the attack on the Imperialist infantry by the Scots brigade, and the rout of the enemy, gave Gustavus Adolphus great satisfaction.¹⁶

An event of some interest, because of the peculiar circumstances attending it, is the capture of Hanau on November 1, 1631, by a Swedish and German force commanded by Lieutenant Christopher Hubald. The incident is carefully examined in a history of Hanau during the Thirty Years' War.¹⁷ An influential party of the burghers and the Count of Hanau himself were favorable to Gustavus Adolphus. One of the burghers, Daniel De Latre, by a well-timed feast given to Major Brandeis the commander of the citadel, prevented the giving of the signal which was to bring a body of Tilly's troops into the city. As a result of the dinner, the worthy major was in no condition to perform his part.¹⁸ There are two varying contemporary accounts of Hubald's seizure of the town on that same night. According to one, he stormed first the "Altstadt" and then the "Neustadt"; and Major Brandeis was at once taken prisoner. The second account tells of a lull before the attack on the "Neustadt" during which time Hubald negotiated with Brandeis and induced him to surrender. The modern historian accepts the first and rejects the latter account.¹⁹ Turning now to *The Swedish Intelligencer*, we find that the story is told by a son of Daniel De Latre, "a merchant now living in London" who "was at that time with his Father in Hanau".²⁰ Here we find substantially the account rejected by the modern historian. So also in the accounts given of the capture of Oppenheim (December 7-8, 1631),²¹ the storming of

¹⁴ W. Opitz, *Die Schlacht bei Breitenfeld* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 109-110.

¹⁵ "The Famous Victorie of Leipsich" (or Breitenfeld) is printed in *The Swedish Discipline* which was bound with *The Swedish Intelligencer* when the four parts appeared as one book in 1634.

¹⁶ R. Monro, *His Expedition*, etc. (1637), II. 66.

¹⁷ R. Wille, *Hanau im Dreissigjährigen Kriege* (Hanau, 1886).

¹⁸ Wille, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-63, 612-625.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64, 625-638.

²⁰ *The Swedish Intelligencer*, pt. II., pp. 22-26. According to his son, the elder De Latre was one of the negotiators. The taking prisoner of the Count of Hanau, rejected by Wille, is accounted for as follows: "This was done in a seeming good earnest, to put off all suspicion of a plot, from him."

²¹ *Ibid.*, pt. II., pp. 43-49, 141-149. "Mr. Robert Marsham, who personally accompanied Colonel Hebron [Hepburn] in all these Actions" is the authority cited (*ibid.*, pt. II., p. 46).

Kreuznach (February 18-20),²² and the famous assault on the "Alte Veste" (August 24),²³ *The Swedish Intelligencer* gives important information. Wherever the author relies on friends who took part in the campaigns, the work should be given a high place as an original authority on the military history of the Thirty Years' War.²⁴ The work was continued under various titles to the year 1639,²⁵ though the author is no longer the same. It is still a good contemporary history, lacking however the first-hand knowledge of its original numbers.

What may well be called the first British regimental history appeared in 1637 from the pen of Robert Monro. *Monroe his Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment, called MacKay's Regiment*, is a Scottish officer's account of his experiences in the service first of Christian IV. of Denmark, and then of Gustavus Adolphus. The book is too well known to demand a detailed criticism. Atten-

²² *The Swedish Intelligencer*, pt. II., pp. 77-83. "The Story whereof wee have received, partly from a Letter written by a Scottish Commander unto my Lord Reay: and partly from the Relation by word of mouth made by Sir Jaacob Ashlye, at his late being in England."

²³ The king of Sweden's assault on the fortified hill, the "Alte Veste", adjoining Wallenstein's camp at Fürth, is the subject of a monograph, *Geschichte Altenbergs und der Alten Veste bei Fürth*, by G. T. C. Frommüller. The author has used Harte's *History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus* (1759), who in turn appears to have utilized *The Swedish Intelligencer*. Compare *The Swedish Intelligencer*, pt. III., pp. 43, 45-46, with Harte, II. 240, 244-245.

²⁴ Droysen writes: "Wir dürfen unbedenklich sagen, dass unter den ungefährgleichzeitigen Bearbeitungen über Gustav Adolfs deutschen Krieg der *Swedish Intelligencer* weitaus die beste ist. Nur dass er um desswillen nicht auch die beste, nicht einmal dass er eine gute Quelle für diese Zeit zu sein braucht. Dass man das Werk für eine Quelle nehme beansprucht sein Verfasser nicht einmal." (*Die Schlacht bei Lützen*, p. 216.) Droysen is particularly concerned here with its value as an authority for the battle of Lützen; but he is, I believe, unfair to those portions of the work to which I have called attention.

²⁵ Short titles are as follows: *Germany, The Continuation of the German History, The Fifth Part . . . 1633; The History of the Present Warres of Germany, A Sixth Part . . . 1634; A Supplement to the Sixth Part of the German History . . . 1634; The German History continued. The Seventh Part . . . 1634; The Modern History of the World, The Eight Part . . . 1635; No. 1, The Principall Passages of Germany, Italy, France, and Other Places for these Last Sixe Monethes Past . . . 1636; No. 2, The Continuation of the Actions, Passages, and Occurrances, both Politike and Polemicall . . . 1637; Diatelesma, No. 3, The Moderne History of the World . . . 1637; Diatelesma, The Second Part of the Moderne History of the World . . . 1638; Diatelesma, The Fifth Part or Number . . . 1639.*

The library of Columbia University possesses a set of *The Swedish Intelligencer* and its continuation with the exception of the last number, which is to be found only in the British Museum. But the British Museum lacks *A Supplement to the Sixth Part*.

tion may however be called to its peculiar composition. After the discharge of each military "dutie" an "observation" follows filled with classical and Biblical analogies and moralizings. When not engaged in fighting the soldier appears to have read widely.

The ruin of Germany, after years of continual warfare, is nowhere better described than in the modest pamphlet by William Crowne, gentleman,²⁶ who accompanied the Earl of Arundell on a diplomatic mission to the Emperor in 1636. From Cologne the ambassador and his train were towed up the Rhine in a boat drawn by nine horses, "by many villages pillaged and shot down". At Bacharach "the poor people are found dead with grass in their mouths". The party entered Rüdesheim where they saw "poor people praying where dead bones were in a little old house, and here his Excellency gave some relief to the poor which were almost starved as it appeared by the violence they used to get it from one another". At Mainz the ambassador found it necessary to stay on shipboard for his meals, for there was "nothing in the town to relieve us, since it was taken by the King of Sweden, and miserably battered". There was such a rush for the food sent from the ship that people pushed each other into the river in their eagerness to obtain some of it. From Cologne to Frankfort, Crowne tells, "all the towns, villages and castles be battered, pillaged or burned". Passing up the Main through Würzburg, they arrived at Neustadt, "which hath been a fair city, though now pillaged and burned miserably, here we saw poor children sitting at their doors almost starved to death, to whom his Excellency gave order for to relieve them with meat and money to their parents". Travelling through the Upper Palatinate, they passed "by churches demolished to the ground, and through woods in danger, understanding that Crabbats²⁷ were lying hereabouts". They had dinner at a little village called Heman "which hath been pillaged eight-and-twenty times in two years and twice in one day, and they have there no water but that which they save when it raineth". Reaching the Danube they continued the journey by boat, still meeting with ruined villages and people seeking relief.²⁸

²⁶ *A True Relation of All the Remarkable Places and Passages observed in the Travels of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Howard, Earle of Arundell and Surrey, etc.*, by William Crowne, gentleman (London, 1637). William Crowne, according to Oldys, was the father of John Crowne, the Restoration dramatist. D. N. B.

²⁷ *I.e.*, Croatsians.

²⁸ Crowne, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-17.

Other pamphlets²⁹ appeared to tell of the horrors suffered by the civilian population; but none can compare with the sober account given by Crowne.

ELMER A. BELLER.

LINCOLN AND MEADE AFTER GETTYSBURG

MR. GEORGE H. THACHER, president of the City Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y., sends the following communication, conveying statements which he received from the late Robert T. Lincoln, and to which he believes that Mr. Lincoln desired that publicity should be given, although he did not precisely say so. He says that Mr. Lincoln gave him this information one summer day, when they were playing golf at Manchester, Vermont, that the following summer he asked him, under similar circumstances, to repeat the story to him, and that he recorded its substance immediately, but did not make it public during Mr. Lincoln's life, because he feared it might involve him in invitations to a correspondence he would be unable to undertake.

After the Battle of Gettysburg, heavy rains had swollen the Potomac to such an extent that the rushing waters had carried away the bridge at Williamsport. This fact placed General Lee in a perilous situation, for it was by this avenue that he must escape the Federal forces, if he were to escape at all. Meade's army, a portion of which was made up of 40,000 trained veterans, greatly outnumbered that of Lee. Of the situation President Lincoln was early and fully aware, and his sagacity led him to appreciate the golden opportunity that then presented itself for speedily bringing the war to a favorable conclusion. Referring to this war-time crisis, Mr. Robert T. Lincoln told me as follows: "Entering my father's room right after the Battle of Gettysburg, I found him in tears, with head bowed upon his arms resting on the table at which he sat. 'Why, what is the matter, father', I asked. For a brief interval he remained silent, then raised his head, and the explanation of his grief was forthcoming. 'My boy', said he, 'when I heard that the bridge at Williamsport had been swept away, I sent for General Haupt and asked him how soon he could replace the same. He replied, 'If I were uninterrupted I could build a bridge with the material there within twenty-four hours and, Mr. President, General Lee has engineers as skillful as I am'. Upon hearing this I at once wrote Meade to attack without delay, and if successful to destroy my letter, but in case of failure to preserve it for his vindication. I have just learned that at a Council of War, of Meade and his Generals, it had been determined not to pursue Lee, and now the opportune chance of ending this bitter struggle is lost.' What I tell you, George", Mr. Lincoln impressively continued, "are the facts in the case, Nicolay and Hay, and all others, to the contrary notwithstanding." Had

²⁹ P. Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany* . . . (London, 1638), is illustrated.

Meade obeyed his instruction Lee no doubt would have been compelled to surrender. As it was the war was to be carried on, and more lives were to be sacrificed. The President was bitterly disappointed and expressed his feeling in a letter which he penned subsequently, and still later suppressed.¹ While there may have been political reasons sufficiently weighty to modify extreme censure of Meade, nevertheless the magnanimity of the President, in withholding knowledge of his positive order to Meade, rose to a height wholly commensurate with the greatness that characterized Abraham Lincoln. Many inferences may be drawn from what is here related, controversies, perhaps, engendered, but whatever may ensue there can be no question as to the immobile truth contained in the recital of the above incident by Robert Todd Lincoln.

GEORGE H. THACHER.

¹ Text in Nicolay and Hay, VII. 280-281.

DOCUMENTS

Major-General Henry Lee and Lieutenant-General Sir George Beckwith on Peace in 1813.

ON June 18, 1812, Congress declared war on Great Britain. A few days later, a Baltimore newspaper, the *Federal Republican*, having published vigorous denunciations of the war, a mob made a violent attack upon its house. Friends of the editors defended it, under the direction of Major-General Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry" of the Revolutionary War). At the jail, to which these Federalist defenders were conducted for safety, they were again attacked by the mob, which broke into the building, killed one of their number, a Revolutionary veteran, and inflicted upon General Lee (as upon several others) very severe injuries, from the effects of which he never recovered, dying in 1818. In the spring of 1813, under medical advice to seek recuperation in the West Indies, he was enabled to go to Barbados, despite war-time conditions, through the good offices of President Madison and of Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, then commander-in-chief on the North American station. President Madison and he had been born but a few miles apart in Virginia, had served together in 1787 as delegates of that state in the Continental Congress, and had not been fatally estranged by subsequent political differences. In the biographical sketch which General Robert E. Lee prefixed to his edition of his father's *Memoirs of the War* [of the Revolution] *in the Southern Department of the United States* (New York, 1869, p. 54), there is printed a letter from Lee to Madison, dated Barbados, August 24, 1813, expressing his gratitude to the President and to Admiral Warren for making possible his voyage, and sending the President Madeira and a green turtle.

Lieutenant-General Sir George Beckwith was governor of Barbados from 1808 to 1814, and commander-in-chief of the military forces in the Windward and Leeward Islands, in which capacity he conquered Martinique in 1809 and Guadeloupe in 1810, but he is best known to American readers as informal representative of British diplomacy in the United States in the period just preceding the appointment of a regularly accredited British minister. In that capacity he paid five visits to this country in the period from 1787 to 1791. Their history may be traced in the appropriate portions of the Canadian Archives Report for 1890, in Professor Bemis's *The*

Jay Treaty, and most succinctly in a memorial of Beckwith to Dundas, June 20, 1792, printed in an appendix to that volume.¹ As Henry Lee attended the Continental Congress in New York in both 1787 and 1788 as a delegate from Virginia,² it is very likely that his acquaintance with Beckwith began at that time.

The following documents are from the British Public Record Office, C.O. 28: 82.

I. BECKWITH TO BATHURST.³

Confidential

BARBADOS 26th Novem'r 1813.

My Lord,

I have the honor to submit Six Inclosures, numbered from One to Six, to Your Lordship's consideration.

These Papers disclose a correspondence that has passed between General Henry Lee of Virginia, and myself, on the subject of Peace, which might perhaps have been declined by me with propriety in the first instance; but having neither sought nor shunned it, and conceiving it now brought to a close, I feel it my duty to report what has passed.

I have already mentioned to Mr. Goulburn,⁴ that General Lee came to this Government about the end of June last, with strong recommendations from Sir John Warren and from Colonel Barclay⁵ and I have extended towards him every countenance and protection to which his ill Health, general Character, and Introduction entitled him; but I apprehend he will never recover those wounds and bruises, especially about the Head, which he received from the Baltimore Rioters. He remains here for the present.

I have the honor to be with great respect, etc.

GEO. BECKWITH.

Earl Bathurst

II. LEE TO BECKWITH.

"More recently the true Policy of the British Government towards the United States, has been completely unfolded. It has been publicly declared by those in power, that the Orders in Council should not be repealed, until the French Government had revoked all its internal restraints on the British Commerce, and that the Trade of the United States with France and her Allies should be prohibited, until Great Britain was also allowed to trade with them. By this declaration it appears, that to satisfy the pretensions of the British Government, the United States

¹ Pp. 275-277.

² *Journals* (ed. 1823), IV. 738, 840.

³ Henry, third Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.

⁴ Henry Goulburn, M. P., was under-secretary of state for war and the colonies; later he was one of the commissioners representing Great Britain at Ghent, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

⁵ Col. Thomas Barclay, British consul general at New York from 1799 to 1812, was British agent for prisoners of war in the United States from his appointment on December 11, 1812 (landed in New York, April 1, 1813), until September, 1814.

must join Great Britain in the War with France, and prosecute the War, until France should be subdued."

My Dear Sir,

The above is taken out of the Report of the foreign Committee to Congress,⁶ which Report may be deemed the harbinger of our deplorable War.

The Allegation against the British Government is so extraordinary, that I cannot bring myself to believe it possible, and as I am anxious to inform myself accurately upon the subject, I take the liberty of asking from you its solution.

With unchangeable respect and real regard

I have the Honor to be, Your Excellency's etc.

HENRY LEE.

8 Sept. 1813.

Sir Geo. Beckwith

III. BECKWITH TO LEE.

BARBADOS 12th October 1813.

My Dear Sir,

Your note of the 8th of September, subjoined to a short extract of a Report of a Committee of Congress, on your Foreign Relations, but which, you delivered to me personally, upon the 9th Instant, I cannot reply to, from the want of the requisite information.

It may be observed, in general terms, that no just opinion can be formed of a paper of this sort, by a reference to a short extract. It is necessary to peruse the whole, attentively, in order to ascertain with precision, its real object. I am inclined to think from what you have given, that this report is published by your Government, as an answer to the late Memorial or Petition of Massachusetts,⁷ and with a view to draw away the public feeling in the Eastern States, and of many enlightened Individuals in other parts of the Union, from the origin of the War, the mode in which it has been conducted and its real objects; and it appears to be the wish, to excite an Alarm in New England, respecting the carrying Trade and even the Fisheries, in both of which great objects, that industrious and persevering People, are deeply interested.

I should think the great work of peace, far from a difficult object in the hands of Men, who will be pleased to divest themselves of passion and listen to the dictates of reason. The sound Principle seems to be, that nothing should be asked on one side, that would not be conceded on the other, in return.

Has the United States, a rising Maritime Power, and actually such at this hour, no permanent interest, in claiming the exclusive Services of her Native Eastern Seamen?

If principle did not forbid it, and was it not impracticable in its execution, I would as a matter of profit and loss, give you all *our Renegades*, in exchange for *your* Young New England Seamen, who are

⁶ Calhoun's report to the House of Representatives made on behalf of its Committee on Foreign Relations June 3, 1812, printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 570.

⁷ Memorial of June 2, 1812, printed in *Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong., 1 sess., col. 259.

numerous, and as fine Young Men, as I ever saw. Yet are *you* the Aggressors in this War, in which you have nothing essential to gain, and much, very much to lose; in a war, where failure is disgrace, and success destruction—the loss of Liberty and the introduction of Military Tyranny.

I have the honor to be etc.

GEO. BECKWITH.

General Henry Lee.

IV. LEE TO BECKWITH.

BARBADOS 10th November 1813.

My Dear Sir,

My reflections on the sad and wanton war, waged by my Country against yours, make me wonder and weep by turns.

These agitating sensations were latterly tranquilized by the presumption, that our Ministers sent to St. Petersburg,⁸ would under the Mediation of Russia, have restored Peace and intercourse; but unhappily for both Nations, my fond hope turns out illusory.

It seems indubitable, that our Embassadors are on their voyage home, without having advanced one step towards Peace; and war, with its iliad of woe, must consequently continue to embitter and destroy two kindred People, disposed to preserve and perpetuate, mutual amity and good will.

What aggravates the National and Individual ills which grow out of the War, is, that really the acknowledged object, can never be effected, without the destruction of one of the Parties, an event impossible, and if practicable to be deprecated by the Civilised World, especially by the United States.

This concise statement, of our condition and prospects leads to one conclusion, namely, that no effort ought to be left unessayed, to put an end to Calamity alike grievous and destructive.

I am persuaded you will agree with me in my conclusion and that you would cheerfully lend a helping hand to perpetuate the good work.

To me it appears certain, that every obstacle in the way of pacification would be readily surmounted, if those authorised to negotiate were single minded, candid and sincere.

Your Country openly and explicitly avows her determination to seize her own subjects, whenever found employed in neutral Vessels: at the same time with equal explicitness avows, that she will never knowingly take our Seamen, and that whenever this shall happen, which sometimes must, from our resemblance to each other, the sailor shall be restored the moment his nativity is proved. We do not pretend any right to the use of your subjects, and only wish the exclusive use of our own Citizens.

These Principles brought into Action, will produce Peace.

Your Government will I presume cheerfully admit them as the basis of a treaty between the Two Countries and although mine may not cordially relish such conclusions of the war, it must in conformity to the will of the nation acquiesce. It is an easy task to draft a Treaty embodying these Principles, followed by all the minor details, necessary to give them full and faithful execution.

Would to God I could be assured that Great Britain was willing to stop the war, as I verily believe her to be, in the manner suggested, in-

⁸ Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard.

firm as I am, I would hasten to my Country and hasten back to you, with the wished for Answer, which I am persuaded would be in the Affirmative.

Your own solicitude to shut the door of the Temple of Janus, will I am sure be my adequate Apology, for the Freedom with which I have addressed you.

Accept my best wishes for your Health and Happiness and believe me to be with the highest respect and regard

Your Excellency's etc.

HENRY LEE.

Sir Geo. Beckwith

V. BECKWITH TO LEE.

BARBADOS 15 November 1813.

My Dear Sir,

I have read with particular attention, your letter of the 10th Instant, which accords so much with my sentiments, in its general feeling and principle, that I judge it unnecessary to do more, than to refer you to mine, addressed to you upon the 12th of October last, on the important subject of our correspondence.

An honorable Peace is most devoutly to be wished for, but the wish must be mutual and sincere. Irritating Language and harsh measures towards unoffending Individuals, not in Arms, increase the difficulties of Approximation and convey an impression, that the Policy of your Administration, is founded on a desire to widen the breach and to excite a general spirit of animosity, amongst the Young and the high minded, whose feelings, in early Life, glow with an ardent sense of Glory, and a powerful love of Country—Whilst I, who view every drop of Blood, shed on either side, as a sacrifice to Tyranny, am filled with amazement, that the general voice of your discerning Country, does not speak a language, not to be misunderstood, which would lead to a cessation of the war, and to a fair adjustment of our differences.

These are the opinions of a private Man, on this great Question, but they are the result of reflection and considerable local knowledge, and if the Gentlemen to whom your Country has thought proper to confide the direction of its Councils, are now actuated by an honest desire, for the restoration of Peace, I think early measures might be adopted to stop the effusion of Human Blood and to employ Persons of high and enlightened Characters, to take up this most important subject in the language and the spirit too, of the most perfect conciliation and Peace.

I have the Honor to be etc.

GEO. BECKWITH.

Genl. Henry Lee.

VI. LEE TO BECKWITH.

BARBADOS 16th November 1813.

My Dear Sir,

I duly received the answer which your Excellency has been pleased to give to my last letter. In it, I find confirmed the sentiments expressed in your favor of the 12th of October with the solacing declaration, that early means might be found, to stop the effusion of Human Blood, and that Peace might readily be effected, "in the language and spirit of the most perfect conciliation" provided my Government "was actuated by an honest desire" to accomplish the important and desirable end.

From my personal knowledge of the President and Secretary of State, with both of whom, I held various conversations, before my departure from Home, on the subject of Peace, I can venture to assert, repugnant as may be appearances, that no event is more dear to the President's heart, than the immediate restoration of Peace on honorable Terms. By the latter expression, I mean not to intimate that Doctrines inadmissible on the part of Great Britain will be contended for, but that Peace will be sincerely sought, compatible with the Principles always claimed by your Government, and which are not only sanctioned by immemorial usage, but vitally affect the existence of your Nation.

Let these Principles be made to bend in practice, to Humanity and Moderation and perpetuate amity, rather than excite discord between our Countries.

To delineate with more precision my opinion, I subjoin on another Paper, a sketch of a Treaty, confined to the main point of controversy between us, dismissing all minor Matters, as the latter can be easily settled in the hour of pacification.

The three topics of dispute which led to our declaration of War, were, orders in Council, the mode of Blockade, and impressment of our Seamen—a fourth seems now edging in, effect of naturalization. This we will pass over, hoping that it will never be introduced, if it is, it must be put to rest. The orders in Council are at rest, as is blockade, but having aided in leading to the War, it is politic to glance at them. This consideration I entreat, and when you amend my sketch, which I pray, erase, change, curtail or amplify.

My Wish is to produce a just and agreeable Plan of restoring Peace, in which I know your superior Talents and experience can greatly contribute.

I have always found that whenever we urge the adoption of a measure, especially of magnitude, it is prudent to present the mode of effecting the end, as it brings the Parties to the more immediate consideration of the proposition, and smoothes the difficulties which ever more or less encompass the endeavours of Man.

Do my Dear Sir, turn your mind to our blood stained Nations and lead in returning the sword to its scabbard.

With the highest respect and regard, I have the Honor to be etc.

HENRY LEE.

Sir Geo. Beckwith, K. B.

First Inclosure containing the Heads of a Project for a Treaty.

After the common ceremonial is put down

Proceed

Whereas the blessings of Peace ought always to be restored, when to be effected with due regard to mutual honor and mutual interest, We do determine and agree, that the existing war shall terminate in every quarter of the Globe as soon as the present Treaty shall be mutually ratified and at the times following that Act, on the days hereinafter specified.

The Orders in Council on the part of Great Britain, being one of the alleged causes of the War, declared by the United States, before the repeal of the said Orders was known to its Government, cannot now be considered as a Topic of discussion, having been repealed.

In like manner may the Question of Blockade, another alleged cause of the War, be considered as put at rest, in as much as the signification of Blockade as claimed by Great Britain, comports with the principle avowed by the United States.

There remains then only the impressment of Seamen to be discussed.

To wave every possible Topic, whose discussion might confound or delay the conclusion of Peace, so sincerely desired by both the contracting Nations, it is agreed that the right to impress Seamen, the Citizens of one and Subjects of the other from private Vessels belonging to either and from neutral Vessels shall remain To each Nation—But, that principles to be specified in the Treaty, shall govern its exercise, and so long as the object in view shall thereby be effectually executed, both nations will abstain from practising the right of impressment, to be resumed by either and both, whenever the end in view viz, the exclusive use of their respective Seamen, shall not be practically secured. To give effect to the said Principles Laws shall be passed, at the first Sessions of Congress and of Parliament, making among other Things, the owner of the Vessel and Cargo, and Captain of the said Vessel, responsible in heavy damages by the Captain, for every individual found in such Vessel, the Citizen or Subject of either nation, as the case may be; also making it the duty of the owner and Captain of every Vessel, when clearing out from the Ports of either Nation, to give into the Custom House, a roll of the Crew, specifying the name and place of Birth, of each Man inrolled, which shall be signed and retained, and an official Copy thereof be given to the Captain, to be submitted by him to the proper Officers at the Ports said Vessel may enter, who may examine the Crew and may detain any Individual or Individuals found to be erroneously enrolled, and furthermore shall legally proceed against the owner or Captain, or both, as provided and directed by Statute, made and provided in such case.

It is further agreed and declared, that as soon as the ratification of this Treaty, on the part of Great Britain shall be known to the Government of the United States, orders shall be forwarded to the Commander in Chief of its Armies, stopping Military operations and relinquishing all Posts it may hold in Canada, every part of which shall be given up forthwith and the Territory of each Nation shall comport to the *Statu quo ante Bellum*.

In like manner, The Government of Great Britain, shall on ratification of the Treaty transmit Orders to the Commanders of its Army and Fleet in America, to desist from offensive operations of every sort the moment a Copy of the ratification by the Government of the United States, shall be officially announced to them.

Second Inclosure

My vexatious wound is closing without pain. My anxiety to try the Sea for a week or two continues, and as Mr. Beverley, by the last account is seriously sick, I may if I find a conveyance go to him.

Whatever letters you may honor me with, will be, I am sure my best protection, and will be thankfully received. You know that I am incapable of abusing the Hospitality given to me.

VII. BECKWITH TO LEE.

BARBADOS 18th November 1813.

My Dear Sir,

I was favored yesterday with your letter of the 16th Instant, and with its two accompanying Inclosures, one of which contained the heads of your project for a Treaty, the other your short Note, respecting the state of your health.

Under my impressions of the condition of affairs, betwixt our two Countries, as they appear to exist, to the 8th of October; I confess I did not flatter myself, that your administration, which eagerly sought the war, had ever evinced, even in its declarations, public or private, anything of a pacific spirit, nor did the Russian Mediation, seem to me a proof to the contrary; for the measure of sending Ministers to St. Petersburg, on such an object, when Powers existed in the Chesapeake to suspend Hostilities, had more the aspect of a procrastinating Policy, to watch the events of the War in Europe, than an honest change of system, by the restoration of Peace.

Your declaration, however, to the contrary, in so far as respected the President and the Secretary of State, founded on your conversation with both, convinces me, that they were pleased to hold a different language to you, before your departure from Home; yet, true it is, that pacific overtures were made to your administration, which included Mr. Maddison and Mr. Munroe, both by Sir John Warren and by Sir George Prevost, which were peremptorily rejected.⁹

It should seem natural, therefore, if any change shall have since arisen, of a pacific tendency, on the part of your Government, that it should be made to appear to be the case, all our sincere endeavours, in the first instance to avert, and subsequently to suspend Hostilities, having proved ineffectual.

I do not feel justified in entering into details, but this is a secondary object; provided the intention should be truly pacific in both sides, I cannot think great difficulties will occur on this point, if conducted by honorable minds competent to the subject.

You justly observe "that the orders in Council are at rest"; they were indeed an ostensible, but not the real cause of the War; "and that the blockading system is admitted by your Government under certain Modifications".

The question of impressment of Seamen we have been most explicit upon; whilst we possess a Man of War, it can never be abandoned; but we admit the right to be perfectly reciprocal and we have no desire to infringe it. It may therefore be mutually secured by Regulations.

I shall feel happy, if since your departure from the States, no measures of a contrary tendency, may have been adopted by your administration, but it strikes me that Mr. Mason's Circular letter, dated Washington the

⁹ The overtures made by Sir John Warren may be read in Warren to Monroe, September 30, 1812, in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, III. 595. It will be seen from Monroe's reply, which follows, *ibid.*, that they were not "peremptorily rejected". Similarly, Sir George Prevost's proposals, for an armistice on the Canadian frontier, made in early August, were in fact accepted by General Dearborn, with unfortunate results to Hull. *Some Account of the Public Life of Sir George Prevost* (London, 1823), p. 37; H. A. S. Dearborn, *Defence of General Henry Dearborn*, p. 6.

31st of May last and addressed to all the Marshals¹⁰ asserted indeed, to be "a modification of a former order, with a view to indulgence" is in fact a detainer "on all British Subjects, according in principle with the French *detenu*", but milder in its execution; yet the mitigations evidently proceed from interested motives, distinct from considerations of Humanity. This important letter professes to regard Alien Enemies and consequently emanates from the office of the Commissary General of Prisoners of War; but it is in truth a state Paper, on the part of your Government, regulating the naturalization of our Subjects, by Municipal Authority.

We claim in common with every Independent Nation, more especially France, the Allegiance of all our People. We deny their right to alienate it; and will never concede to any Foreign Power, the exercise of doing so, by Municipal Regulations.

In these opinions, I write from the best of my belief, as a private Man, but without any Authority whatever.

Such is my train of thinking on this great question. That you entertain an earnest desire for the restoration of peace, I firmly believe, and that you join me in opinion, that it would be difficult for any Statesman, in either Country, to assign a good reason for the continuance of this war, I entertain little doubt, but I can go no further than I have done.

I learn with real satisfaction, that your distressing wound is closing up. I strongly recommend your not trifling with it, surrounded as you are, by our Medical Officers, and by Surgeons of the first reputation.

I shall endeavour to afford you every protection, of which my situation and the times shall admit, for your comfort and security whenever you will point out to me, specifically, the route you mean to take, and your ultimate destination.

I have the Honor, etc.

GEO. BECKWITH.

General Henry Lee.

VIII. BECKWITH TO BATHURST.

Confidential

BARBADOS 24th March 1814.

My Lord

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of Your Lordship's Despatch of the 10th of February last marked Confidential; General Lee had quitted this Government for Porto Rico on his return to the American States, before it reached me, and I possess no means of further intercourse.

I have the honor to be with great respect, My Lord

Your Lordship's

most obedient and

most humble Servant

To

The Right Honorable
Earl Bathurst

GEO. BECKWITH.

¹⁰ Not found.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Writing of History. By JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, WILLIAM CORTEZ ABBOTT, Professor of History in Harvard University, CHARLES W. COLBY, and JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Professor of History in Smith College. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1926. Pp. xii, 143. \$1.50.)

WITHOUT the preface of this book the reader would be puzzled to know why it should be termed the report of a committee. It contains no body of facts, no conclusions, and no recommendations to which all the members of the Committee on the Writing of History subscribe. For reasons which are not stated each has presented his views in a separate chapter, leaving to Professor Bassett the delicate task of tying them together. He has been an adroit editor, giving at least a semblance of unity to a considerable diversity of opinion. The reader will notice, he points out, that one chapter tells how and why the writing of history has fallen from its former high estate; that another chapter discusses the craftsmanship of the historian and its essentials; and that still another recounts the shortcomings of graduate courses in training future historians. No member assumes any responsibility for what the others have written, but all seem to be agreed that historical writing in America is badly done, and that something should be done about it.

M. Jusserand's chapter on the Historian's Work is full of fine sentiment, holding up a lofty ideal and stating admirably what we should all like to be and do, but it contains few suggestions of practical value. He and his associates are well aware, indeed, how hard it is to discuss matters of style and form and not be platitudinous. One trenchant comment on the use of historical proofs however is worth pages of wise discourse on abstract ideals. "The proofs, the references, the discussions of most points", he observes, "should be put at their proper place; that is, in the notes and appendices. The cook has to peel his potatoes, but he does not peel them on the dining-room table." Due consideration of this elementary truth would go far to improve the literary quality of most doctoral dissertations.

Discussing the training of graduate students, Professor Abbott insists that their faults as writers are due in large part to lack of proper training and intelligent reading. "The whole stress has been laid too much on information and on the methods of investigation, too little on presentation." Those who have taught graduate students in history will be disposed to agree with Professor Abbott's insistence on the necessity of wide reading and thoughtful study of the best historical literature. A

sense of literary value comes only by immersing oneself in the best that has been done. It may be, as Professor Abbott contends, that one of the best ways to achieve this end is by introducing in every graduate school a course in historiography.

Nothing could give more point to Professor Abbott's observations than the delightful chapter which Dr. Colby has contributed to the book. In its allusions to historical literature, it bears witness in every page to the sources which have molded Dr. Colby's style. But even he confesses to a certain helplessness when he approaches the matter of practical suggestions. His own remarks seem to him "when itemized to look like a string of platitudes". "None the less", he says truly enough, "a platitude is often a *neglected* truth." And the platitude upon which he dwells is this: that most historians do not take pains enough with their writing—are guilty of a willful neglect of the literary vehicle. Scholarly research, painstaking investigation—yes—but after and beyond all this, attention to presentation. "While the gift of style is possessed by few, the value of most historical works would be increased if their authors tried seriously to express themselves with impact."

So far as the craftsmanship of historians bred in our graduate schools is concerned, M. Jusserand's observation is true, that in America there is nowhere that training in precision and clarity of statement which the French boy receives almost from childhood. "The American 'prentice historian . . . does not grow up so habitually as in France, for instance, in a *milieu* where such traditional disciplines of the mind are practised." So long as men go into our graduate schools who have not lived from childhood in the atmosphere of good literature, they can hardly be expected to become masters of literary expression.

One assertion in this intriguing volume seems to me open to question. I do not find any "unvarying testimony that history is less read to-day than formerly" (p. 94). On the contrary the evidence seems to me to point the other way. Professor Bassett himself alludes later (p. 115) to "the increased interest in history" which "has produced a stronger call for men to teach and write it"; and he declares his belief that "during the last forty years the number of men and women writing history in the United States has largely increased". In the year following the great war the publication of histories actually exceeded the output of fiction. I doubt if there is anything comparable to this in all the nineteenth century—even in the golden age of Prescott and Motley and Irving. At the present time, moreover, history, including biography, stands a respectable third on the list of books published in the United States. There is some exaggeration, too, in arguing that in this golden age of historians the writing of history was more profitable. Prescott, it is said, received seventy-five hundred dollars in cash the day his *Conquest of Peru* went on sale; Irving, over forty thousand dollars for the American edition of his histories, etc. These are dazzling returns, but, if I am credibly informed, they pale into insignificance beside the royalties which are pour-

ing into the pockets of the writer of a certain notable biography recently published. The sales of a certain series of histories with which I have an intimate acquaintance, even in the most expensive edition, have exceeded sixteen thousand sets. And as for the writers of outline histories—but perhaps they do not qualify as historians! The truth of the matter seems to be that more bad histories and more good histories are being published than ever before and that the number of readers is probably both absolutely and relatively larger. There is discouragement as well as cheer in the thought!

ALLEN JOHNSON.

The Art of History: a Study of Four Great Historians of the Eighteenth Century. By J. B. BLACK, M.A., Professor of Modern History, University of Sheffield. (London: Methuen; New York: F. S. Crofts. 1926. Pp. viii, 188. 7 s. 6 d.)

THE four historians chosen to illustrate the art of history in the eighteenth century are Voltaire, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon. The author has taken pains to know, very well indeed, the works of these writers, and he has obviously reflected to some purpose on the illusive subject of "history" and the various ways of writing it. The result is four informed and discriminating essays, well worth reading by any one who is interested either in these particular historians, in the nature of history, or in the thought of the eighteenth century. Little has been written about Robertson, or about Hume as historian, which may be why Professor Black's essays on these two struck me as especially fresh and illuminating. Excellent as his essays on Voltaire and Gibbon are, he has perhaps said nothing new about either. But then wouldn't it be extremely difficult to say anything new about them? All the world has written about Voltaire, twice over; and Walter Bagehot once wrote an essay on Gibbon.

Professor Black's book would be worth while if it were nothing more than four unrelated essays about four historians. But the essays are not unrelated. The subject of the book is not historians but "history", more especially the "art of history", by which is meant the conscious effort to select and co-ordinate and present the facts of the past in such a way that they may have meaning and significance for us now living. In a thoughtful and discriminating introduction Professor Black assures us that history is not a "science", that the facts do not "speak for themselves", and that "history for history's sake" is a played-out game. As a young man I was encouraged to look forward hopefully to the day when, all fields of history having been "definitively" done and presented in properly dull and documented monographs, the final synthesis could be made. Wondering what historians would do then, I secretly hoped that day would not come in my time. It hasn't. It hasn't come yet, and Professor Black seems to say that it never will, that each generation, exploiting the past for its own purposes, will see the past in a different

way. He quotes Buckle, who said the same thing long ago. He finds no difficulty in pointing out the subjective influence that shaped the work of even the most objective of the nineteenth-century historians—for example, the work of von Ranke, Stubbs, Mommsen. Well, the point is that the subjective purpose of the *philosophes* in writing history is even more obvious, precisely because they were conscious of it, admitted it, boasted of it in fact. "They conceived that they held a trust for humanity, not only to delineate faithfully what happened in the past, but also to weigh it in the balances of the present, to assess its value, and to discriminate between what is culturally worth remembering and what is not." History, they said in effect, is the record of human experience. The business of the historian is to disengage from that experience those acts, ideas, customs, and institutions which have won the approval of mankind, and which, for that reason, may be taken as possessing a universal value, as being in some sense in harmony with the nature of man. Thus history, properly studied, should come powerfully to the aid of reason in discovering those "natural laws" upon which enlightened men would consciously build the ideal society.

The chief value of Professor Black's book—the thing which gives it a certain unity and justifies the title—is in indicating how the eighteenth-century interest in history was connected with the general social philosophy of the time, and how this interest and this philosophy gave a certain character to the works of men so different in other respects as Voltaire, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon.

CARL BECKER.

Church Historians. Foreword and index by PETER GUILDAY.
(New York: P. J. Kenedy. 1926. Pp. vii, 430. \$2.75.)

THE title of this readable and instructive volume of biographical and critical essays might lead one to expect more than the authors intended. The publishers' statement that the book is "the history of historical study in the Catholic Church" is absurd. It makes no such attempt. It is not, like Fueter's or Gooch's books, a general discussion and history, but a somewhat unsystematic group of essays on some historians. The titles are as follows: Eusebius, Orosius, St. Bede the Venerable, Ordericus Vitalis, Las Casas, Baronius, Bollandus, Muratori, Moehler, Lingard, Hergenröther, Janssen, Denifle, and Pastor. These biographical essays were read at a meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association last December. It is proposed some time to give another similar symposium when other historians will be discussed. If the future collection contains as good sketches as those on Moehler, by Dr. Leo F. Miller, or on Hergenröther, by Dr. Herman C. Fischer, to mention two of special interest, the volume will be welcome.

In the execution of the present work there is much inequality. The authors apparently had different conceptions of what was expected. The treatment of the more modern men is best. Some are the only extended

biographical sketches available in English. Each essayist has attempted to give the general philosophical point of view of his subject and his conception of historical work. Some of these seem more modern than historically convincing. At times, a little of the panegyric might have been spared; at times the hagiographical style has not been successfully avoided. It is well to know that all these men were good men and pious, but historical merits might have been analyzed more critically. The toning down of extravagant statements and strong language and the forced correction of errors are not quite the same as keeping a work abreast of science. Denifle's less well-known and probably more valuable works have been analyzed and discriminately appraised. But the grievous faults of temper and judgment which Denifle's coreligionists have long since deplored in his *Luther und Luthertum* are not mentioned. The ability of Janssen has been recognized on all sides, but that he had any serious defects as an impartial historian, and that his great work is often only an excellent and useful *ex parte* statement can only be guessed from occasional phrases.

There are some good bibliographical references which will be found useful, though occasional slips are to be found. Thus Plummer did not edit the works of Bede but only his *Opera Historica*. Fueter's *Historiographie* may have appeared in a French translation (Paris, 1914), but it certainly appeared in German (Munich and Berlin, 1911). Some of the essays are provided with foot-notes. It would have been well if they had been used more in all the essays, especially where quotations are made which are often without any reference. On the whole the tone of the book is admirable. The characterization of non-Catholic historians is almost always courteous. Human nature is apt to remain human nature. But except in a few places the *odium theologicum* has been well suppressed. Dr. Guilday, who provides the book with a foreword and edits the volume, will probably be able, in a fresh collection of similar essays, which it is hoped will appear, to bring about more uniformity of treatment.

J. C. A.

De Legationibus Libri Tres. By ALBERICO GENTILI, with a translation by GORDON J. LAING, Professor of Latin, University of Chicago. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1924. Pp. 38a, 231; 37a, x, 208. \$5.00.)

It was due to the efforts of the late Professor Holland that Alberico Gentili (1552-1608) was given a conspicuous place among the fathers of modern international law. Just what that position really should be, considering Grotius, remains even yet to be determined, but Holland made great claims for his Oxford predecessor in his *Inaugural Lecture*

at Oxford (1874) and in his edition of the *De Jure Belli* (1877). In the series of Classics of International Law have properly been included works by Gentili, first the posthumous *Hispanicae Advocacionis Libri Duo* and now the treatise concerning the ambassador. Gentili's *magnum opus*, the *De Jure Belli*, remains as yet without an English translation.

The first volume of the present edition comprises a photographic reproduction of the Latin edition of 1594, printed at Hanau, with an introduction in French by the late Professor Nys. The second contains an English translation of Nys's introduction and Professor Laing's version of the Latin text, the first English translation. The edition of 1594, here used, was the second, the first, in quarto, having a London imprint, 1585. Possibly the first Hanau edition (there was a second in 1607) was chosen because it was accessible. It is not a specimen of printing otherwise worthy of photographic reproduction. Nowhere in Nys's introduction are we given the bibliographical data which we have the right to expect. Indeed not much is to be said in favor of Nys's introduction. It was written in 1920, shortly before his death, and certainly adds nothing to what Holland had printed in 1874, but at least Nys had a good French style, which is utterly lost in the clumsy literalness of the English version.

As to Professor Laing's translation it is readable and convincing as to its accuracy. One may question now and then his universal rendering of *jus gentium* by international law. Certainly in a number of instances it might well have been rendered as the universal law, for while Gentili did use the term as denoting the legal rights and duties between states, the context shows that this meaning was not always in his mind, particularly when distinctions are made between *jus gentium*, *jus naturale*, and *jus civile*. Gentili had a clumsy Latin style, perversely so, it would seem, for he held those jurists in contempt who cultivated a Ciceronian manner (here may be one reason for his neglect since Grotius was professedly Ciceronian); furthermore he lacked orderliness so that this work gives the impression of a preliminary draft rather than of a finished product. His illustrations are nearly always taken from Greek and Latin writers and when one comes across a modern instance it is with a refreshing sense of discovery. He was unfortunately "induced to give preference to ancient customs . . . by the consideration that those which now obtain are commonplace and familiar to all" (p. 61). Yet it was the Mendoza case of 1584 which gave rise to this work, written in the following year, and turned Gentili's attention to international law. In that case Gentili had expressed an opinion that Mendoza should be dismissed and not punished for his complicity in the plot against the queen. It was Sir Philip Sidney, he asserts, who suggested that he go more fully into the subject of the ambassador, his functions, rights, and duties. To Sir Philip Sidney he dedicates the work, and in the final chapter, in which the perfect ambassador is described, he closes with the judgment that the excellent pattern set forth could be found in one man

only, Sir Philip Sidney. Aside from this interesting personal association, the work now reproduced is valuable because it is Gentili's earliest effort in international law, and because, while it is upon a subject upon which much had already been written, a fresh and modern point of view is indicated, and, finally, it discloses Gentili's political and juristic prepossessions: anti-monarchomach, rigidly civilian in theory to the point of absolutism and yet anti-papal—qualities altogether having a good Tudor flavor.

J. S. REEVES.

Les Premières Civilisations. Par GUSTAVE FOUGÈRES, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, GEORGES CONTENAU, Musée du Louvre, RENÉ GROUSSET, Musée Guimet, PIERRE JOUGUET, Faculté des Lettres de Paris, et JEAN LESQUIER, Faculté des Lettres d'Aix. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire Général, publiées sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1926. Pp. vii, 437. 30 fr.)

THIS is the first volume of a new *General History of Peoples and Civilizations* which it is proposed shall be completed in twenty volumes. As to balance, proportion, and perspective it needs only be remarked that one volume is assigned to the Roman Empire, one to Europe at the period of the Crusades, one, almost as a matter of course, to Napoleon, one to the Armaments of the Great War, one to the Contemporary World, one to the intellectual and political renovation of Europe and the American Revolution. Now as to all this one would be much disposed to raise some serious questions, which would not diminish but increase doubt as to the space here allotted in the first volume, which begins with prehistoric Egypt and ends with the conquest of Egypt under Cambyeses, and must between these two comprise the Babylonian and Assyrian empires, the civilizations of Crete and early Greece, the Phoenicians, the Hebrews, the Hittites, the earliest Indo-European migrations, and the foundation of the empire of Iran. The canvas is much too small for the picture, and space reduces the whole to a series of pencil-sketches. Skillful hands have indeed drawn the sketches, for Contenau has proven his right to say what he will of the early Sumerian and Babylonian civilizations, and very well has he here said it. It is however quite impossible to say even so much of the other parts, some of high excellence, and others very weak. The brief sketches of the Hebrew civilization seem largely to disregard completely the results of modern literary and historical criticism, yet the modern literature is set down in the foot-note bibliographies with considerable thoroughness. In the history the traditional order of events is generally followed, and the Biblical literature placed where tradition set it down. ("Daniel à l'époque de l'Exil, milieu du VI^e siècle avant J.-C.", p. 239, n.) While mentioning bibliography it should be said that it is on the whole strong on French and German

writers, fairly good on British, but weak or non-existent on American. It also lacks discrimination. It is in every case prefaced by the phrase "Ouvrages à consulter", and then follows a list of books old and new, and without any indication of relative value.

The chronology is curiously weak and mixed. The latest discoveries are used in one place, such, for example, as 612 for the fall of Nineveh, while in others even older assured results are ignored, as for example the date of Ahab is given as 933-905, and his name stands by the side of Adadnirari II., though it is certainly clear that he fought with Shalmaneser III. in 854 B. C. I confess myself quite at loss for an explanation of such vagaries as these.

Unwilling to condemn the entire volume, which would be manifestly unjust, I feel unable to do more than say in its behalf that some of it is as well done as space would allow, and as specimens of these to mention the Sumerian, Minoan, and early Greek periods, without quite desiring to intimate that there were not other portions also well done. It is however hardly a unified work of general excellence, or good enough for general guidance save for those who can handle it cautiously.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Le Nil et la Civilisation Égyptienne. Par A. MORET, Professeur au Collège de France. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris: Renaissance du Livre. 1926. Pp. xvii, 573. 25 fr.)

FOR the historical series called "L'Évolution de l'Humanité" M. Moret has assembled the data so far available on Egyptian civilization into a comprehensive and readable synthesis which continues a previous volume: *Des Clans aux Empires*. The new book utilizes, in addition to his own former studies, most of the recent literature in its field. Only a few omissions, including G. Elliot Smith, *Egyptian Mummies*, 1924 (p. 461), Peet's new edition of the mathematical Papyrus Rhind, 1923 (p. 521), and Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im Alten Aegypten*, 1924 (p. 528), were noticed. An introduction on Greek and Egyptian sources of information and on the matter of chronology supplies initial perspective.

Part I. offers a possible reconstruction of prehistoric millennia depending largely on evaluation of primitive ensigns, titles and epithets, myths and legends surviving into later days. The author has done with this highly speculative material as well as can be expected at present. May new methods of investigation sometime uncover prehistoric royal burials in Upper Egypt at least!

Part II. traces "royal institutions and society" as culture spread southward from the Delta to Upper Egypt through the "Followers of Horus", who seem first to have united the nation. The historic unification under the first dynasty was really a reunion under Thinite kings of the South, which thenceforth swayed Egyptian destinies. Absolutism under the divine king in the Old Kingdom, feudalism and socialization with a

royal hereafter within the hope of all in the Middle Kingdom, world-outlook and class-consciousness under the Empire, followed by priestly and military supremacies and foreign conquests—these are the better-known stages of Egypt's greatness and downfall.

In part III., "Intellectual life: religion, arts, and sciences", those phases, involved already in earlier portions of the book, are given fuller independent treatments. A summarizing "conclusion", followed by brief general bibliography, corrections and additions (by no means exhaustive), indexes and tables, and 24 plates, completes the volume.

M. Moret offers in general an acceptable presentation of his field for the cultivated non-Egyptologist. In detail, his interpretation of *ym'hw* (p. 288), as "one provided for" by the king or god, is very attractive. But certain points, of which only the most important can be mentioned, demand discussion.

The spiritual element of man (p. 195) is probably not multiple, but consists of the soul (*ba*) only, while the *ka* is a divine external complement to the personality (Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought*, p. 56). All theories on the *ka* are assembled in Mme. Weynants-Ronday's new discussion, *Les Statues Vivantes* (Brussels, 1926), chapter IV. These "living statues" (pp. 422, 446, 462, 496) evidently served a possible need of the dead in the hereafter; but was the *ba* or the *ka* (if either) supposed to animate them? Blackman (in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1916, III. 250-254) has shown that the *serdab* where such statues were hidden was called not "the *ka*-house" but "the statue-house" (*pr twt*).

In the primitive judgment scene in Pyr. 321 (pp. 217 and 465), King Unis seems judging rather than judged, having sat "as *ht'* of the double hall". The unidentified *ht'*-animal can scarcely be the hyena (*hnt*); may it be connected with the *hnt'* of Papyrus Edwin Smith (being edited by Breasted)? Where does Elliot Smith suggest that Amenhotep III.'s father-in-law, Yuya (p. 367), was a Syrian? Two origins of the hieroglyph for god (*ntr*) are offered (pp. 418 and 484). Neither is wholly likely nor yet capable of positive proof.

The etymologies or suggested connections of *šp't* (p. 47), *h'tyt* (p. 88), *r p'ty* (p. 271), and *ntr* (p. 418) are impossible. So the author's reasoning on the conception of deity (*ntr*) needs modification, as may his remarks about three enneads (p. 69). For the writing of three times nine "god"-signs may indicate merely the plural, "enneads". The ideogram naming the second (?) king of the first dynasty (pp. 136 and 287) has been variously read Zer, Khent, or Shesti; but examination of early hieroglyphic forms has convinced the reviewer that Petrie's Zer is still the only possibility among these three.

Considering the length and comprehensiveness of his task, as revealed by the scattered details considered above, our gratitude is certainly due to M. Moret for his accomplishment.

T. GEORGE ALLEN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire. By A. MAWER and F. M. STENTON. [English Place-Name Society, vol. II.] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1925. Pp. xxxii, 274. 18 s.)

The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire. By A. MAWER and F. M. STENTON. [English Place-Name Society, vol. III.] (Cambridge: the University Press. 1926. Pp. xxvii, 316. 18 s.)

In 1924 the English Place-Name Society initiated its programme of publication with a volume dealing with certain general aspects of the new undertaking. This was to be followed by a series of special studies, one for each of the English counties. A few months ago the first of these appeared, a volume devoted to the place-names of Buckinghamshire. The study is the joint product of the men who prepared the earlier volume, Professor Stenton, the well-known historian who some years ago wrote on the place-names of Berkshire, and Allen Mawer, whose chief interest appears to centre about linguistic problems, but who has also studied place-names in Durham and Northumberland.

The study of local names is beset with many difficulties. Very frequently a plausible conjecture is presented with all the apparent authority of established fact; especially is this true in cases where the student places his chief reliance on the operation of phonetic laws. In the present instance, however, the authors have adopted what looks like a very reliable method and they have followed it quite consistently. They have traced the individual names back through the sources—charters, chronicles, assize rolls, and other documents of many kinds—and have noted carefully the various forms under which they appear. In this way a baffling name like Fingest, which in 1163 was written Tingehurst, can be shown to have been originally a Scandinavian name meaning an assembly hill. Unfortunately the sources for Bucks are not numerous for the earlier centuries, but beginning with the twelfth century they are rich and varied.

In a brief, but highly informing, introductory chapter the authors present a series of conclusions which are of real interest to students of Old English history. They believe that south of the Chiltern Hills Saxon invaders began to form settlements toward the close of the sixth century, a generation before the introduction of Christianity. Names of a distinctly heathen origin are, indeed, found in this region, but they are strikingly rare. North of the hills the settlements were made by Anglian clans who probably came at a later date. The persistence of Celtic names indicates that an important British element survived the English conquest. There is also the distinctly Anglo-Saxon name Walton, which may originally have been Wealatun, the village of the Welsh (British)

servants and which seems to point to the conclusion named; but the authors appear to hold that the name is considerably later than the Saxon conquest. In the name Quainton, which was probably Cweningatun in Saxon times, they find "an important addition to the evidence which shows that women, before the Norman Conquest, could hold land and leave their names to their farms".

The work is adequately indexed and is provided with two excellent maps, one indicating the place-names discussed (more than eight hundred) and the other showing the boundaries of the ancient hundreds and civil parishes. The authors have also included a useful series of notes on the peculiarities of the dialect spoken in the area under discussion.

In 1904 the late Professor Skeat published a paper on the place-names of Huntingdonshire, which was followed two years later by a similar study for Bedfordshire. Professor Skeat dealt with only about 350 names, however, and the editors of the present volume, who have discussed more than 650, seem therefore amply justified in making a new survey. Finding that separate studies for the two counties would make rather small volumes, they decided to deal with the two in a single volume. Naturally a task of this sort calls for the co-operating energies of many students, and the preface lists the names of nearly forty men and women who have assisted in examining the sources or have in some other way contributed to the study.

The plan of the work is in general the same as that adopted for the volume on Bucks. In addition there are two pages of corrigenda to the volumes already published. The introduction is brief and presents no very significant conclusions. In a work of this sort, however, the value lies not in broad generalizations but in the successful determination of a large number of difficult details.

Among the names dealt with one may note those of the four ancient roads that traversed this region. The authors believe that Akeman Street derived its name from that of Aceman, a hypothetical "Saxon into whose possession the ruins of Bath passed". Ermine Street got its name from the "Earnings", who occupied Armingford Hundred on the south side of the Cam. Similarly Watling Street recalls the Roman settlers at Verulamium, whom the Saxons called the Wæclings. Icknield Way was a British trackway from very early times but to the origin of its name the authors have discovered no clue.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

A History of the Revenues of the Kings of England, 1066-1399.

By Sir JAMES H. RAMSAY of Bamff, LL.D., Litt.D. Two volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Pp. x, 365, 440. 42 s.)

SIR JAMES H. RAMSAY died in February, 1925, and his last historical work appeared early in 1926, after his decease, a fitting close to a long and distinguished career. In his preface to the *Genesis of Lancaster*,

published in 1913, Sir James recalls the fact that his histories of England cover the period from the beginning down to 1485, and that the greater part of his life had been consecrated to the study of English medieval history. "The reader will stare", he says with justifiable pride, "if I inform him that it has been my standing occupation since the outbreak of the Franco-German War. My grown-up children do not remember the time when it was not in progress." At that time he may have thought that he would write no more, but if such was his belief, he was mistaken. The urge to study and produce would not leave him and he began the preparation of this last book, which he was never to complete.

It was logical for him to undertake this study. He had always been interested in medieval finance, and to that phase of history he had made perhaps his most original contribution. Moreover, *The Angevin Empire* (1154-1216) was published in 1903, and *The Dawn of the Constitution* (1216-1307) in 1908. Very significant additions to our knowledge of English financial history had been made since those works had appeared. It must have seemed to him, as to all of us, an extremely important task to assemble in a single treatise all the information on medieval taxation which he had collected and to combine it with the results of the work of other students. Such has at any rate been his aim.

His treatment of the subject is strictly chronological. Omitting the Anglo-Saxon period, he reviews the reigns of each Norman king, as a whole, till the accession of Henry II., when the continuous series of the Pipe Rolls begins. Thereafter he writes of each year separately, with a general survey of each reign at its close. Broadly speaking the work contains three important aspects: firstly, a description of the exchequer in the twelfth century, based upon the classical treatment of Professor Lane Poole, but fortified by a thorough, independent analysis of the sources so characteristic of all of Sir James Ramsay's writing; secondly, a brief account of the political and constitutional history as a narrative setting forth statistical and other financial facts; and finally, the most complete statement of the yield of each tax levied during the period, an estimate of the revenue of each year, and a wealth of illustrative financial details, particularly numerous and illuminating during the reign of Henry II., when the printed Pipe Rolls are available.

Of the interest and value of this work there can be no doubt. The narrative is lively, not an easy task in a work on taxation. The substantial worth of the treatise testifies to the author's intimate knowledge of primary and secondary materials, particularly the former. It is of course true that he lacked the time to familiarize himself with all the new contributions to our knowledge, such as the publications of Unwin in England, and those of Gras, Lunt, and Willard in this country. As far as the fourteenth century is concerned, if we except certain statistical data on the revenue, there is little additional narrative matter which is not already contained in the *Genesis of Lancaster*. Some might point out that it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the total annual

royal revenue of those days. The veteran historian was however well aware of the difficulty of arriving at exact figures on this point (see, for example, vol. II., p. 1), but he was fascinated by the problem and loved to work at it.

Preaching in Medieval England, an Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period, 1350-1450. By G. R. OWST, M.A., Ph.D. (Cambridge: the University Press. 1926. Pp. xviii, 381. 17 s. 6 d.)

To make the dry bones of forgotten sermons live is a task for a major prophet; yet it is one that Dr. Owst, although he tells us that the bones are very dry and gives the impression that many of them were arid enough even in the days of their flesh, has performed with no slight measure of success. His book, "the fruit of four years' continuous study of the sources", is a fitting addition to the series of *Studies in Medieval Life and Thought*, edited by Dr. Coulton, of which it is the eighth volume. One may feel that the century to which the author restricts himself is not characteristic of the Middle Age, then sinking to its close; nor will the suggestion that this period may properly be classed as of the "Dark Ages" (pp. 7, 129) meet with universal agreement; but those are minor matters. It is the bones that he has found that count, and the manner in which he makes them live, and the information that he gains from their examination, rather than the name he applies to the valley in which he discovered them.

The first three chapters are devoted to the preachers: bishops and curates, monks and friars, and "wandering stars"—great prelates, learned doctors wise in their own conceit, and rural priests of the humble and unsophisticated type, Benedictines emerging from the cloister to serve as special preachers at visitations and synods or speaking *coram populo* in their great churches, and Mendicants, taking the world for their parish and preaching wherever opportunity could be found or seized, pardoners, whose activities as indulgence-mongers and exploiters of relics have overshadowed their rôle as revivalists "with many quaint subtle words and with false behesting", solitaries and recluses whose mystical discourses had but little in common with the ordinary sermon, and heretics mighty in denunciation. Two chapters are devoted to the preaching scene, chapters filled with vivid description of the remarkable throng that faced him who stood in the medieval pulpit, whether for the short sermon during the mass, or the longer discourses delivered in the church on Sunday afternoon, or out-of-doors from the preaching cross, or in processions. Dr. Owst makes good use of his antiquarian lore in these chapters, and, possibly, of his imagination; his statement on the origin of pews (p. 167) calls for more support than he gives it.

The last three chapters are devoted to the sermons. Varied types are discussed and illustrated: sermons on Sundays and holy days and sermons on special occasions, such as visitations, synods, funerals; sermons

preached before universities, before gatherings of prelates, of the lower clergy, of religious. Next comes an account of manuals and treatises, and, lastly, a chapter on the art of sermon-making. Three styles of preaching are described: the simple and straightforward exposition of the Scriptures, the formal and logical address that originated in the schools, and the popular sermon filled with *exempla* and racy anecdotes.

Just how much this book contributes to our knowledge of social life and thought of the period, or of the state of the church, is problematical; the present writer feels that the author has added to the number of his witnesses rather than that he has produced new evidence. Professedly (p. 25), Dr. Owst writes to support Dr. Coulton against Cardinal Gasquet, and his *Tendenz* manifests itself again and again. Granting at the outset that valuable ideas may be beaten out on the anvil of disputation, it is questionable whether controversy is the best method of historical research and those of us who wish to study the Middle Ages may regret that so good a piece of work as this is marked by so great a bias.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Von Dr. JOSEPH KULISCHER, Professor an der Universität Leningrad. Erster Band. (Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1925. Pp. xxii, 458. 24 M.)

THE author of the first volume of this "Russian Economic History" is a Russian professor in the University of Leningrad. This volume is interesting from several points of view: in the first place, it is written by a specialist who is very familiar with the vast material of primary sources and secondary works, which are mostly written in Russian and published in Russia; but at the same time the author is also well acquainted with the literature on this subject in foreign languages. The contribution which the new and almost entirely unknown material on the economic history of Russia makes to the scientific knowledge of Western Europe and America makes this book extremely interesting for the reader. In the second place, Kulischer's book deals with the very important and little-investigated problem of the economic history of Ancient Russia, which is very interesting both for Russia and for foreign countries. For the majority of non-Russian readers, Kulischer's book comes as a kind of revelation.

It is really high time to give up the standpoint that Ancient Russia was a somewhat separate and strictly isolated organism. From remote times Ancient Russia lived and developed economically in close connection with and under the influence of Byzantium and then of Western countries, the Tartars, and the famous Hanseatic League.

In his first volume Kulischer relates the economic history of Russia from the ninth century A. D., beginning with the accounts of the Arabic writers on the trade with Russia and the formation of the Russian state, and ends his narrative with the beginning of capitalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in other words, with the epoch of Peter the

Great. The book is divided into three chapters of different length: the first chapter (pp. 1-30) deals with the beginning of the Russian national economy; the second (pp. 31-157) with the so-called "appanage" (*udielny*) period and, finally, the third chapter (pp. 158-452), which is the longest, with the state of Moscow.

The reader receives a very clear idea of how the ancient Slavs made their living by hunting, bee-keeping, and agriculture, engaged, already in the ninth and tenth centuries, in intensive trade with the Arabs and, after the formation of the Russian state, concluded some treaties with Byzantium; the economic significance of the latter for Russia has been well explained by the author. Then Kulischer considers Russia in the "appanage" period of her existence (in the eleventh to twelfth centuries) as a feudal state, particularly in connection with the Russian works on that subject by Pavlov-Silvansky, who is known to have used the exceedingly interesting analogies of the Russian social relations of that time with those of medieval feudal Western Europe. At that time in Russia there began to develop handicrafts, internal trade, markets, and fairs. Kiev and Novgorod became the centres of international trade. The author gives a good outline of the trade of Russia with the Hanseatic League, which closes at the end of the fifteenth century as the result of the annexation of Novgorod to Moscow.

The state of things entirely changed at the end of the fifteenth century, when Ivan III. (1462-1505), the autocratic sovereign of all Russia, created the great Russian state. Even under Ivan Kalita (1328-1341) the Russian state had occupied no more than 30,000 square kilometres. Toward the beginning of the sixteenth century the state of Moscow already occupied about one million square kilometres, and in the year 1689, when Peter the Great ascended the throne, the Russian state occupied twelve million square kilometres, so that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its area increased more than eleven or twelve times in comparison with what it had been two centuries earlier. This fact alone suffices to show what considerable changes in the economic life of the country had to take place during those two centuries; the economic activity of the state of Moscow had to be formed upon quite new foundations as compared with the narrow limits of separate principalities of the preceding time.

Let us not forget that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Russians crossed all of Siberia to the shores of the Pacific and occupied Kamchatka and the Amur River. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a complete change in the land problem comes in. The so-called "Pomiestie", the holding of land by military tenure, granted by the sovereign for military service, became the peculiar feature of that epoch, and the peasants began gradually to lose their freedom and to become bound to the soil. Already in the sixteenth century the peasants in the state of Moscow, belonging to the landholders ("pomiestchiks"), had lost their freedom and had become subjects of the latter; this phenomenon

was not a result of an act of the state, but it must be considered as a consequence of certain economic conditions which gave the landholders the power over the personality and property of the peasants. On pages 238-263 the author discusses the complicated and difficult problem of the origin and significance of the community in Russia.

The development of handicrafts in the state of Moscow was progressing and the rôle of markets spreading out. Finally, trade, in the city of Moscow in particular, despite many internal hindrances, such as customs, toll charges, and so on, was developing. Foreigners coming to Moscow were surprised by the great number of stores and shops there. Money and credit made their appearance. Under the influence of the visiting foreigners, industry began to develop, especially the making of arms, salt works, glass works, prospecting for iron, copper, gold, and silver, and paper-making. Gradually there was formed a regular financial system, the development of which was considerably influenced by the Tartar rule in Russia. In connection with the latter there were established various taxes, customs duties, and some state monopolies, for instance, that of vodka. The customs and the state monopoly of vodka stood at the head of the state revenues and usually brought to the treasury more revenue than all direct taxes taken together.

From the sixteenth century there were established direct relations with Western Europe, particularly with England, under Ivan the Terrible. Later the English were followed by the Dutch, who occupied the first place.

The period until the end of the fifteenth century, which was for Russia practically the epoch of the closed domestic economy, may be designated as a pre-capitalistic time. On the other hand, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we may already speak of the money and barter economy. But nevertheless in the seventeenth century we have to deal in Russia only with the first steps of capitalism, only with its beginnings, not even yet with the earlier capitalism that is to develop for the first time only in the subsequent eighteenth century.

The first volume of Kulischer stops in the seventeenth century.

If I am not mistaken, Kulischer's book will make the non-Russian reader acquainted for the first time with the economic history of Russia—in this case that of Russia before Peter the Great—based upon the vast material both of primary sources and literary works. At the beginning of the book (pp. xiv-xxii) we have a list of sources and secondary works used by the author, which is extremely valuable for everybody who would work more fully in this field. For this purpose the knowledge of the Russian language is, of course, necessary.

I repeat once more that the first volume of Kulischer's work will be, for the majority of non-Russian readers, a revelation and will enable them to form an exact and objective idea of what was the social-economic life of Old Russia before Peter the Great in the aspect of her internal and international relations.

A. A. VASILIEV.

Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. By R. H. TAWNEY, Reader in Economic History, University of London. [Holland Memorial Lectures, 1922.] (London: John Murray; New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1926. Pp. x, 337. 10 s. 6 d.)

MAX WEBER'S essay, "Die Protestantische Ethik und der 'Geist' des Kapitalismus", first published in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, in 1905, and now reprinted in the first volume of his *Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, has stimulated an extraordinary amount of study of the connection between the ideas expressed by the Reformers and the contemporary changes in material civilization. His thesis is that Calvinism proved particularly congenial to industrial civilization because, in the first place, it cultivated the ethical qualities of rugged strength and self-confidence needed for worldly success, and because, secondly, it substituted for the old ascetic ideal of renunciation of this world the conception of vocation, or calling, that is, of doing manfully the work ready to each man's hand for the improvement of this life. Wealth came to be no longer distrusted as the snare of the soul, but to be regarded as the fitting reward for the virtues of thrift, sobriety, and industry.

Among the large number of scholars who have discussed this thesis, either to controvert or to sustain it, or to reinterpret other phenomena in its light, or to supplement it, Mr. R. H. Tawney will take a high place. With nearly exhaustive thoroughness he has assembled and reviewed the pertinent data, and with penetrating insight has analyzed them and built them into a new synthesis. There is no doubt that he has advanced the solution of the problems he studies, and that he has remodelled Weber's thesis into the most tenable form in which it has yet been presented. As one would expect in the author of *The Acquisitive Society*, a moral purpose runs like a current of electricity through his whole discussion, heating it white-hot. The sputtering brilliance of the style, like an arc lamp, sometimes illuminates the landscape and sometimes dazzles the eye-balls.

The most momentous of all the changes ushering in the modern world is, according to Mr. Tawney, the secularization of society, and particularly of economic and political life. The doctrine of the Middle Ages, as expounded by the schoolmen, subordinated commerce and trade to ethical and religious ideas; all articles were held to have a just price; usury was denounced as a sin; and making more from trade than a modest livelihood was held to convict the profiteer of the deadly sin of avarice. By the end of the seventeenth century all this was changed. The taking of interest was allowed by law and custom; to buy as cheap as possible and to sell as dear as possible was regarded as normal; and trading with a sole eye to the utmost gain was considered to be not only morally justifiable but so conformable to the laws of nature as to be practically inevitable. Man had been degraded from a spiritual being to an economic animal.

In asking what caused this change, Mr. Tawney rightly answers that it was due, in the first place, to the commercial revolution of the sixteenth

century, to the rise of capitalism, and to the growing power and influence of the middle, bourgeois class. But, as a co-operative force, first in breaking down the old ideas, and then in giving a sanction and a good conscience to the new, Mr. Tawney assigns a large place to the Reformation, or rather, to Puritanism. For he easily proves that the first Reformers were thoroughly medieval in their economic as in many of their other ideas. But, though their direct teachings in these matters echoed the schoolmen, by their example they broke down both the doctrines of the Church and the institutions built up by her in order to enforce these doctrines.

And then came, in a later generation, Puritanism to perfect the work of the economic transformation. The capitalistic spirit, says the author, is not the offspring of Puritanism, but it found in Puritanism a tonic for its already vigorous temper. The Puritan, as an individualist, idealized his own liberty to act, and hence to trade, for his own maximum advantage. The Puritan sanctified the virtues of the middle classes, and even their convenient vices, in as far as both virtues and vices contributed to the advancement of the individual and of the commercial class to which the Puritan usually belonged. Putting, as he did, all parts of life under the discipline of a religious ethics, the Puritan nevertheless idealized business as the calling approved by God, and directed that it should be carried on in such a way as to make it both a financial success and a public service. His practical message was the career open, not to talents, but to character; and this message was well calculated to release the latent energies of the bourgeoisie.

Thus Puritanism proved a potent force in preparing for the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. It cleared the way for those who came to regard society as a mechanism moved by the weights and pulleys of economic interest, instead of as an organism knit together by a common spiritual purpose. Just as, in Mr. Tawney's opinion, the seventeenth century had degenerated from the ethical standards of the sixteenth, so the eighteenth declined even from the virtue of the seventeenth. While the Puritans idealized wealth, their descendants worshipped it; while the Puritans had regarded paupers as sinners, their posterity treated them as criminals.

The only adverse criticism likely to damage Mr. Tawney's general thesis must be directed not against his history but against his philosophy. Writing not entirely in the historical spirit, but with a coefficient of strong moral purpose, he exalts the medieval and deprecates the modern ideal of economic ethics. Like all reformers, he attributes to ideas a causative function not belonging to them. The morals of any given society are but the customs of that society; its ethical principles but the natural secretion of these morals, that is, they are the rationalization of the prevalent habits in terms of the current idiom. In the Middle Ages the ruling classes were the clergy and the military nobility; it was to their interest to put an ethical bit in the mouth of the Jew or Lombard

whose unseemly wealth alarmed their pride and aroused their jealousy. The commercial revolution lowered the position of the priest and noble and put into the first place in the state the moneyed aristocracy of trade. It was to the interest of this class to have as much freedom to make money as possible. Just as Aquinas rationalized the class-interests of the rulers of his time by finding for them a sanction in the law of God, so Baxter and Locke rationalized the interests of the new commercial class by finding for them a sanction in the laws of nature. To assume that, by some transcendental standard, one ethics is eternally right and the other perversely wrong is unhistorical; to speak of changed virtues as "sanctified vices" is meaningless.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. ALLEN, Litt.D., et H. M. ALLEN. Tomus VI., 1525-1527. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1926. Pp. xxv, 518. 28 s.)

THIS sixth volume of Dr. Allen's monumental edition of the Erasman correspondence covers the two years from January, 1525, to March, 1527, years of critical importance in the history of the Protestant Reformation and also in the relation of Erasmus thereto. By the summer of 1526 the reform party in Germany had become so strong that it succeeded in carrying through the Diet of Speyer the momentous decree *cujus regio* whereby the Protestant principle of local control of religion was, all unwittingly, established for all time. On the other hand the horrors of the Peasants' War had left ineffaceable marks upon the popular conception of the reform movement. More than ever the leaders on both sides were pressing upon Erasmus the duty of coming out squarely as a partizan of one or the other faction.

His correspondence in these years reflects his reaction to these continuous demands. On the conservative side, as in his letters to Duke George of Saxony, he protests his absolute fidelity to the Catholic faith and his abhorrence of the extremes into which Luther had allowed himself to be carried. Again, as in a very characteristic appeal to the Cardinal of Lorraine asking his protection for an eager young convert to Lutheranism, he lets himself go in bitter denunciation of the *porci* who are assailing him and all other friends of sound learning and good morals as heretics or worse. What he tries to do whenever opportunity offers is to draw a sharp line of distinction between wholesome criticism of clerical immorality and ignorance, and deviation however slight from the doctrinal teaching of the Church.

Of hitherto unpublished material this volume does not offer any very important contributions. The most interesting is a group of letters to and from Erasmus Schets, a merchant of Antwerp, who served the great scholar as financial middleman between him and his various patrons and publishers. Some twenty of these are printed here and give a

quite complete picture of the transactions by which Erasmus, a scholar without private fortune, was able to live in modest comfort and to leave behind him a considerable estate. Schets was something more than a good business man; he was genuinely interested in sound learning and never failed, after stating the business in hand, to add some lines of reference to his customer's latest literary product or to the scandalous attacks of his clerical critics. His latinity must have made Erasmus cringe, but he nowhere alludes to these shortcomings.

Of unusual importance is a group of letters to the Parliament of Paris, to King Francis I., and to the theological faculty at Paris asking a fair hearing for his defense against the assaults of Beda and Sutor, French theologians who had sought to identify his opinions with those of Luther.

As to workmanship, there is nothing to add to the commendation we have already expressed in this *Review* for Dr. Allen's earlier volumes. We have here the same painstaking accuracy and thoroughness which have won for him the unstinted praise of the most competent judges. May he be spared to complete a work of which it may safely be said that it will never have to be done again.

E. E.

De Nordiska Rikena under Brömsebroförbundet. Akademisk Avhandling av GEORG LANDBERG. (Upsala: Wretmans Boktryckeri. 1925. Pp. xx, 309.)

WHEN Sweden achieved her independence in 1523 under the vigorous leadership of Gustavus Eriksson (Vasa) the union of Denmark-Norway and Sweden was definitely dissolved, and Sweden accepted a native dynasty with Gustavus I. as king. Christian II., brother-in-law of the Emperor Charles V., became first an exile, and later a prisoner of state. He was succeeded as king of Denmark by his uncle, Frederick I., but he managed to survive both his uncle and the next king, Christian III. The deposed king's claims to the thrones of the three northern kingdoms disturbed the politics of Northern Europe for a generation.

When Gustavus I. received the Swedish royal title the only foreign envoys present were two representatives from Lübeck. It was this powerful Hanseatic city that had furnished the funds that made possible the success of the Swedish uprising. Incidentally, a blow was thereby struck at Lübeck's arch-enemy, Denmark. But the Lübeckers charged a high price for their assistance, so high that Gustavus's foreign policy was largely guided by those measures that looked towards freeing Sweden from its huge debt to the German city. The king's first concern was to establish order and a sound economy at home. The long border between Denmark-Norway and Sweden, Denmark's strategic position on the Sound, and the mood of the grumbling Swedish peasants, all pointed to the advisability of keeping on good terms with Denmark. After long and tedious negotiations, Gustavus finally allowed himself to enter into

the fifty-year treaty of Brömsebro with Denmark-Norway in 1541. The initiative had come from the Danish side, for Christian III. needed assistance against the Emperor Charles and the Palatinate house, heir to the claims of the imprisoned king. Gustavus needed help against the schemes of Lübeck and his own rebellious subjects. The Brömsebro treaty lasted until the outbreak of the Northern Seven Years' War in 1563, and outlived Gustavus just three years.

Dr. Landberg's monograph tells the story of Sweden's relations with Denmark-Norway during the period in which the Brömsebro treaty was in force. His account is based chiefly on manuscript materials in the Swedish and Danish state archives, and on the considerable body of printed sources now available. Among the latter is *Konung Gustav den Förstes Registratur*,¹ Laursen's edition of Denmark-Norway's treaties,² Rydberg's Swedish treaties,³ and the *Svenska Riksdagsakter*.⁴ Avoiding certain knotty questions, the two kings agreed to provide armed assistance for one another in case of attack, whether on the Elbe River or in distant Finland; neither was to conclude peace without consulting the other; and disputed matters were to be settled through arbitration commissions. Sweden agreed to leave Gothland in Danish hands, and Denmark promised now and in future to lay no claim to the Swedish crown. The story here told has considerable interest for the history of sixteenth-century Europe. The cautious Gustavus managed, despite the efforts of his ministers, to stay out of the anti-Habsburg coalition led by Francis I. of France. By drawing out the negotiations with Lübeck to an unconscionable length, he finally managed to free Sweden from Hanseatic domination. Indeed, Lübeck never recovered her lost position. Gustavus's suspicion of Danish policies was deep-seated and stayed with him to the end. While he thought highly of Christian III., Danes in general, and Danish ministers in particular, were not to be trusted out of sight. This appears especially in the curious strife with Denmark concerning the three crowns on the Swedish arms, which involved the writing and publishing of Bishop Peder Swart's famous "rime chronicle" written under the king's supervision. This document was used by the Swedish delegation that visited England in 1558 to urge the claims of Prince Erik for the hand of Queen Elizabeth. The arguments presented by the author to show that the Danes may have had designs in the 1550's to restore the union of the three kingdoms do not appear convincing to the reviewer. It seems more probable that an old and supersensitive monarch was "seein' things" that did not exist.

During the last years of his reign, Gustavus became involved in a brush with Russia, an ominous sign of the great struggle for the Baltic littoral that was to follow. The personality that emerges from Dr. Land-

¹ Stockholm, 1861-1916, 29 vols.

² *Danmark-Norges Traktater, 1523-1750* (Copenhagen, 1907 ff.). Six volumes have thus far appeared.

³ *Sveriges Traktater med Främmande Magter* (Stockholm, 1877 ff.).

⁴ Stockholm, 1887 ff. Volumes published cover period 1521-1597.

berg's pages is that of a ruler whose nature has been hardened by adversity, who, though he distrusted the Danes, was careful not to close the door to Danish friendship or alliance, who could lay about him with ruthless hand when his authority was brooked or prestige threatened. His primary concern was with solidifying his own dominions, not with adventures in world politics. The author has handled a difficult subject well. He has rendered a valuable contribution to the history of the foreign policies of Gustavus Vasa.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

A Copy of Papers relating to Musters, Beacons, Subsidies, etc., in the County of Northampton, 1586-1623. Edited by JOAN WAKE, with an Introduction by JOHN E. MORRIS, D.Litt. (Kettering: Northamptonshire Record Society. 1926. Pp. cxxxiii, 261. 15 s.)

THIS volume publishes a manuscript, now in the archives of the Northamptonshire Record Society, which probably belonged at one time to Sir Richard Knightley, a gentleman of Northamptonshire, prominent in public affairs during the reigns of Elizabeth and of James I. Knightley served his county at various times as sheriff, as member of Parliament, as commissioner for musters, as commissioner for subsidies, and as deputy-lieutenant. The manuscript under review contains copies of instructions, reports, and accounts relative to his duties as deputy-lieutenant and as commissioner for subsidies. Most of it has to do with the mustering of the county soldiery. It is particularly rich in material on the military preparations to meet the Spanish Armada.

Any adequate history of the English army in the sixteenth century is yet to be written. Even Fortescue, the latest and best of English military historians, is distressingly brief upon this period of its development. There is a great deal of material available on the subject in manuscript, but much of it is far scattered in local and private archives. The immediate task is to bring this material to light. Something has been done by the Historical Manuscripts Commission and by local societies, notably by the Chetham Society and by the archaeological societies of Norfolk and Shropshire. But much remains to be done.

The Northamptonshire records at all events are in good hands, and it is well that they are so, if the volume under review is a fair sample of their richness. Probably in itself it represents as valuable a collection of material on the sixteenth-century musters as has ever been published, if we except that rare volume prepared by John Bruce for Mr. Pitt in 1798, when the experiences of Armada days were reviewed under the instant fear of a French invasion. Nowhere else do we get so much light upon the whole perplexing subject of the local levy and particularly of the local taxes to finance the local levy. The editing is admirable. Miss Wake has not been content to set forth the manuscript as she found it, but she has supplemented it by pertinent material drawn from the Dryden

Papers, the Public Record Office, and the private collection of the Earl of Winchilsea. She has called attention to the very valuable financial report of Sir Thomas Heneage, treasurer of Leicester's Tilbury army in 1588, quite complete yet almost forgotten in the Declared Accounts of the Pipe Office. Better still, she has unearthed in the Earl of Winchilsea's collection a memorandum book of Sir Christopher Hatton, kept when he was lord lieutenant of Northamptonshire, which she promises shortly to publish, and which is evidently a very choice morsel.

Space does not serve for more than a mention of Dr. Morris's learned introduction, probably the best account of the sixteenth-century militia in print. We may regret that Dr. Morris has virtually confined his attention to military matters, and has dealt rather cavalierly with the valuable material which the volume contains on the levy and collection of the subsidy. But this can wait for another commentator.

The Northamptonshire Record Society is one of the younger of the local English historical societies. It has been established for only six years and its first published work appeared only two years ago. It owed its inception largely to the zeal and to the generous bounty of Mr. James Mansfield. His death, scarcely more than a year ago, has robbed it of its best friend, but it is to be hoped that the excellent, scholarly work which he did so much to inspire will not be permitted to languish. It is a credit to Northamptonshire, to England, and to Anglo-Saxon historical scholarship.

CONYERS READ.

Histoire Politique de l'Europe Contemporaine: Évolution des Partis et des Formes Politiques, 1814-1914. Par CHARLES SEIGNOBOS, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. Septième édition, entièrement refondue et considérablement augmentée. Tome II. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1926. Pp. 537-1231. 40 fr.)

WE have now the second volume of this important work, completely revised and brought up to the close of the century; the old edition, it will be remembered, went no further than 1896. It is unnecessary to repeat what was said by the present writer in reviewing the first volume (XXX. 643 of this journal). The same thoroughness and care characterize its successor; not only each sentence but each clause has been studied with a microscopic and relentless scrutiny, that no mistaken emphasis may flaw the absolute exactness at which the author aims. For example, where in his discussion of the four great parties found in every nation, he first wrote "Le parti démocrate (*radical*) formé d'étudiants, d'ouvriers, d'écrivains, d'avocats" (first ed., p. 795), he gives us now "Le parti démocrate (*radical*) formé d'avocats, d'écrivains, d'étudiants, d'ouvriers" (second ed., p. 1208). It is safe to say that we have in this revision, M. Seignobos's matured judgment on the political evolution

of Europe in the nineteenth century, as precisely as language can express it.

The chapter-sequence remains substantially unchanged. The chapter on the German Empire has been doubled in length, with greater stress on party struggles and a new section of twelve pages on nationalities in the Empire; that on Austria is increased by two-fifths, with separate sections on each kingdom of the Dual Monarchy, and an expanded study of the Slavic nationalistic movement. The old chapter on the Russian Empire and Poland has been broken into two, dealing respectively with the Russian autocratic empire and with the Revolution of 1905 and subsequent reaction; the former is the old chapter, completely rewritten, with increased attention to economic and minority-nationalistic agitation; the latter is entirely new, ending with a discussion of Russia's political evolution, here visualized as an alternation of short periods of liberal reform, imitated from Europe, with long periods of return to traditional absolutism. The discussion of the Ottoman Empire has been more than doubled, the new material being a more extended survey of the Empire in 1814 and a new and lively picture of Abdul-Hamid, described as the son of an Armenian dancer, from whom he inherited the features, the clear and precise intelligence, the capacity for intellectual labor, the suppleness and the cunning of an Armenian (p. 887). In the next six chapters there is relatively little change, except for the increase due to the extended time-limit of the revised volumes.

For the average person, the interest heightens as the present is approached, and the reader feels a certain curiosity as to whether M. Seignobos will be able to maintain his calm, passionless objectivity to the end. On the whole he does so to a gratifying degree. Bismarck's crafty personal policy in the affair of the Spanish Succession is laid bare, and the importance of the Ems telegram still insisted on, but it is denied that he falsified the despatch (p. 1142, note). A new paragraph asserts that the indemnity imposed on France at Frankfort was not in conformity with the usages of war, being based on the wealth of the vanquished, rather than on the expenses of the victor (pp. 1153-1154). But full credit is accorded Bismarck for his later pacific policy and William II. is very fairly handled.

Fuller knowledge has made possible a more exact statement of the terms of the Dual Alliance and other agreements. A new chapter on the Re-establishment of European Equilibrium carries the reader from 1896 to 1914. Noteworthy here is the crisp account of "the new political personnel" (Bülow, who "dissembled the brutality of realistic politics under the forms of Italian politeness"; Holstein, with his occult influence; Nicholas, swaying between the control of the Francophile Witte and that of the German Emperor; the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, pushed into adventurous paths by a morganatic wife eager to provide for her sons, and linking arms with the anti-Serb, anti-Italian, aggressive Conrad von Hoetzendorf). Yet gradually Bismarck's edifice, erected to

assure the supremacy of Germany, is seen to crumble; with the end of France's isolation and that of England and also of the antagonism between France and Italy "three of its pillars had fallen"; there remained only the Austro-German alliance (p. 1187). William II., though anything but pro-English, tried several times to promote a better understanding between the two countries, which failed because of the coldness of German public opinion (pp. 1185, 1193).

When the final crisis comes, Austria is seen as the chief culprit. Alarmed at the result of the Balkan wars and determined to reduce Serbia to its old vassalage, she proposed to Italy a joint invasion in 1913, but was refused (p. 1200). Then came the timely pretext of Sarajevo. Germany's share of the blame lies in giving Austria a free rein and in refusing Grey's conference (the author makes no mention of the view that at the last moment Germany sought to restrain Austria). He regards it as certain that the governments of England and France ardently desired peace. For the rest, he holds that "neither of the three emperors personally wished for war, but all three, trained in respect for military authorities, were accustomed to let their general staffs decide, not only how war should be waged, but when it should be engaged. The staffs, under compulsion to act to secure the advantage of the offensive" (p. 1202), precipitated the catastrophe, whose results he regards as a success for democracy.

In the concluding chapter, M. Seignobos maintains his theory of the importance of chance in determining the course of history. Though insurrections are less frequent, the personal equation of sovereigns and statesmen is unpredictable and of great consequence. Elsewhere (pp. 1156-1159) the view is expressed that their action, since Bismarck's day, has been usually guided by *Realpolitik*.

The analytical table of contents does not atone for the lack of an index, the more necessary in a work which will always be generally consulted and which is, more than ever, worthy of consultation.

EUGENE N. CURTIS.

Der Schlüssel zur Kriegsschuldfrage. Von HEINRICH KANNER.
(Munich: Südbayerische Verlagsgesellschaft. 1926. Pp. 89.
2.80 M.)

THIS considerable pamphlet weaves together a number of newspaper polemics which Dr. Kanner has published in recent years. It contains some good points, such as the fact that Bismarck, who regarded the Austro-German alliance of 1879 as strictly defensive, refused to permit military agreements between the German and Austrian staffs, for fear they might hamper the political freedom of action of the civilian authorities; but Bismarck's successors allowed Moltke and Conrad to exchange views and conceive of the alliance as potentially offensive, and to regard it as Germany's obligation to mobilize to aid Austria even if Austria provoked a Russian attack by an invasion of Serbia.

But the pamphlet also shows how many wrong-headed conclusions can be arrived at by a biased journalist who lacks evidence of historical training and accuracy, and who is bent on twisting evidence to prove that the war was caused by the German and Austrian chiefs of staff. He claims to have discovered what no one else has been able to find out: "The Key to the Question of War Guilt." He discovered it in the mass of papers published as Conrad's memoirs (*Aus meiner Dienstzeit*), which he seems to think that he alone has waded through. There are others, however, who have toiled through these ponderous volumes and never found the "key" which Kanner has "discovered". Why? Because it is not there. Kanner's "key" is a supposed "Military Convention", contained in a letter of Moltke to Conrad of January 21, 1909. Kanner (p. 15) incorrectly dates it 1908 instead of 1909, and quotes a few selected sentences dealing with the hypothesis that, if Austria should invade Serbia and Russia should intervene, this would be the *casus foederis* for Germany. He omits to mention that this letter was in answer to a communication from Conrad asking for a personal meeting; that Moltke declined a personal meeting for fear of the exciting effect it might have on public opinion at a moment when the crisis arising from the annexation of Bosnia was still troubling Europe; and that he said he believed it altogether likely that Russia, for various reasons, would keep still even in case of a military conflict between Austria and Serbia. Neither this letter, nor the others which were exchanged at this time between Moltke and Conrad, constituted in any sense a "Military Convention". Kanner can not quote a single passage anywhere in which anyone in authority anywhere ever refers to this exchange of views as being a "Military Convention". This conception is his own unwarranted invention. This Moltke-Conrad correspondence, regarding the desirable disposition of troops on the Russian frontier in case of war, grew out of Conrad's effort to have Germany's mobilization plans provide as many troops as possible against Russia. Moltke in turn wanted to have Austria plan to use few troops in Serbia in order to send as many as possible into Galicia to relieve pressure on Germany. These arrangements were hardly as definite or as binding as those which had been made by the French and Russian staffs for some years before this. Though some of the Moltke-Conrad letters were shown to the civilian authorities, they did not legally modify the terms of the alliance.

Kanner argues that the "Military Convention" resulted in a German "decision" for war, many hours before the arrival of the news of Russian general mobilization; that it was not Russian mobilization, but Moltke's promises to Conrad, which are to blame for the outbreak of the war. But his evidence and arguments are not convincing.

Dr. Kanner's historical method may be seen further in the way he falsifies dates to prove that Emperor William was responsible for the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia in October, 1913. He says that on October 18, at the Leipzig centenary celebrations, "when Austria was again

planning an ultimatum to Serbia", Emperor William assured Conrad that Austria's cup was full; that this time he (William) would stand wholly on the side of Austria; that he had steadily been a friend of peace, but this had its limits, etc. Whereupon Kanner continues (p. 20), "The ultimatum then indeed went on October 19, 1913, from Vienna to Belgrade", thus implying that it was sent because of the assurances of loyalty which the Kaiser had given to Conrad. The implication is unsound, because the ultimatum was sent *before the assurances were given*. The latter were given at Leipzig on the evening of October 18 (Conrad, III. 469 f.); the ultimatum had already been despatched from Vienna very early that morning, to be precise, at 12:10 A. M., October 18 (according to Conrad, III. 473, 747), and not "on October 19" (according to the discoverer of the "key to the question of war guilt").

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Genesis of the World War, an Introduction to the Problem of War Guilt. By HARRY ELMER BARNES, Professor of Historical Sociology, Smith College. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1926. Pp. xxvii, 750. \$2.50.)

THE announcement of Professor Barnes's long-projected study of *The Genesis of the World War* aroused hopeful anticipations of a really valuable contribution to diplomatic history. Very much has been written on the problem of the origins of the war of 1914 since the recent publications from the German, Austrian, and Russian archives, but most of it has been fragmentary: memoirs of distinguished diplomats, articles, reviews, and controversial correspondence. There was certainly place for a large volume surveying the whole battlefield and summarizing what Professor Barnes delights to call the "revisionist" verdict. Moreover Professor Barnes was in many ways well equipped for the task. He has studied and written for years on this topic—among many others—and has read very copiously, if not always critically, the English, French, and German literature on the subject. He has command of an exceptionally clear and lucid pen and can always force his reader to attend closely to what he is trying to prove.

Well, our hopes are not to be fulfilled. *The Genesis of the World War* is no judge's verdict but the brief of a rather emotional advocate. The tone of the preface sets the careful reader on his guard at once: "the undoubted fact that the controversial method is the one which the writer can personally exploit most forcefully in this field"; "The writer has never had it satisfactorily explained to him why it should be regarded as more scholarly to be fifty percent short of the truth than to be one percent beyond it". No one can complain that the author is not frank in his warning!

The main thesis of the book is indicated in the title of chapter III., the Franco-Russian Plot that produced the War. The very interesting negotiations of Izvolski, Sazonov, and Poincaré in tightening the Franco-

Russian alliance, especially after 1912, are taken as proof conclusive of a premeditated attack on Germany to recover Alsace-Lorraine for France and acquire the Straits for Russia. (Throughout the whole book all military steps of Entente countries taken in anticipation of war are treated as proofs of the intention to begin the war themselves.) In discussing this central thesis the author refers occasionally to the Izvolski documents, but as the documents by themselves are not sufficient to prove the entire case more use is made of the comments of secondary writers such as Friedrich Stieve and Mathias Morhardt. It is a little hard that Poincaré, militarist though he may have been, should be held responsible not only for every guess of Izvolski as to his motives but for the guesses of Germanophil apologists as to Izvolski!

Some of the dogmatic assertions of the book are very questionable indeed. The statement that "before June, 1914, it was practically assured that Great Britain would enter any war on the side of France and Russia against Germany" (p. 90) hardly coheres with the author's own admission that "Russia and France were never sure of the degree to which they could count upon British aid until August 2, 1914" (p. 138), and indeed is sufficiently refuted by the known facts of the hesitant and bewildered attitude of the British government on the very eve of war. Nor is it true that there was a German "promise" to keep out of Belgium and not to attack France in 1914 (p. 138); the author seems to have confused Lichnowsky's "feelers" to ascertain the conditions of British neutrality with definite offers by the German government (p. 514). There seems little justification for distorting the secret treaties made *during* the war for the Russian acquisition of the Straits and a French reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine into evidence that such plans underlay the genesis of the war (pp. 142-146). There is even less excuse for intimating that Sir Edward Grey would have been disappointed if Germany had not invaded Belgium (p. 199) or that France and Britain would have entered Belgium if Germany had not (p. 548). It would be interesting to have the evidence for the certainty expressed (p. 683) that if the United States had kept out of the war Germany would have agreed to a reasonable and satisfactory peace. The similarly absolute assertion that the Russian mobilization made war inevitable and any subsequent diplomatic efforts futile (p. 356) is gravely questioned by most historians.

In the main Professor Barnes is evidently sincere and candid, trying hard to be fair if not exactly succeeding in the attempt. At two points, however, he verges on disingenuousness. He includes most historians who have written recently on the war-guilt question as revisionists and asserts that "few, if any, would dissent from the general interpretations and the major outlines of the picture" (p. 661). Perhaps the greatest authority whom he lists among his revisionists is Professor Bernadotte Schmitt, and how near this witness comes to Professor Barnes's "general interpretation" can now be read in his article in *Foreign Affairs* for October, 1926 (pp. 132-147), in which he declares that the "new doctrine

of unique Franco-Russian responsibility must be unhesitatingly rejected". Nor is Professor Schmitt the only writer whose position differs widely from Professor Barnes's interpretation of it. Again, he accepts and discusses in full Miss Edith Durham's account of the Sarajevo crime, pours ridicule on R. W. Seton-Watson for rejecting it, and then suddenly remembers to be impartial and suggests that "The critical reader will probably conclude that the truth lies in the ground intermediate between the versions of Miss Durham and Seton-Watson" (p. 174). The critical reader will, but the writer certainly did not!

But the real indictment to be brought against *The Genesis of the World War* is not a matter of specific sins of omission or commission. Rather there is a lack of background, of historical understanding of the whole European political atmosphere down to 1914. The genesis of the war is treated far too much as an affair of a few years and a few men. German militarism is dismissed as a mere phrase on the ground that France and Russia had larger armies (p. 55), but to the historian "militarism" means more than having an army; it is rather a question of the relation of military to civil authority within the state, and no historian can question that, at least as compared with France and Britain, the German political system and tradition gave the army a uniquely influential place. The importance of the German navy and the panic it created in Great Britain is grossly underestimated (p. 47). The Yugoslav nationalist movement, as genuine and as much justified by Austrian oppressions as the Italian Risorgimento, is dismissed as a mere conspiracy of political adventurers (pp. 154 *et seq.*). An historian has a right to regard European nationalism as a menace if he will, but if he treats it as a mere diplomatic pose he is forever incapable of understanding the great human forces that brought down the Hapsburg Empire and plunged Europe into war.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

British Archives and the Sources for the History of the World War.

By HUBERT HALL, Hon. Litt.D. Cambridge, F.S.A., Director of the Royal Historical Society, Reader in Palaeography and Economic History in the University of London. [Economic and Social History of the World War, British series, general editor James T. Shotwell, Ph.D., LL.D.] (London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1925. Pp. xxi, 445, 14. 16 s.)

THIS important work is divided into three parts—British records of the World War, British archives in peace and war, and the use of records; whilst nine appendixes cover nearly a hundred pages more.

In the first part Dr. Hall presents a study of the records of the World War with respect to their nature and scope, their disposal, and their use for the national service. A section is devoted to a Guide to War Records, namely, the archives of public departments during the war, and the local war records.

The second part is historical and technical. It has chapters on the British national archives and their expansion; on the archives of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the Channel Islands; on the archives of the British dominions and dependencies, as well as on the British local archives and records. More than half of the second part is a study about the decay and reform of the archives. Here we find a portrayal of losses in the public and local records; accounts of early commissions and committees of inquiry (1703-1837), and of the later commissions and committees that inquired into the conditions and needs. Dr. Hall offers suggestions for reorganization, in which he points out the inherent defects of administration and the need of trained archivists.

The third part will be serviceable to American archivists. In a chapter on the Arrangement and Classification of the Records consideration is given to questions of custody, methods of archive economy and storage, practical systems of classification, and the particular classification of war records. Another chapter considers access to and the use of archives. There is also a chapter on the problems connected with the Description and Publication of Records, in which are suggestions respecting the responsibility of preparing proper archival publications. Dr. Hall describes lists or inventories, indexes, calendars, bibliographies or guides, and discusses the publication of texts and the writing of official histories of the World War. There is a chapter on the scientific description of the materials and forms of documents, represented by types of war records and local records. Historians will find helpful suggestions in a chapter on the Use of Records as Historical Sources. It is here that Dr. Hall pays a gracious tribute to American historical scholarship and research. He says: "American historical scholars have, during the last twenty years, led the whole learned world in methods of original research. The result is seen in a practical system of historical instruction and in an output of 'Guides' to historical sources which is rapidly filling empty shelves in the libraries of Europe. A collection of American post-graduate studies would, in itself, provide the most striking evidence of the progress of historical research in this generation."

It remains to point out that the appendixes deal with matters about war records—their preservation, destruction, classification, and distribution. There is a list of the local war records taken from the Final Report of the Local War-Records Committee, and a class and location list of the British archives "to indicate the nature of the several collections with which the records of the World War must eventually be incorporated or associated as soon as they become available for public use". A select list of publications about British archives and a good index terminate this notable contribution to the science of archives by a profound scholar and expert.

The reviewer has purposed to tell what the work is, and commends it to American archivists for thoughtful absorption and adaptation to their own needs.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

L'Autriche et la Hongrie pendant la Guerre depuis le Début des Hostilités jusqu'à la Chute de la Monarchie, Août 1914–Novembre 1918. Par BERTRAND AUERBACH, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Nancy. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1925. Pp. xvii, 627. 40 fr.)

THE author of this excellent historical monograph is already well known for his valuable work, *Les Races et les Nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie*. In addition to this preparation for his present task he has had the unusual facilities of the Library of the War Museum in Paris at his command.

The thesis which the author amply proves is now generally accepted among serious scholars. "The war had precipitated the catastrophe which an ill-advised policy had prepared." The geographic and ethnic complexity of Austria-Hungary demanded an altogether different policy in internal and foreign affairs from that practised by the statesmen of the Danube Monarchy, who were seduced by the political unifications of the simple and homogeneous type represented by Italy and Germany. With the federal system of free nations as their only hope, they wasted time on "bastard half-measures". In Austria, they arrived, in October, 1918, with a federal programme on paper, "trop tard, à la manière autrichienne". In Hungary, during the war, the well-known policy of Magyarization permitted, as an extreme concession, an electoral law which guaranteed "the supremacy of the masters". In either half, so far as internal policy was concerned, Germanization and Magyarization were merely replicas of the Prusso-German doctrine opposed to the advancement of the democratic idea which alone could have kept the nations of Central Europe loyal to the Hapsburg Monarchy.

These statesmen were no more successful in foreign affairs than in internal policy. The German alliance, which gave some hope of maintaining the monarchy's territorial integrity, really led the Germans and the Magyars into an internal policy of "bridling the nationalities". Under the protecting wing of the alliance, Hungary actually aspired to replace Austria in that combination as industrial Germany's counterpart. Germany, deceived in the military and material support of her ally, freely scolded her as it became evident that she was not able to stand up against the Serbs, Russians, and Rumanians, and was deeply offended because their war-aims profoundly differed. Germany wanted to obtain from the war at least the Basin of Briey, Belgium, the Baltic Provinces, and a slice of Poland. Internal conditions, as well as the appetite of her ally, ultimately forced upon Austria-Hungary the policy of conciliation, of peace without annexations or indemnities (namely, *status quo ante*), which Czernin so desperately tried, without success, to harmonize with socialistic and Bolshevistic doctrine.

Hence Austria-Hungary disappeared from the map of Europe because she failed to carry out the task which her geographic position and her

ethnic composition assigned to her in Central Europe, of acting as a balance between Prussian Germanism and Moscovite Slavism—a task in which her peoples would have collaborated, if they had been able, in full liberty and dignity, to realize their destinies within the confines of the Danube Monarchy. This task history has passed on to the Succession States.

When a writer has done so well with the tangled skein of Austro-Hungarian history, it is hardly in order to point out where the story might have been made more complete or certain minor deficiencies rectified, or even to indicate a number of typographical errors. These criticisms may be answered by pointing to the limitations of space or to the innate difficulties of the subject. In such a class there would belong the suggestions, among others: that a closer study of Russian military plans and action would probably explain certain larger developments which are passed over; that Italy offered many obstacles in the formulation of the Entente notes on Austria-Hungary; and that greater use of material in the native languages of the Succession States might have thrown a clearer light on actual conditions in Austria-Hungary in 1914 and 1918. One has the feeling that the sources used throughout are of the first order, but that they are almost wholly limited to those in German. Such suggestions, however, do not fundamentally affect, in point of view or in substance, what is without any doubt the best work thus far produced on this subject in any language.

ROBERT J. KERNER.

The Limitations of Victory. By ALFRED FABRE-LUCE. Translated by CONSTANCE VESEY. (London: Allen and Unwin. 1926. Pp. 367. 12 s. 6 d.)

HERE is a striking and notable book, the product of ripe scholarship, of penetrating insight into men and events, and of broad philosophic grasp of developing international relations during the years before the great war. The author lifts his discussion from the plane of politics and diplomatic manoeuvre to that of morality, testing and appraising the acts and foreign policies of the various European states by new standards, and thus has given us a distinctive, and even unique, presentation of the subject and the most satisfying treatise extant.

His ultimate purpose is to aid in averting the "general ruin, latent war, and the decline of Western civilization" (p. ii) which he believed would result from France's post-war policy. The best means of accomplishing this result, he concluded, was by an objective, scientific, and impartial study of pre-war history: for "many of our recent mistakes can be traced to false theories" concerning the origin of the war (p. 329).

That he has accomplished his purpose of adducing evidence to dispel illusions and rectify erroneous views shines forth from almost every page. His presentation of pre-war history is original and profound. He has penetrated more deeply into the causation of the war than any other

historian; beside his, the most learned works, as those of Montgelas and Ewart, seem almost superficial. He has fathomed the depths of the psychology and morality underlying events and courses of development, dissecting foreign policies and exposing to the reader's eyes their hidden forces, motives, and springs of action. He contributes but little to our factual knowledge of events, but adds enormously to our understanding of their deeper meaning, of their vital and essential part in bringing on the war. He has an unequalled insight into foreign relations, the nature and implication of the two great alliances, and what their possibilities were for war or peace. His analysis of events, his syntheses and interpretations, are original and illuminating in the highest degree.

He has made a closer approach to scientific impartiality than any other writer on this subject, save perhaps Renouvin. He exposes the falsehoods, evasions, and manifold dishonesties of both German and Entente partisans. He rejects alike the theory of causation propounded by the Congress of Versailles and that formulated by Montgelas, whom he apparently considers a turncoat and propagandist, abandoning his original views concerning Germany's responsibility and now engaged in the campaign that is being waged against the Entente states (p. 211).

Though he withholds no deserved criticism of French policy, he does not by any means attempt to exonerate Germany and Austria from a large share in responsibility for the war. He summarizes as follows "the three vulnerable points of the Imperial policy in July, 1914: Austro-German complicity against Serbia; the refusal of a Conference; the initiative in declaring war" (p. 25). In judging Germany's acts he further asserts: "In 1914 Germany's challenge was really a gamble, a toss-up between peace and war, the act of a powerful nation, weary of negotiating, and trusting to luck" (p. 224). In pointing out "where Germany was really to blame", he argues that she was more militaristic than the other European states (p. 210) at a time when she might have made her influence felt on the side of peace, and "having thus failed in her rôle of guide, shaken peace by her vain threats, and done nothing to deprive her adversaries of the reasons for their nationalistic agitations, Germany was very ill equipped to throw on them the whole blame for the ruin caused by the war" (p. 210). The reparations he therefore considers justified on moral grounds (p. 214).

M. Fabre-Luce takes no part in that vilification of Sir Edward Grey which just now is the mode in certain circles. While admitting that Grey was not candid in withholding from Parliament an explanation of the dangerous possibilities contained in the Franco-British engagements, he says of Grey, "There are people who, failing to appreciate his real intentions, mistook his constitutional scruples for hypocrisy, and put down his policy to a Machiavellian wish to 'allow' war to come about; we can only say that he could not have adopted any other attitude, in view of the state of public opinion" (p. 195).

Contrary to the current interpretation of pre-war events, he minimizes the importance of conflicting economic interests. They could bring about a war in the twentieth century, he argues, only when they revived questions of prestige, aroused revenge, or awakened the bitterness surviving from the past or fear of invasion (pp. 79-88, chap. III.). He is thus led to regard the antagonism between France and Germany as the pivot of European policy and the cause of that evolution in the two great combinations of powers which brought about the war (p. 123).

One charm of his book is the spirit in which it is written. Its author is always the scholar, gentle, courteous, tolerant, humane, seeking the truth; not a swashbuckling disputant, arrogant and contemptuous, aiming primarily to stain and to stigmatize an opposing group of statesmen or writers, or slashing and mangling historical evidence until it fits his purpose.

E. E. SPERRY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Pageant of America. Volume I., *Toilers by Land and Sea*. By RALPH HENRY GABRIEL. Volume III., *Adventurers in the Wilderness*. By CLARK WISSLER, CONSTANCE LINDSAY SKINNER, and WILLIAM WOOD. Volume V., *The Epic of Industry*. By MALCOLM KEIR. Volume XI., *The American Spirit in Letters*. By STANLEY THOMAS WILLIAMS. Volume XIII., *The American Spirit in Architecture*. By TALBOT FAULKNER HAMLIN. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1926. Pp. 340, 369, 329, 329, 353.)

The Pageant of America is a pictorial history of the United States. The distinguishing features are, first, a vast amount of preliminary search for material in libraries, museums, societies, archives, and other depositories of historical data, located both in the United States and in foreign countries. Second, this material has been sifted and appraised with great care and principles of modern precise scholarship applied. Third, there is an introduction to each volume in which the historical development is described in relation to the pictures. In addition there is a text for each picture, giving its source, value, and significance. It will be seen that we have here no mere collection of isolated pictures, but a happy combination; an appeal to the eye and mind of the reader.

This is a stupendous undertaking, calling for fifteen volumes, with an average of six hundred pictures and a text of sixty thousand words in each volume. Of the fifteen volumes announced, four are on material progress, exploration, the frontier, and industrial development; six are on social history, including social life, religion and education, literature, the fine arts, architecture, the stage, and sports; two are on political and two on military history.

The five volumes before us treat, the first, of the Indians, exploration, and founding of the colonies. Volume III. gives the story of agriculture, farm and plantation, the cotton kingdom, and the western plains. Volume V. is the epic of industry: artisans and the rise of the factory system, coal, oil, and electricity. Volume XI. traces the development of literature from the writings of the pioneers through the Revolution and on through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The great novelists, poets, historians, and essayists are passed in review, ending up with "those of varied trends of thought", including Mr. Mencken. Volume XIII. traces all types of colonial and later architecture, houses, public buildings, factories, and churches.

The pictures vary much in reliability, especially for the early period. How far will untrained persons make allowance for purely imaginative pictures of events? Indeed, the editors admit that such are "works of creative art and not historical works". They maintain however that such pictures convey the spirit of the event or suggest what might have taken place. There are many of this sort, some "drawn expressly" for the *Pageant* by present-day artists, *e.g.*, Jamestown in 1607 (I. 175). Pictures of a later period are made to represent an earlier, sometimes by "retouching". An examination of the authentic and imaginary pictures—including facsimiles of maps, portraits, and scenes, for Virginia and the Pilgrims and Puritans (vol. I., chs. IX., X.)—shows that somewhat more than one-half are imaginative. The authors have however usually indicated this fact in the text or notes at the end of the volume. In the later periods authentic pictures predominate.

These pictures portray the "onward sweeping march of America's Progress", and are chosen with a view to "inspiring" the rising generation with the greatness of America. This is a legitimate purpose up to a certain point. One finds, however, a decided scarcity of pictures which throw light on the dark spots of American development, such as the relations of whites and Indians, planter and slave, capitalist and laborer. A pictorial history may easily be as one-sided as a history in print. The editors should strike a fair balance in these respects and also in the distribution of space for sections, occupations, war and peace movements, racial elements, etc.

Many of the more elusive facts of history—the evolution of ideas, moral conditions, race-antipathy, class-relationships, the struggle for a division of power and wealth, and the ambitious plans and purposes of political and economic leaders—such facts do not lend themselves easily to pictorial representation. Keeping in mind these limitations, it can be asserted, with emphasis, that this is a monumental work of very great value. It is an indispensable reference-work for school and college and every private home that can afford it. It will do much to revitalize history, and create a greater interest in the subject. It will suggest to some historians new points of view and new materials. We may hope that it will help to overthrow that narrow view of history that has been so conspicuous a feature of modern historiography.

The make-up of the volume leaves nothing to be desired in beauty, binding, press work, design, or clearness. It would enhance the value of the work if brief bibliographies or guides to appropriate reading for each chapter could be incorporated in the final volume.

M. W. JERNEGAN.

Winthrop Papers. Edited by the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Volume I. (Boston: the Society. 1925. Pp. vii, 418.)

THIS is without doubt the most important publication on American history announced in years. "The Winthrop Manuscripts form the largest of known private collections on the early colonial history of English America. Not alone by their contents but also by their wide connections they relate the history of New England and of all that New England represents" (preface). No more fitting sponsor for the publication could have been found than the Massachusetts Historical Society; no moment better calculated than the coming tercentenary of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; no committee on publication more competent than Professor George Foot Moore, Mr. Frederic Winthrop, and Dr. Worthington C. Ford. The volume now published contains no material of importance upon America and is intended to bring together the papers of the Winthrop family in England. The grant of Groton Manor, 1544, is the earliest paper; a long Latin pedigree, written necessarily after 1580, is the only one which mentions the year 1498; several wills, the earliest dated 1556, and several other legal documents, including the confirmation of the grant of arms in 1592 and the alienation of Groton Manor in 1594, comprise the first thirty-seven pages. The diary of the Governor's father, now first printed in full, occupies pages 37-136; Winthrop's own *Experiencia*, his father's entries in several old almanacs, and a few more legal documents occupy the next sixty pages; the correspondence fills the remaining two hundred odd pages and begins with letters of 1617. The errors and misprints in the *Life and Letters of Winthrop* have all been corrected so far as the reviewer could discover and the letters have been accurately dated and correctly arranged for the first time. Most of the material had already been utilized or published in the volumes just mentioned and the new material is not equally important.

The whole volume relates to English affairs and contains valuable information upon the condition of manors, prices, industry, the royal finances, the Puritan movement, not different in character from material already available but important because of its established authenticity. But it is also true that the evidence printed before receives a new significance in its present form. It will be a surprise to many to learn that Adam Winthrop's cousin was a notorious papist and spent considerable time in the well-known priest's prison at Framlingham; that Adam Winthrop himself loaned out a copy of the Rheims Testament; and that he loaned money to Elizabeth and to James I. on privy seals *without protest*, public or *private*.

The reviewer has nothing to consider except the question whether a complete and final edition of these all-important papers has been issued with the elaborate and accurate critical apparatus they deserve. While it is perhaps not for him or others to question the decisions made by such a committee of publication on technic or adequacy, he does feel that the critical apparatus has been in this case reduced intentionally to the bare essentials and that the process of elimination has gone too far. He contends that no critical apparatus could be more extended than would in this case have been justified; that no available information would have been out of place in the foot-notes. The principal use of this and of succeeding volumes will certainly not be by critical students but by the historical tyro in colleges, by local historians, and by the family historian and pedigree-hunter, none of whom are informed or able to supplement the notes provided, and who will accept these volumes as definitive evidence in preference to other material. This very large number of readers will need more considerable assistance than this volume provides.

Absolutely all the material seems not to have been printed, though nothing thought to possess historical value has been omitted. Nevertheless, there can be no *final* edition of a manuscript which is not absolutely complete, and the reproduction of every scrap of writing by the Governor or by his father was better than defensible. Neither Adam Winthrop's diary nor the Governor's *Experiencia* are as complete as they could be made, if we do not misread the editors' statements (pp. 38 and 145). No statement is made of papers printed before (with a few exceptions) nor have references been given as to their whereabouts, information essential, it would seem, to the accurate and extended use of this volume in relation to the existing material. More serious is the limitation of the index to names and places only. A subject-index was urgently needed and a very elaborate one would have been justified, and very little labor would have made available a large part of the material which crowds these pages. It is earnestly to be hoped that in the all-important volumes to follow this decision will be altered. The foot-notes are too brief for the general public; some too obvious to be worth while; and seem to contain no information not already known to historians. A genealogical table of the Winthrop family and of its extensive connections is much needed, for the notes containing the information are too scattered to serve the purpose of ready reference. No source of information is indicated for many genealogical and biographical facts, the source of which will not be by any means obvious to most students.

There is a general lack of consistency in the dates given in the foot-notes throughout the volume. All the dates in the text are in old style, which was used exclusively and consistently by the Governor and by his father. The great majority in the foot-notes are given both in old and new style, but in a large number of instances the old-style date only has been given (pp. 38, 39, 47, 69, 72, 77, 84, 88, 96, 159, 199, etc., etc.), and in a number of instances the old-style date has been wrongly extended.

The most important instance is the date of Governor Winthrop's birth. In the note (p. 30) the editors give a list of the children of Adam and Ann Winthrop:

"Anne, born January 5, 1580-1; died January 20, 1580-1.

Anne, born January 16, 1585-6; married Thomas Fones, February 25, 1604-5; died May 16, 1618.

John, born January 12, 1587, afterwards governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Jane, baptized June 17, 1592; married Thomas Gostlin, January 5, 1612.

Lucy, born January 9, 1600-1; married Emmanuel Downing, April 10, 1622."

Reference to the pedigree (p. 5) will show that the first dates are wrongly extended and should read 1581-1582. Neither the date of the Governor's birth nor of Jane's marriage has been extended, though all the others have been. This oversight has been accepted by the maker of the index as evidence that the proper dates of the Governor's life are 1587-1649. This same lack of consistency causes the notes on pages 75 and 143 to declare that Robert Cecil was born in 1563 while the note on page 92 states that the year of his birth is in doubt. The extended use of this volume certain to be made by untrained heads and hands makes these matters important, and the reliance certain to be placed upon it in matters of detail makes them doubly regrettable.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro. Edited by HELEN TUNNICLIFF CATTERALL. Volume I. *Cases from the Courts of England, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky.* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1926. Pp. xiv, 508. Unbound, \$3.50; bound, \$4.50.)

As described by Dr. Jameson in its preface, this is the first of "a series of volumes into which shall be drawn off the historical materials concerning American slavery and the negro that are to be found imbedded in the published volumes of judicial reports". The scope is thus a little broader than the title of the book, since in many instances data concerning slave-prices and the like are extracted from proceedings where the cases as such are not followed through. Furthermore and happily, material is included from the minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia, which is not in the usual sense a published volume of judicial reports. The book as it stands is an elaborate calendar of pertinent matter in the records of the courts of last resort. Essentially a record of appeals, it contains little of slaves considered legally as persons, for the reason that when charged with crimes the slaves were tried in inferior courts with appeal debarred. Yet cases involving property were often threaded with personal equations. In a suit for marine insurance money in 1785 the plaintiff said that the occurrence of

an uprising among the slaves on his voyage from Guinea had depreciated the survivors in the esteem of planters and forced him to sell at £17 in the mean below the prices brought by peaceable cargoes (p. 19). Again, the vicious practice of overlaying her children reduced heavily the value of a Virginia slave woman (p. 104); and mere age and infirmity caused some to have values less than zero. Two such were sold by public authority to the lowest bidder who would assume their maintenance and the "price" was charged against the insolvent's other property (p. 464). On the other hand mutual affection between a group of slaves and their accustomed mistress prompted the bidding of such inordinate prices for them at auction that the court ordered an adjustment to market rates (p. 96).

As property, slaves constituted a special category in various regards. Some early legislation classed them as real estate for certain purposes, mainly in order to diminish their liability to dislocation. After changes in the law had made them chattels again the courts upheld a rule that slaves must not be seized for debt when other chattels were sufficient to satisfy general creditors (p. 429 *et passim*). The killing of a slave, though without the malice which would have made it a crime, might give ground for suit by the owner for trespass and destruction of property (p. 118); and injury through neglect gave cause against a jailer (p. 145). A person employing a slave without the sanction of the master "stood in effect as insurer" of the slave's life during the employment (p. 402); and a physician administering drugs without the master's consent might become liable if the slave died (p. 464). If a hired slave were crippled through the negligence of a fellow employee his owner might recover damages despite the fellow-servant rule, because the status of the slave might forbid him to desert his post in the face of danger or to quit employment on account of the unskillfulness of his fellows (p. 427). In short, the buyer was not alone in his need of caution in the premises of slave property.

Suits for freedom reached appellate courts in great number. The most fertile grounds were whether time spent in a free region constituted residence or mere sojourn, and whether interim-born children of mothers who had been given deferred manumission were themselves free or slave. An English judge remarked with pride that the courts alone had extirpated slavery from his country (p. 33). The courts in Virginia and Kentucky could not hold themselves so high; but they took pains to describe the proper procedure in suits for freedom and emphasize the duties of judges therein (pp. 101, n., 413); and they cherished the Roman maxim, *In obscura voluntate manumittentis, favendum est libertati* (p. 158). A Virginia judge remarked in 1848 that freedom for negroes was "a benefit rather in name than in fact" (p. 215), but he did not challenge this ancient rule.

There is much regarding free negroes, including note of a lynching (p. 223), sundry cases of rape (records of rape by slaves must be sought

elsewhere), and reduction to slavery in punishment for crime under a short-lived Virginia statute (p. 140). There is something also on Indian slaves. In the sprinkling of *curiosa* there is record of a white woman living in open cohabitation with her negro slave (p. 357); a master sentenced to the penitentiary for having beaten his slave to death, and his attorney rebuked for his argument on appeal (pp. 223-225); an insoluble dilemma as to the status of a negro who had been owned jointly and a majority of whose owners had manumitted their shares in him (pp. 365, 386, two cases); a group of slaves with deferred manumission and a large bequest of money in sight, losing their claim through the abolition of slavery (pp. 261, 262); an indictment of a major-general of United States volunteers for having sent a slave out of Kentucky in time of martial law (p. 457); and the sale of slaves in that commonwealth at substantial prices as late as November, 1865 (p. 461).

These matters and many more are set forth for the most part in quotations from the records, and always with citations. The introductions are excellent, and the editing beyond reproach. I had thought to catch an error in the word "asportation", but the dictionary trapped the trapper. In the humility thus induced, I have but one amendment to propose: the introduction to the Virginia section might well have cited John H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia*, whose very substantial argument it partly parallels.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. Volume I., June 11, 1680-June 22, 1699. Edited by H. R. McILWAINE. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1925. Pp. xi, 587. \$5.00.)

ON January 14, 1679/80, the Lords of Trade and Plantations gave instructions to the colonial governments to transmit to them copies of all legislative journals, together with "a particular account of all matters of importance, whether civil, ecclesiastical or military". The journals, minutes, and reports which came to England as a result of this order have been carefully preserved, and now repose in the British Public Record Office, in London. Since the originals which were left in America have in many cases been destroyed, these copies constitute an invaluable source for the study of colonial history.

For Virginia, the journals of the assembly and of the council of state from 1680 to 1770 comprise 46 manuscript volumes. The Virginia State Library, under the able direction of Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, is rendering a service to history by publishing these documents. The *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia* (thirteen volumes), the *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (three volumes), and the *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia* (one volume) have already been published, and now the first volume of the

Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia makes its appearance.

This volume is especially welcome since it covers a period of great importance, yet a period which has been neglected by historians. It was during the closing years of the seventeenth century that the flood of slaves, which was to effect such profound changes in the economic and social structure of Virginia, began to pour in; that the struggle for power took place between the governor and the council of state; that the bishop of London, aided by his indefatigable commissary, James Blair, tried to reconstruct the Church in Virginia. Not only do the council journals throw much light on these movements, but they deal with many other matters important to the life of the colony—the militia, quit-rents, the patronage, arms and ammunition, violations of the Navigation Acts, Indian relations, indentured workers, the fur trade, intercolonial affairs, tobacco, pirates, imports, taxes, the College of William and Mary.

It may be presumed that when the present series is completed the Library Board will take up the publication of the correspondence of the Board of Trade and of the Secretary of State relating to colonial Virginia, and the entry books of Virginia letters, commissions, warrants, etc. The *British Calendar of State Papers* prints abstracts of some of these documents, but to others it gives only passing mention. The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* and other historical journals, while publishing a few important papers from the collection, have no more than scratched the surface. Only when the seventy or more manuscript volumes of this series have been published, will it be possible for the historian to complete his study of colonial Virginia without a trip to England.

The *Executive Journals* appear with binding, type, and size of page less elaborate than in the *Legislative Journals* and the *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, probably in order to cut down expenses, but there is abundant evidence of the same careful editing. The appearance of the volumes one by one will be awaited eagerly by all who are interested in the history of colonial Virginia.

THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER.

Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Edited by EDMUND C. BURNETT. Volume III., January 1 to December 31, 1778. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1926. Pp. lxii, 582. Unbound, \$5.00; bound, \$5.50.)

IN this third volume Dr. Burnett preserves the very high standards of editing which have marked the preceding volumes. In an admirable preface he presents a good survey of the issues of the Revolution, which receive new or additional light. The Saratoga Convention, the Conway Cabal, the reception of North's conciliatory measures, the coming of the French envoy, Gerard, the obstacles to the adoption of the Articles of

Confederation, the Silas Deane controversy, all get new illumination in this invaluable collection of letters.

One comes away from this volume with no better impression of Congress's honor in the matter of the Convention of Saratoga than hitherto. The members were beyond doubt "practical politicians", too ready with excuses. Henry Laurens appears a self-confessed leader in the matter, having the grace, however, to confess to several sleepless nights and days over a decision which he realized would be brought before "the tribunal of the whole civilised world".

The Conway Cabal, the editor admits, remains still, in part, one of the historical puzzles of the Revolution, though there is a great deal of new light, principally from the letters of Henry Laurens. He was admitted behind the curtain enough so that he was permitted a view of Conway's notorious letter. Among those implicated he found "prompters and actors, accommodators, Candle-snuffers, Shifters of scenes and Mutes". Though Laurens opposed one of Washington's dearest measures, half-pay for life to army officers, yet he was against the conspirators whose success he believed would mean the ruin of the American cause. New letters concerning Lord North's conciliatory measures presented by his agents Carlisle, Eden, and Johnstone are fairly abundant. Regarded, as it was, as an insidious scheme, more dangerous than 10,000 of the best British troops, yet Congress desired to stop the effusion of blood, and there was long debate, betraying far from complete unanimity. If the fine things then offered had been tendered months earlier America might have embraced the propositions. As it was the answer was, "The door is shut". Even the device on the seals of the ministerial documents, "a fond Mother embracing returning children", could not melt the American hearts at that late day. Even the letters, borne by the commission, of Englishmen to their American friends, and the offer to individuals of emoluments and offices failed in their purpose. The commission finally laid aside diplomacy when they had the insolence to ask of Congress a "full communication of the powers by which you conceive yourselves authorised to make treaties with foreign nations".

The coming of the French minister plenipotentiary set Congress all agog. To give him a proper reception exhausted all of their *savoir faire*, especially as Samuel Adams determined that the ceremonials should be adapted to "true *republican* principles". There were many weighty questions as to bowing and sitting, and as to whether the speech should be French or "United States". At last it went off "plain, grand, and decent". There were not wanting those who did not like the idea of calling in foreign aid, and every shade of opinion is found in the letters here submitted. Mingled with these epistolary debates upon conciliation and the reception of a French minister were many letters arguing the weighty questions which came to the fore during the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. "The Grand Corner Stone" did not go into place with the ease desirable, and often assumed the aspect of

"a Rope of Sand". The letters reveal no new phase of that controversy but do give a new measure of the heat generated by the controversies especially between the landowning and landless states. Intemperate however as that debate grew, it was moderate as compared with the storm of party passion that raged about Silas Deane. The man who had rendered America a great service at a critical time by the most tireless activity in France was accused by that trouble-maker, Arthur Lee, of dishonesty and misapplication of public funds. Letters printed here tell the miserable story of the way in which factional strife prevented Deane from getting the simple justice of a fair investigation.

In addition to light upon these episodes in revolutionary history, these letters make much easier the study of various problems which confronted Congress: the reformation of the Continental army, the proper organization of its supply department, the degree of Congress's control over its own members, the complicated question of revolutionary finance, and the efforts of Congress to secure efficient executive departments. Much light is thrown upon the weaknesses of members of Congress, the scanty representation it enjoyed, its changing moods, rising now to a high plane of action, and then quickly sliding down into the abyss of selfishness. The Carnegie Institution is doing a great service to the historical investigator in publishing these immensely valuable volumes and no better agent to carry out its purpose could have been found than the industrious and scholarly editor who has shown such mastery of his task.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Studies in American History. Inscribed to JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor Emeritus of American History in Indiana University, by his former Students. (Bloomington: Indiana University. 1926. Pp. x, 455. Paper, \$1.00; cloth, \$1.75.)

INDIANA UNIVERSITY and former students of Professor Woodburn have produced a volume of historical studies which bears evidence of the gratitude with which a great teacher is remembered by those he has served. President Bryan writes the preface with appropriate words of recognition of the distinguished service of Professor Woodburn at the University of Indiana. This is not the first volume of the kind, and it is to be hoped that it will not be the last. It is a particularly appropriate mode of honoring one who has trained students in research. Professor Woodburn's seminar has been outside the main centres of graduate instruction. Nevertheless, as these essays prove, the historical training at Indiana has been more than ordinarily fruitful. Naturally in a group of fifteen studies covering widely different subjects the contributions are of unequal value.

Two studies treat problems that sweep across the Revolutionary period. Professor Paul C. Phillips (Montana) presents an interesting

study of the Fur Trade in the Maumee-Wabash Country. He takes issue with the view of Victor Coffin that the fur trade in the Northwest had nothing to do with the passage of the Quebec Act. It would seem that the French War after 1793, depriving the Canadian fur traders of their markets in Europe, was a factor in lessening the pressure on Great Britain to retain the western posts. Professor Albert L. Kohlmeier (Indiana) contributes a paper on the Commerce between the United States and the Netherlands, 1783-1789. Advertisements and news-items in the Dutch and American newspapers have been used to supplement the material available in the statistical abstracts. The author concludes that the volume of Dutch trade amounted to more than half that of the British and was an important element in the economic reconstruction of the United States during the critical period.

Four studies cover phases of the political history of the Jacksonian period. Professor Arndt M. Stickles (Western Kentucky State Teachers' College), on Relief Legislation and the Origin of the Court Controversy, deals mainly with bank and other debtor-relief legislation of 1819-1824, that was a part of the background of Jacksonianism. Professors Lawrence Hurst (Stout Institute), "National Party Politics, 1837-1840", Walter Prichard (Louisiana University), "The Presidential Election of 1840", and Dr. R. Carlyle Buley (Indiana), "The Political Balance in the Old Northwest, 1820-1860", remove some of the underbrush which has obscured the vision of historical students trailing through these years.

Five writers have selected subjects related to the Civil War period: Professor William O. Lynch (Indiana), "Population Movements in relation to the Struggle for Kansas", Professor Thomas L. Harris (Baker University), "John Brown", Professor Graham A. Barringer, "The Influence of Railroad Transportation on the Civil War", Professor Olin D. Morrison (Eureka College), "Indiana's Care for her Soldiers in the Field, 1861-1865", and Professor Charles Roll (Indiana State Normal), "Indiana's Part in Reconstruction". Mr. Lynch arrives at the significant conclusions that the efforts of the pro-slavery and of the Emigrant Aid Society to win Kansas bore little fruit; that the result would have been the same without their efforts; that in all probability more settlers were turned away from Kansas because of the strife there than went there for the purpose of struggling for or against slavery; that emigrants of the period were "influenced by the simple desire to reach some new area where land was cheap and opportunities for economic and social improvement [were] present".

Two of these studies treat recent phases of American history. By a liberal interpretation of what may be included in American history an essay on "The Territorial and Economic Roots of the Ruhr", by Dr. Sherwood, state superintendent of public instruction (Indiana), is included. Professor Orren C. Hormell (Bowdoin), by an article on the History of the Direct Primary in the State of Maine, contributes to a

better understanding of a current political question. Many tables exhibit the practical results of the primary system. Space does not permit an adequate statement of his conclusions (p. 380).

Professors Wilson P. Shortridge and James M. Callahan (both of the University of West Virginia) consider Canadian-American relations. Dr. Shortridge ("Some Inter-relationships in Canadian-American History") emphasizes the interdependence of these neighbors and makes a plea for a study of Canadian history in American universities. Students of the subject will find his study of the British policy in 1763-1774 suggestive. Dr. Callahan ("Americo-Canadian Relations concerning Annexation, 1846-1871") shows the American frontier-movement after the Civil War turning northward far down the Red River Valley, and giving promise of an American occupation which, together with the one going on in British Columbia, would sweep on to Alaska. Occupation of Manitoba and a small American uprising against Canadian authority in good time became the background of the "hemispheric withdrawal" programme in Washington. But the Canadian Pacific Railroad cut across the lines of expansion of Americans and prevented a troublesome clash of westward movements of two neighboring peoples.

Loyalism in Virginia: Chapters in the Economic History of the Revolution. By ISAAC SAMUEL HARRELL, Assistant Professor of History in New York University. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 203. \$2.50.)

DR. HARRELL has misnamed a stimulating book. Inaugurating his inquiry "with the view of determining the extent of loyalty to the British government in Virginia during the American Revolution", he soon found that on that count he must be as laconic as Dr. Johnson's famous quotation of a chapter from Horrebow's *Natural History of Iceland*: for after the resident British merchants had been banished, the number of Loyalists remaining in Virginia was almost as limited as the tale of the snakes in Iceland. The planters among them could be enumerated on ten fingers. Because throughout their colonial history Virginia planters persistently exhibited good manners in their dealings with the crown there have been others before Dr. Harrell who have expressed surprise at this phenomenon. In that respect the emotion of George III. and Lord North in 1776 was that of Charles II. and Clarendon in 1652: "more was expected from Virginia."

Diverted from his original inquiry, Dr. Harrell pursued a quest for an explanation of the lack of militant loyalism, and he recognized, if he did not discover, it in the agrarianism which, from the beginning of the colony, was a centrifugal force tugging against the commercialism of the mother country. The historical argument from the pocket-book may be conclusive, but it helps. In this instance the historian of Virginia politics who is still to arise will find meat in Dr. Harrell's array of the facts which lead him to his judgment, for they are pertinent to a thesis

of relation of the motives of the revolutionary worthies with the tradition of the "country party", which for economic considerations agitated the assembly and the royal governors at the beginning of the eighteenth century under the successive leadership of the first Robert Beverley, Thomas Milner, and "a Conway, a Corbin or a Marable".

Dr. Harrell's study is, then, not of loyalism but of the economic problems of Virginia during the last half of the eighteenth century, particularly of those issuing from the urge upon the planters to recover the unregulated access to frontier land which was checked by the Proclamation of 1763, and from the struggle to lift their burden of accumulated and hopeless debt to British merchants. Both were undoubtedly factors in the unanimity of the planters' politics. To the analysis of these questions is added a full and useful discussion of the sequestration of alien property by the revolutionary assembly, and the ensuing futile effort to conjure from it part of the credit necessary to wage war.

Perhaps the most interesting of Dr. Harrell's generalizations from the facts collected in these examinations are that, although high passions flamed, "throughout the Revolution no person suffered death for treason in Virginia by order of a court or the Assembly"; that "no bills of attainder were passed"; "that the policy of sequestration and sale of lands discriminated against the foreigner rather than against the enemy"; and that "the winning of the territory in the west, not the confiscation of lands in the east, paved the way for a new social order in Virginia". Incidentally, he maintains that, by supporting the Revolution, the aristocrats of the Old Dominion destroyed their own class without achieving the kind of liberty suggested by the question George Mason heard propounded by some of his neighbors in a discussion of the Jay Treaty, "If we are now to pay the debts due to the British merchants, what have we been fighting for all this while?"

The book is thoroughly documented and bears evidence of painstaking and, indeed, heroic examination of the great mass of still undigested Revolutionary material in the State Library in Richmond; notably, the books and papers of the auditor of the Commonwealth and the legislative petitions. A few casual blunders have been noted. They bear on their face evidence of that bane of research, cold and illegible notes: John Agnew was not chaplain, but minister, in Suffolk (p. 49); Simon Frazer's name was either that or Frazier, not both (p. 53); Miles Selden did not spell his name Seldon (p. 63); Jonathan Boucher was never "clergyman in Westmoreland County", nor did he ever count "George Washington among his parishioners" (p. 64); *Josiah* Tucker is an appalling misprint for *Judge* [St. George] Tucker (p. 89, n.); Denny Fairfax is confused with George William Fairfax (p. 91); Hampden and Sidney College (p. 100); Greenway Court was in Frederick County, not near Fredericksburg (p. 104); Mr. H. C. Groome is made to masquerade twice as E. C. Broome (pp. 104, 189); South Manor is an elision of South Branch Manor (p. 105).

If now the Devil's advocate may be heard for a moment, he ventures to invite attention to the difficulty of reading such books as this, for the style is in the most advanced fashion of our contemporary postgraduate historical seminars. That style may be denominated the pneumatic hammer style, for it consists of a series of staccato percussions of related facts, followed by a relaxing afflatus of generalization, and repeat. There is no provision of hospitality for that mild creature to whom the publishers address honeyed form-letters arguing the joys of the "general reader", because there is no attempt at literature. We do not hold Dr. Harrell individually responsible for this because he has only followed the lead of older scholars. The vice seems to be the cultivation of an heretical worship of Clio as a goddess of pure science. And yet it may be pointed out that even pure science can be readable: witness the *Principia* of Sir Isaac Newton, which any educated man with a smattering of mathematics can read with sustained interest, even if he does not understand all of it. Moreover, Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan has recently given a new demonstration that history can be both scientific and agreeable. But among contemporary American historical scholars the tendency seems to be to put the exposition of their labors on the same literary footing as those of the chemist, useful in the class-room or the laboratory, but cataleptic in a library chair.

FAIRFAX HARRISON.

Jefferson. By ALBERT JAY NOCK. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1926. Pp. 340. \$2.75.)

MR. NOCK says he is writing "a mere study—a study in conduct and character", and not a biography. He has however maintained an orderly sequence of events, even though detailed chronology is not emphasized. With his own idea of selection and emphasis, he has really given us an account of Jefferson's career. He has lingered over opinions, given freely in Jefferson's words, and has stressed Jefferson's observations and theories in economic matters and the relation of his acts to the fundamental economic struggle.

Mr. Nock has prepared himself for the task by reading a number of books and some manuscripts. Of the biographers he prefers Parton. He is piquant and original at times and not too careful of the feelings of those who dwell about Williamsburg. This ancient seat he says was "unattractive, save to those who knew nothing better" (p. 3). In an account of Jefferson's life down to 1784—forty-one years—he merely names the Declaration of Independence, gives one page to the governorship, and twenty-six pages to farming operations. Jefferson, "even as farming went in those days, . . . was not a good practical farmer" (p. 51); yet his services in agriculture "were of great benefit to the nation at large" (p. 68).

Nearly one-third of the book is devoted to the five years 1784-1789. Here there is a good chance for describing, largely in Jefferson's lan-

guage, his opinions and observations about French and English life and things in general called to Jefferson's attention by what he saw.

As Mr. Nock opens up his treatment of Jefferson's national career, his thesis begins to unfold. It is Mr. Beard's theory complete. Public creditors, land speculators, shipping interests, manufacturers, and merchants made the Constitution. Not one of the founders represented the interests of production. The producing class, in Mr. Nock's opinion, is "the immense majority which in every society actually applies labour and capital to natural resources for the production of wealth". The "exploiting" class he defines as "the minority, that is, which in every society appropriates without compensation the labour-products of the majority" (p. 192). Now, Jefferson, although a poor economist, without a full understanding of the implications of all that was going on, wasting his time denouncing monocrats and such terrible creatures, nevertheless was the protagonist of the producing class, and Hamilton, who also was a poor economist, was the protagonist of the "exploiters" because he wanted to strengthen the government. Because of Jefferson's "legalistic" attitude toward Hamilton's fiscal system, he appeared as "a doctrinaire advocate of States' rights and of strict Constitutional construction; whereas he was really neither" (p. 199). He was ready to change sides on these academic questions whenever he found the producers' interest lay in the other direction. Space would forbid, if indeed the discussion were fruitful, again raising the question as to whether the history of the period has such a simple key as the fight between "producers" and "exploiters", or as to the proper definition of these terms. Mr. Nock's statement of this theory is interesting, at any rate, if not profound.

Jefferson, according to Mr. Nock, did not have the inclination, the natural bent, or the gifts for the popular leadership into which he gravitated; nor was he "the philosopher and thinker of that movement". He was however "a born Vice-President". It was "the one public office that exactly suited him" (p. 220).

The presidency was eight years of "splendid misery". He found the Hamiltonian system of finance a fixture. Nevertheless by deflating the debt, cutting down the army and navy, abolishing the newly created courts, lightening the load of taxation, he did a good deal for the "producer". He never understood the immense impetus "that would be given to unlimited private land-monopoly by his cherished plan to clear off the public debt by the sale of the Western lands" (p. 247). Nor did Jefferson fully understand the deep import of British influence in America. It was "the external and superficial aspect of this influence that mostly concerned him" (p. 248). And in the case of the Embargo he "proposed a measure wholly subversive of the principle of liberty. . . . In fact, the most arbitrary, inquisitorial and confiscatory measure formulated in American legislation up to the period of the Civil War was the Embargo Act" (p. 266).

Mr. Nock has written an entertaining, challenging book, not altogether convincing, but well worth the writing and the reading. In the manner of a Virginian, he never fails to set the great Democrat off from other men as *Mr. Jefferson*. Although the present reviewer has never been able, with entire consistency and poise, to carry off this manner of speaking, he acknowledges that Mr. Nock is able to do it. I wonder, however, why the title of the book should not be *Mr. Jefferson*!

D. R. ANDERSON.

An Interpretation of Recent American History. By JAMES C. MALIN, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Kansas. (New York and London: Century Company. 1926. Pp. xv, 175. \$1.25.)

THIS little volume deals with American history since the Civil War. It is designed to relate the salient facts of the last sixty years in such a way as to point out their meaning and significance. It seeks to give historical understanding, not merely a narrative of happenings in their chronological order. The facts are dealt with by an interpretative arrangement. The author, knowing in their order the chief events of our history, looks at that history in the large; he sees the great movements and decisions which the march of events has brought to pass, and he marshals his facts in such a way as to enable the reader to find historical values in certain factors that are outstanding in American development.

These factors are the making of the nationalized federal state, individualism, democracy, industrialism, imperialism, and internationalism. The author turns from the topics of earlier historians to these dominant forces of recent years.

Geographical unity, economic forces and organization, union of East and West, the nationalization of the government, have all tended to produce the nationalized federal state. A forcible array of facts, industrial, class, social, cultural, are shown to bear upon this development.

The second part of the volume deals with America from the Civil War to the World War, under the caption, "The Making of Greater America". Under Industrialism the author deals with the alliance between industry and politics; our currency troubles and defective banking; the combinations of capital and the financial groups; our reaching out for markets; our increased exports—which are all related pointedly to this outstanding feature in our history.

Imperialism brings into view an aggressive policy for commercial expansion; the effect of the Spanish war; the need for raw materials; the increase of the navy under the propaganda of Colonel Roosevelt and Captain Mahan; pan-Americanism for the sake of trade expansion toward Spanish America; the acceptance of imperialism by organized Christian missions in order that our Christian civilization might spread to benighted parts.

Democracy deals with the drawing of class lines; immigration; labor organizations, with a parallel between slave labor and wage labor; the agrarian movement, including the Grangers and the Populists and the Non-Partisan League; the newspapers, the literary and social clubs; the influence of public education and of the church and the church's growing interest in economic and social problems. A keen intelligence is shown in revealing the way in which all these things are related to the growth of democracy, as, for instance, in the author's characterizing so aptly the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 as a *democratization* of our money system: "Here the national government responded at last to the argument which had been the basis of the greenback agitation—a direct national control over banking and the issue of money, and of adjusting the volume of money to the needs of the country." The same growth in democracy is seen in the graduated income tax; in the control of railways, of commerce, of industrial corporations, and in the agencies and acts for social betterment; in elections and the changes in political machinery; direct primaries, direct election of United States senators, the secret ballot, woman suffrage, the initiative, referendum, and recall, and the control of the liquor traffic.

The section on Internationalism deserves special commendation. It is shown that America has entered into *twenty-eight* arrangements or agreements leading to international co-operation, not counting the Universal Postal Union and international copyright. These international conventions touch communications—postal, telegraph, wireless; economic interests—weights, measures, patents; sanitation, health, police, submarine cables, African slavery, white slave traffic, obscene publications, scientific progress. These agencies are now centralized largely in the League of Nations, "which, if it accomplished nothing more, would be the greatest single step yet taken in the direction of efficient international organization".

The author traces the rise and progress of the peace movement in America, and American leadership in the development of the League of Nations and the World Court, through Roosevelt, Taft, Root, and Wilson.

The volume is a very thoughtful one, from a teacher who knows how events should be studied and arranged to make known their significance. It should find a wide use among teachers and students of American history. It is without an index; that lack always detracts from the usefulness of a volume, although in this case the table of contents is analyzed in detail. There is a very extensive and useful bibliography which every teacher or student will appreciate. Taken as a whole, Professor Malin's small volume is a compact illustration of much in little.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Introduction to the American Official Sources for the Economic and Social History of the World War. Compiled by WALDO G. LELAND and NEWTON D. MERENESS. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1926. Pp. xlvii, 532, 18. \$5.25.)

THE complete history of American participation in the World War will involve (1) an account of the military effort, (2) an account of the non-military effort, which was directed chiefly to the financing of the military needs of the Allies, and to the stiffening of their morale, (3) a description of the social and economic reorganization undertaken in order that these efforts might be more effectively maintained, (4) an account of the reactions of the war-effort and of the economic reorganization upon American industry, life, and thought, and, finally (5), a picture of demobilization in all its aspects. The scheme of the Carnegie Endowment, to which we are indebted for the invaluable *Introduction to the American Official Sources*, now at hand, excludes the first and most of the second of these major divisions of the subject. The Carnegie Endowment is concerned with the effect of war upon nations, not with the war itself; and the student must be warned not to approach this volume with the expectation of finding in it a guide to the military papers of the A. E. F. But the sociological student who desires to measure the derangement of social life by the fact of war, or the student of preparedness whose interest is to learn from the *post mortem* of this war how better to serve the nation when or if it may again be forced into military struggle, will find in the work of Leland and Mereness an introduction to a new and almost untouched side of human history.

It was the great novelty of the World War that civilization devoted itself almost whole-heartedly to its winning. The slogan of "business as usual" was dropped, and in its place was heard the phrase, "work or fight", a maxim that touched the life of the baby in the cradle, the workman in the shop, and the youth at school. There was, in effect, no such person as a non-combatant among the fighting nations. And in the hurried reorganizations improvised to win the war many principles of co-operation were tested that might, could equal devotion be promised them, be even more useful in organizing society to make it possible to live at peace. Through each of the chief war-agencies that functioned in 1917 and 1918 the editors of this book have gone, listing the things that were printed, the reports that were written, and the archives that were accumulated, and describing the slipshod manner in which the nation has preserved the records. Their task was lightened, in a way, by the fact that nearly all of the irregular organizations, as well as the regular branches of the government devoted considerable post-armistice effort to the compiling of official histories. The history of the air service in France runs to 269 volumes. Many of the war workers wrote personal narratives that are quasi-official in character, like Creel's *How We Advertised America* (1920), or Crowder's *Spirit of the Selective Service*

(1920). The Historical Branch of the General Staff assembled more than three thousand *dossiers*, upon as many separate economic agencies of the war, in connection with its projected history of economic mobilization. All of these have been sought out and listed, even to the Department of Commerce's *Substitutes for Tin Cans*, and W. B. Bell's *Co-operative Campaigns for the Control of Ground Squirrels, Prairie Dogs, and Jack Rabbits*.

The very table of contents of this *Introduction* gives a better sketch of war organization than exists elsewhere in print; the brief paragraphs of explanation identify them in time and function.

It adds materially to the horrors of war to contemplate the mass of additional materials created thereby for the conscientious historian; but with this guide available it now becomes possible to proceed with the study of American life as affected by the war.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid. By FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN, D.Sc.M.H. Volumes I., II. [Recueil de Travaux, Université de Louvain, deuxième sér., tomes VI., VII.] (Louvain: A. Uytenspruyt; Rochester, N. Y.: Art Print Shop. 1925, 1926. Pp. xii, 368; xii, 487. \$3.00.)

DR. ZWIERLEIN has spent many years in the preparation of these two bulky volumes which, owing to his leisurely methods and his copious use of extracts from the correspondence and writings of Bishop McQuaid, have not yet exhausted his subject. Indeed, a third volume is now in preparation, and there is no apparent reason why, unless he resorts to a more summary treatment of his topics, this should not be followed by still another volume.

The author is a painstaking, laborious historical student, who is fully aware of the defects that are commonly found in the biographies of more or less eminent prelates. He is determined that the *Life of Bishop McQuaid* shall never be mistaken for a panegyric. He seeks facts. He has found them in abundance for he has worked in a new field to which the historical student rarely has access. He has had in his hands the letter-books and private papers of Bishop McQuaid, who was an unusually alert and observant critic of his times, possessed of a vigorous and caustic style, and inclined, especially in the intimacies of his correspondence, to hit many venerable heads. Moreover, the archives of the archdioceses of Baltimore and New York, and the papers of Bishop Gilmore of Cleveland, and many other sources, have been open to him. He has used them all without fear or favor.

The result, as shown in these volumes, is a rather disorderly, but most interesting, series of chapters; some dealing with the local history of the diocese of Rochester, but others with the larger thoughts and movements of the Catholic Church in the United States. It is safe to say that the material found in chapter XVII. on Papal Infallibility has never

before seen the light. So also are chapters XXV. on Conciliar Legislation and XXVI. on Approval of Council, taken, apparently verbatim, from Bishop McQuaid's notes, all new. In no other work can the genesis of the canon law of this country, up to the introduction of the New Codex in 1918, be so readily studied.

On the other hand, there is much that is irrelevant and long drawn out. The whole chapter on Secret Societies, covering nearly a hundred pages, is nothing more nor less than a history of the Land League and other allied Irish political societies with which Bishop McQuaid had almost nothing whatever to do. A bishop's dealing with his clergy is largely confidential and history has very little interest in the failings or mistakes of some very unimportant ecclesiastics. The author, however, drags into the light of publicity all that he has found.

"I have downed them all", Bishop McQuaid was in the habit of saying in his old age, of his classmates who commiserated his frail habit in youth. His life consisted in "downing" many other opponents, chiefly ecclesiastics. The chapter dealing with his first days as a bishop is significantly entitled *First Troubles*. There is more or less of trouble in all the others. "You know", he writes to one of his correspondents (II. 128), "that if I begin to make a stir my natural character seems to lead people to suspect ulterior views and jealousy is created." On another occasion he refers to an article he had just written (II. 165), "It is written with gloves off and in my most bitter style".

In spite, however, of this natural inclination for "trouble", he was a laborious and devoted bishop who was the sincere and determined champion of the parochial school and who accomplished wonders in his diocese.

AUSTIN DOWLING.

The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky. By ELLIS MERTON COULTER, Professor of History in the University of Georgia. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 468. \$3.60.)

PROFESSOR COULTER has shown considerable courage in sifting the mass of complex and conflicting evidence bearing upon Kentucky during the Civil War and Reconstruction era. He has done a brilliant piece of work; his book is a gripping story from beginning to end, clear-cut, solid, and comprehensive. Every statement is documented with source-material, garnered as with a fine-tooth comb from the correspondence of the Breckenridges, Holt, Watterson, Crittenden, Harrison, Stevenson, Durrett, and from the newspapers of that region and the government documents, state and federal. It is, in many ways, the best book on this period.

The best feature about the book is that it presents very clearly and forcefully the psychological groupings about the sectional issues, tracing and explaining the ever-shifting opinion of these groups. In 1861,

according to Professor Coulter's analysis, there were three groups in Kentucky. On the extreme right were the Union-at-any-price men, led by such men as Holt and Robert J. Breckenridge, the implacable, dogmatic Presbyterian preacher. This group admitted nothing in favor of the South and slavery. The centre or middle-of-the-road crowd, making up the great majority of Kentuckians and led by such men as Lazarus Powell, Crittenden, and, at first, John C. Breckinridge, were Southern in their social, political, and racial make-up, but were attached also to the Union through sentiment and trade, mostly trade. This group believed in the doctrine of states' rights but were opposed to secession as the remedy for the admitted wrongs of the South. They were in favor of an adequate compromise such as the Crittenden Compromise. The third group, much larger than the right, formed the extreme left or radical secessionists. They were headed by men such as Simon Buckner. They had no patience with half-way measures.

The call for troops by Lincoln found the centre in control of the state, except the governor, who was more in sympathy with the left or states' rights party. It was an embarrassing situation; they wanted to stay in the Union for purposes of trade with the Northwest and the region along the Ohio, but they objected to coercion of the seceded states. Hence they settled upon neutrality as the best and safest policy. They would not secede and lose their commercial connections and make their state into a battlefield torn by a fratricidal war, nor would they make war upon their kinsmen to the South.

For several months Kentucky profited by this ambiguous position, reaping a golden harvest in contraband in the capacity of middleman between the two hostile sections. Lincoln showed great diplomatic skill in allowing this trade during the months of indecision, for it resulted in Kentucky's doing nothing positive and time was thus gained. When Lincoln realized that the end of Kentucky's neutrality must be brought about, he outmanoeuvred the Confederacy and forced it to violate the neutrality of that state, and thus bear the onus of breaking a plighted faith. All the time, before the troops of the two sections were encamped upon the neutral soil of the Blue Grass state, Lincoln had actually been violating its neutrality by arming and recruiting soldiers there. He got around the technical violation of neutrality by carrying this work on through means of native Kentuckians bearing commissions in the United States army. Lincoln's policy resulted in Kentucky's remaining in the Union, as Professor Coulter suggests, by sheer inertia rather than any actual choice or decision. This was a great moral victory.

But the material benefits were not so great. In fact a situation grew up in Kentucky which Lincoln either approved or was unable to control, which resulted in the alienation of the masses of people composing the second group from the administration and practically from the Union. The author says that this situation "virtually destroyed the effective co-operation of the state with the federal government", the state voting

almost solidly against Lincoln in the state and national elections of 1862-1864, paying scant respect to the federal draft laws, and practically ceasing to send volunteers into the Union army. The situation which came to alienate the mass of Kentuckians was the military régime set up in Kentucky as soon as the state was definitely a part of the Union. General Boyle, and later General Palmer, who had charge of the military in this state, conducted themselves in the manner of Oriental despots, breaking up peaceful political conventions and chasing candidates away simply because they were opposed to Lincoln and were advocating the election of McClellan; or seizing men, women, and children by the wholesale and throwing them into prison, sending them into exile, or executing them on mere suspicion of disloyalty. Towards the end of the war the people were still further exasperated with the federal government by the crude way in which Lincoln's emancipation policy and the confiscatory laws were executed in Kentucky by the military. The emancipation of the negro without compensation and the radical policy embittered even the mild radicals against the North and the Union so that Kentucky returned, for some years to come, an overwhelming vote against the Republican candidates and administrations. One observer remarked "that Kentucky failed to secede in 1861", but "by a strange conjunction of circumstances what the rebels failed to do in 1861 they realized in 1867". The Confederate element combined with the conservatives as soon as the war ended and swept the radicals from the state government and most of the national offices in the state. Soon the Confederate element, possessing the ablest leadership, organized and took over the Conservative party and renamed it the Democratic. For a while no one but an ex-Confederate soldier could obtain office. At length, in the face of the radical and negro threat, the Conservatives sneaked into the Democratic ranks and were allowed a small portion of the offices.

Thereafter, says Professor Coulter, "the Confederate tradition became the dominant feeling in society, politics and religion. . . . Monuments to Confederates were erected on all sides with funds raised privately or apportioned from the public treasury. The graves of Union soldiers might be decorated, but it was not fashionable to mark their memory with statues and monuments in public squares and parks".

So, while the political strategy of Lincoln saved the state from secession, the border policy pursued afterwards—martial law and arbitrary arrests and persecution, crude handling of the emancipation question, the radical programme of fastening negro rule upon the South—resulted in Kentucky's becoming almost solidly pro-Southern and Democratic.

FRANK LAWRENCE OWSLEY.

The Life of Stephen F. Austin, the Founder of Texas, 1793-1836.

By EUGENE C. BARKER, Professor of American History in the University of Texas. (Dallas, Texas: Cokesbury Press. 1925. Pp. xv, 551. \$5.00.)

THE book under review has long been expected by the members of the historical profession. For years Professor Barker has been collecting material for a biography of Stephen F. Austin, a small part of which appeared a short time ago under his editorship in the form of the *Austin Papers* in two thick volumes of the American Historical Association *Reports*. He has also written and published numerous papers and articles pertaining to the early history of Texas. His book is therefore the culmination of prolonged and scholarly effort as editor and author and is the most important contribution to the history of the Southwest in recent years.

By way of introduction there is presented in the first three chapters an outline sketch of the Austin family in America, with particular attention to Moses Austin, the father of Stephen F., who was prominently connected with the lead-mining industry in Virginia and Missouri in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and who, in the last two years of his life, projected a scheme for establishing an American colony in Texas. It fell, however, to the son, on the death of his father in 1821, to carry out that scheme, and from that time to his own premature end in 1836 he was so vitally connected with the early history and development of Anglo-American Texas as to win for himself the high distinction of being its founder. The story of those fifteen active years is told in great detail in the remaining chapters of the book.

Inasmuch as Austin had never been the subject of biographical study Professor Baker chose to make his book "primarily factual and direct rather than interpretative" in its method of treatment, confident that "the admirable character and winning personality of the man" would thereby become unmistakably clear.

In these last quoted words is to be found the key-note of the book. Austin, according to Professor Barker, has been greatly maligned and misunderstood, not only in his own time but ever since, and deserves therefore to have his day in court against his detractors. Truth to tell, it must be admitted that more than once during his career in Texas Austin became involved in certain transactions that, on first glance at least, appear rather questionable. The most-noted instance was that of the Robertson Colony, in connection with which Austin was accused of betraying a trust imposed upon him, and acquiring thereby a colonial grant that had already been bestowed upon another man. In dealing with this and other controversial topics in the life of Austin, the author assumes the rôle of attorney for the defense, and by skillfully marshalling facts and arguments he builds up a strong case for his client. Most of his readers will probably be convinced by his method of procedure and accept his conclusions as sound and trustworthy, but some will doubtless

still remain skeptical. Already one reviewer voices himself to that effect in a recent issue of the *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*. But whoever in the future persists in preferring charges against Austin will have to reckon with Professor Barker's treatment of the matter and introduce new evidence if he expects to get a hearing before critical historical students.

For the benefit of the general reader the author might well have included among the introductory chapters one on the conditions in Texas in 1821. The book will undoubtedly be read by many who are not familiar with the Spanish colonial period of Texas history and hence they will not be in a position to appreciate Austin's work as much as they would if they had been given some idea of what had been done in Texas before he began his activities there.

The portraits of Austin, taken at different periods of his life, and those of his father and mother are excellently reproduced, and the two maps of Texas, retraced from the original Austin Papers, add much to the value and interest of the book. The index is all that could be desired.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1857. By WILFRID HARDY CALLCOTT, Associate Professor of History in the University of South Carolina. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1926. Pp. 357. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR CALLCOTT presents the historical process in Mexico from the establishment of the republic to the promulgation of the Constitution of 1857, finding his unity in the struggle for the emergence of the democratic principle in government against the reactionary influences within the Church, the landholding class, and the army. He points out repeatedly in the course of his narrative that the continuous disorganization of public finance and neglect of the public debt was responsible for the successive political crises through which Mexico passed during the period under review. The author's point of view is that the separation of church and state and the development of liberal democratic government, while they are processes breaking distinctly with the social tradition of the country, are desirable and possible ideals. The Church, a beneficent institution with much to its credit, has had an unhappy influence because of its inevitable accumulation of property in mortmain and its efforts to prevent loss of this, as well as of its influence, under the continuous fight against its dominant position.

An "Historic Background" lays a good basis for this treatment, in which there are minor slips. It is hardly true that the "New Laws" exerted any considerable ameliorative influence upon the Indians of New Spain (pp. 10-11), for they were actually enslaved on the mining frontiers half a century after these laws were promulgated and withdrawn. The colonies were hardly "practically uncontaminated by Jews

and all other non-Catholics" (p. 11), for Inquisition records show many instances of trials of Jews, Huguenots, and Lutherans. In accounting for the accumulation of lands by religious bodies the original royal grants, sufficient for maintenance, are overlooked (p. 13). The discussion of the influence of militarism in colonial days (p. 23) should have brought out the fact that until 1765 the army was Spanish and transitory; that enlistment of colonials was the means Charles III. took to provide defense against England, and that the creation of a military caste not only led to independence but has been responsible for the development and survival of government by *cuartelazo* in spite of democratic forms. Division of the clergy into upper, lower, and regular classes is illogical, ignoring the fact that the first two are seculars (p. 30); parish priests ought not to be called curates (p. 20). To say that the liberal movement of the early nineteenth century was by the "masses" as against "classes" (p. 31) is rather broad. It was in their name, but they have hardly moved, even yet; the active group has been the *mestizos*, who are hardly the masses. Their influence has been shown by their continual process of driving away the earlier top crusts of society and rising to absorb their category, a movement which still goes on under the name of democracy.

The ample and well-chosen bibliography affords abundant primary material for this dissertation, but the author leans heavily on secondary writers; contemporary accounts are well handled, and the treatment of sources, notably the Gómez Farías letters from the García Library, are so used as to place new emphasis on the career of the initiator of the separation movement. The mild judgment of Santa Anna as one of Mexico's most remarkable men is perhaps just, but that worthy needs louder praise before he can be rehabilitated. There is a short but good account of the Constituent Congress, and the framing and reception of the now famous Constitution of 1857. The whole work is written in clear style and in judicial tone and manner; it fills the need for a work on the earlier background of the current religious situation. The format of the book is attractive, and creditable to Duke University Press.

H. I. PRIESTLEY.

MINOR NOTICES

The Outline of History, being a Plain History of Life and Mankind. By H. G. Wells. New illustrated edition. Two volumes. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. x, 384, viii, 767, \$15.00.) The two-volume edition of Mr. Wells's *Outline of History* now issued is in large octavo, with two columns to the page, a form probably adopted in order to facilitate the introduction of innumerable illustrations, of which there are some seven or eight hundred, besides 118 maps and charts, and 24 colored plates (the title page says 32). The work has been revised and in some measure rewritten. Mr. Wells says that the first edition, constructed with the aid of many specialists, had somewhat the appearance and flavor of a

note-book; and that the controversies, about Mr. Gladstone's education and many other matters, which were carried cheerfully on between the foot-notes and the text, while amusing to the writers, were tedious to the readers and quite irrelevant to the story. Having profited from his critics, Mr. Wells has now dismissed his collaborators with a "God bless you", omitted all the notes, and rewritten the text with the object of making it "more explicit, more fluent and more continuous". In this I think he has succeeded. In addition, Mr. Wells has brought the story down to the present year of 1926, and at the same time omitted some of the optimistic speculation about the future great society which was included in the first edition. Scholars will still find much amiss in Mr. Wells's *Outline of History* (and how else can they retain their self respect?); but for all that, the work in its present form is a splendid achievement, a single history in which people of all conditions, young and old, may find a simple story of the great human adventure.

C. B.

Demosthenes. By Georges Clemenceau. Translated by Charles Miner Thompson. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926, pp. 158, \$2.50.) This passionate sketch belongs to the literature of action and influence rather than to that of history and scholarship. In his eloquent plea for what is both the patriotic and the common-sense view of Demosthenes's mission and character, M. Clemenceau is thinking of the French people. He is speaking to the modern Athenians, who from love of their ease or misled by defeatist demagogues and sentimental pseudo-scientific cosmopolitan philosophies would not, he thinks, heed the warning of a Demosthenes—if haply they had one. But his protest has a certain timeliness, of which he is doubtless unaware, for opinion in America. We have no Philip to fear and no semi-barbarian Macedon threatening our frontiers or looming in our future. But to turn from great things to things politicians deem small, too many of our text-books of Greek history have been filled with an anti-Athenian, anti-democratic, un-American propaganda made in that older imperialistic Germany and still surviving in German scholarship, as for example in the recent work of Drerup. In the country of Goodwin, whose historical appendix to his edition of the *Oration on the Crown* might dispense them from the study of foreign authorities, American students are taught that it was folly to resist the disciplined *Beamtenstaat* of Macedon, that Demosthenes was certainly an impractical idealist and probably a corrupt politician, and that the policies of Isocrates were far more statesmanlike and in accord with the stream of tendency and the inevitable course of history.

No red-blooded American who reads the *Oration on the Crown* with a teacher worth his salt will ever believe it. But there is danger that the docile majority, who are put through a school text-book of Greek history manufactured directly or indirectly in Germany, will accept this mis-

chievous propaganda as the verdict of scientific history. Has it not been approved by Mr. H. G. Wells himself? If the eloquence of M. Clemenceau's protest and his vivid interpretation of Demosthenes's career helps to counteract this tendency, the truly critical student of Greek history will welcome his book. A professional scholar could easily cavil on the details. But M. Clemenceau is right on the one essential issue. He justifies his conclusion by the speculation that if the Athenian democracy had survived, instead of the futile over-running of Asia there might have been a direct Hellenization of the Gallic tribes, and so a France whose civilization did not derive from the decadence of Rome but from the original source of all civilization. Be that as it may, *victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni* is a religion which the *Oration on the Crown* will not allow humanity to forget.

PAUL SHOREY.

Römische Geschichte. Von Friedrich Cauer. (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1925, pp. 208, 5 M.) This book is a companion volume to Professor Wilcken's *Griechische Geschichte*, which was reviewed in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1926 (XXXI. 302), by the present writer.

Professor Cauer divides his subject into four periods: (a) From the beginnings to the subjugation of Italy (pp. 1-34); (b) the conquest of the Mediterranean countries (pp. 34-64); (c) the period of the civil wars (pp. 64-109); (d) the Empire (pp. 109-168). These four periods are subdivided into fifteen chapters. Bibliographical notes (pp. 169-184), a chronological table (pp. 185-197), and select passages from original sources close the book.

The attempt to write a history of Rome from its beginnings to the year 476 A. D. in 168 pages requires great courage. It may become even more hazardous, if, in addition to the facts of political development, the author tries to present also those social and cultural achievements which sometimes play just as important a rôle in shaping a nation's destiny as do the more prosaic facts of political history. For such a task the historian must be not only a master of ancient sources and of the results of modern research, but must be endowed also with an unusual sense of proportion.

In full justice to Professor Cauer it must be admitted that his mastery of sources is unquestionable, although one misses, in the rich bibliography of recent works (which includes books published in 1925), such well-known books as Gardthausen's *Augustus und seine Zeit* and Rosenberg's *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur Römischen Geschichte*. His sense of proportion, however, may be questioned. While he assigns to the period of civil wars, that is, to one century, 45 pages (64-109), he gives to the five centuries of the Empire only 50 pages (109-168). As a matter of fact in these five centuries Rome's cultural, industrial, and social conditions, as well as her methods of government, varied greatly. While the

author discusses quite thoroughly these latter elements in the history of the Empire, his presentation of the cultural elements is inadequate. For this drawback we are compensated by a splendid treatment of the development of Roman law and jurisprudence. The political, constitutional, and economic history of Rome are uniformly well handled. Students will also find the selection from original sources at the end of the book very useful and interesting, though they will miss indexes and maps.

A comparison with Professor Wilcken's Greek history inevitably suggests itself. One misses in Cauer's book Wilcken's rare power of synthesis and his grasp of essentials, which have made his book a masterpiece of its kind. Cauer's book, however, is readable and up-to-date, and may be recommended for those who desire a short and authoritative survey of Roman history.

JACOB HAMMER.

An Essay on the Origins of the House of Commons. By D. Pasquet, Docteur ès Lettres, Directeur d'Études à l'École des Hautes Études. Translated by R. G. Laffan, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press, 1925, pp. xiv, 248, 7s. 6d.) This is an excellent translation of an important monograph that has been out of print. But it is more: the author has introduced useful additions and modifications in detail, and Dr. Lapsley's preface and notes contain a critical summary of the literature in this field since 1885 and valuable comment upon some of the conclusions in the text. Very many more scholars are now ready to accept Pasquet's main thesis, that representative knights and burgesses were called to the centre wholly at the king's initiative and to serve the royal needs, than at the time of first publication in 1914, and there is small doubt that this book has done much to break the Hallam-Stubbs tradition and establish the authoritarian origin of the House of Commons. Professor Pollard's recent conclusions are welcomed as supporting this, but are not accepted in all details.

The earlier part of the book remains, as before, the weaker part. The author retains the idea, shown untenable in Professor Adams's review (see this *Review*, XX. 139-141), that the king was extending to the new elements the feudal "suit-of-court" obligation. If he were better grounded in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and knew more about how the king was using the people in local government, he could have made a juster appraisal of Edward I.'s motives and accomplishments.

A. B. WHITE.

Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI. By C. H. Smyth, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. [The Thirlwall and Gladstone Prize Essay for 1925.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1926, pp. x, 315, 10s. 6d.) This is an exposition of the forces, theological, political, personal, which produced the religious changes under Edward VI. It does not pretend to be a life of Cranmer and hence does not replace A.

F. Pollard's *Cranmer and the English Reformation*, but it does present considerable material for the emendation of that excellent biography. The major part of Mr. Smyth's essay is devoted to a consideration of Cranmer's theology of the eucharist and how that was influenced by the views of his contemporaries, Bucer, Peter Martyr, à Lasco, and Hooper. Mr. Smyth's chief contribution lies in his attempt to disprove the assumption of most historians and some of Cranmer's contemporaries, that after the primate discarded the Roman theory of transubstantiation he first adopted the Lutheran view and later became a Zwinglian. Mr. Smyth shows pretty conclusively that Cranmer was never either a Lutheran or a Zwinglian, but that for a time after he gave up transubstantiation he retained the scholastic doctrine of impanation, and from this was converted to the view of Bucer and the Strasbourg school, called Suvermerianism (a term whose etymology Mr. Smyth unfortunately does not explain). While this position was later abandoned by all Continental Protestants, it became, because of Cranmer's wisdom, moderation, and consistency, the dominant Anglican view. Thus the archbishop saved the English Church from Zwinglianism on the one hand and from the Roman or Lutheran view of a corporeal presence on the other. Mr. Smyth also brings forward evidence to show that Cranmer courageously and persistently opposed the spoliation of the Church by Northumberland. The essay is based on a study of sources and is commendably illumined by frequent quotation from them. It is ably and interestingly written. (An English reviewer has pointed out the following misprinted dates: p. 34, 1547 for 1546; p. 147, 1552 for 1522; and p. 152, 1552 for 1532.)

J. A. MULLER.

Elizabethan Life in Town and Country. By M. St. Clare Byrne, M.A. (London, Methuen; Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926, pp. x, 294, 7 s. 6 d.) Miss Byrne's volume is a delightfully written essay on Elizabethan life, intended for the popular reader rather than for the scholar. The volume makes some contribution to the ordinarily current information on the subject, but for the most part it undertakes only to present current information in an attractive form. The new material is taken from the works of Claudius Hollyband and Peter Erondell, which were recently edited by Miss Byrne under the title of *The Elizabeth Home*, and from printed and manuscript writings of John Norden, the map-maker.

The essay opens with a chapter on the character of Elizabeth and the credit which she deserves for the greatness of England in her reign. The question is beset with difficulties, and they are not solved in this chapter, but there can hardly be any dissent from the point which is admirably made, that whether or not she was the moving force of English intellectual and political success, Elizabeth was at any rate its most admirable symbol.

There is then a chapter on the Elizabethan at Home, two on life in London, and three or four on the life in the country-side. In addition,

the essay treats such subjects as religion, education, the theatre, sports and pastimes, and superstitions.

All this material is treated with admirable freshness, which shows that the author has a first-hand acquaintance with the source-material throughout. A scholar who is interested in any particular aspect of Elizabethan life will be disappointed in the inevitable omission of much that is significant. The publishing business has scant mention and the conditions surrounding literary men but little more. The treatment of life in London is far too scanty to do justice to the subject. We should like to be told about the gallant, who takes his tailor with him to walk in Paul's, making notes of new ideas for the fashioning of his next garment, or about the servingman's bills on the *si quis* door. We should like to know more about conditions in the prisons and the sanctuaries, more about the enforcement of the laws (on which subject the author is rather unduly optimistic), more than the rather superficial discussion of life at the universities, and more material quarried out of Reginald Scott on witchcraft and superstition.

It is not a bad recommendation for a book that the reader should want more of it, and it is a question whether more could have been gotten into the confines of such a volume. The author has missed the usual pitfall of writers of such compendiums, by treating adequately the information which she does present, rather than spoiling its effect by undue encyclopaedic mention of information, which there is no chance to present adequately.

The volume is well printed, but it deserves a better index and more illustrations.

The Godfather of Downing Street, Sir George Downing, 1623-1684. By John Beresford. (London, Richard Cobden Sanderson; Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, pp. 318, 15 s.) Mr. Beresford presents his life of Sir George Downing as "an essay in biography" —not, one supposes, to spike the guns of unamiable reviewers, but possibly as an engagement not to be too erudite, and probably as a *caveat* in view of the difficulty of confining a very busy and much over-documented hero to a career of three hundred pages. For Downing's youth was passed in the early days of the plantation of Massachusetts Bay, and he was nephew to the governor of the colony, John Winthrop. He rose to eminence in Cromwell's army and witnessed the dissolution of the monarchy of Charles I. Later he played a responsible part in foreign affairs during the Protectorate and Restoration, particularly in the all-important relations with the United Provinces of the Netherlands. He contributed effectively to England's progress in industry, commerce, and finance. He was a voluble member of Parliament. He christened, though unknowingly, a short but illustrious street. Harvard University in the New World and Downing College in the Old have reason to remember him in their academic prayers. The extant fraction of his correspond-

ence is so voluminous that his biographer was unable to read it all. Finally, he had a gift for irritating his contemporaries, with the result that they have taken pains to record opinions of him for the enlightenment of posterity.

Through the political and diplomatic tangles Mr. Beresford threads his way with grace and skill, doing his excellent best to humanize a curiously inhuman personality, and taking care not to frighten his reader away like Miss Muffet. He is inclined to indulge his readers, and to indulge, too, the persons he writes about. History is not a court to hand down ferocious moral judgments, but it should not be too easy-going. The best of Sir George's contemporaries did not condone, as Mr. Beresford inclines to condone, his stinginess to his mother, his hounding on the persecution of the Quaker James Naylor, the hunting down of the three regicides whom he shipped back to England to their deaths. And Mr. Beresford has apparently not noticed that vast as are the records of Downing's life, there remains no trace of a single personal friendship.

The author is to be congratulated on his discovery of the portrait of Downing in America, and of a portion of his journal in Norfolk. The chapter on Sir George Downing and National Finance is a valuable contribution to the history of the Treasury. It is really regrettable—not just *pro forma* regrettable—that Mr. Beresford did not find time to go through the unpublished Downing letters in the Bodleian and the Record Office, for they are rich in detail of the man and his time, and hold their original impudence well, after two and a half centuries.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1789. Volume III., *Denmark*. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by James Frederick Chance, M.A. (London, the Society, 1926, pp. xli, 229.) In modern American practice, all written communications from the Secretary of State to ambassadors and ministers abroad are called instructions. The text of this volume is composed of instructions in this sense. Those communications of the British Secretary of State to the British ministers or diplomatic representatives in Denmark, 1689-1789, which were called instructions in the most literal sense were few, or were bare forms; they would be far from illuminating the whole course of diplomatic relations between the two countries, as is done in similar cases by the fine series of documents in the French *Recueil des Instructions*. To achieve this, Mr. Chance has been forced to fill out his volume with a selection of the despatches or letters sent by the successive secretaries to the successive ministers or other representatives at Copenhagen, the greatest number being addressed to Walter Titley, chargé, minister, or envoy from 1729 to 1768. Mr. Chance in a full and close-packed introduction gives a thoroughgoing, and of course competent, history of British-Danish relations during the century comprised in the volume.

The History of John Bull, for the first time faithfully re-issued from the Original Pamphlets, 1712, together with an Investigation into its Composition, Publication, and Authorship. By H. Teerink. (Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1925, pp. 250.) Teerink's introductory essay of seven chapters deals mainly with the question of authorship. Who wrote this *History*? Aitken, typical of scholars in our day, grants that it was "constantly attributed to Swift" in his own time, and that it carried on "the work done by Swift in his *Conduct of the Allies* and *The Examiner*"; nevertheless he finds every reason to believe that Arbuthnot was the author. "Every reason" appears to be a remark attributed to Pope by Spence and a series of references to the *History* in the *Journal to Stella*.¹

Teerink attempts to prove that, though Arbuthnot may have suggested the scheme, Swift certainly wrote the major portion of the *History*, which resembles not a little the *Tale of a Tub*. The most significant chapter treats the allusions to the *History* in the *Journal to Stella*.² Swift urges Stella to read the pamphlets as they appear, praises them warmly, asserts that he did not write them, and credits them to Arbuthnot. From a consideration of the whole *Journal* Teerink discovers that, though Swift frequently spoke with hearty praise of his own writings, he seldom or never did so of the works of others; and that, to mystify Stella (or others, should his letters be intercepted), or to induce her to criticize freely, he often called to her attention as the work of others his own pamphlets. In the case of the *History*, argues Teerink, his very denials amount to an admission that he was the author. The following passage from the letter of June 17, though it may bear an opposite construction, appears to confirm that conclusion.

"Well, but John Bull is not writ by the person you imagine, as hope! It is too good for another to own. Had it been Grub Street, I would have let people think as they please; and I think that's right; is not it now? so flap ee hand, and make wry mouth oo-self, sauci doxi."

Grant, as I think we must, the probable correctness of Teerink's contentions concerning the remarks in the *Journal*, and small ground remains for the ascription to Arbuthnot. Certainly the preface to pamphlet V. (in later reprintings placed as the preface to the whole work) is in Swift's manner and directly from his pen.

A. W. SECORD.

Répertoire Général des Ouvrages Modernes relatifs au Dix-Huitième Siècle Français, 1715-1789. Par Vicomte Charles du Peloux. (Paris, Ernest Grund, 1926, pp. 306, 45 fr.) The main body of this useful compilation is a list of works arranged alphabetically by authors' names (pp.

¹ G. A. Aitken, *Arbuthnot*, p. 44; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IX. 147.

² See the letters of Mar. 10, Mar. 17, May 10, June 17, Aug. 7, and Dec. 12, 1712. Teerink, pp. 52-63.

11-263). This is followed by two pages of anonymous titles, and a list of the principal persons who have been the subjects of biographical studies together with the names of authors of such studies (pp. 266-301). A rough estimate indicates that the number of titles in the *Répertoire* must run well over a hundred thousand. The word *modernes* in the title apparently means that secondary works prior to 1800 have been excluded, although the collected works of such persons as Voltaire and Rousseau published in the eighteenth century have been included. Naturally there are some omissions. The *Vicomte* is obviously not too familiar with English and American works in this field. One notes, for example, the omission of Fling's *Mirabeau*, Cushing's *Baron d'Holbach*, Ellery's *Brissot de Warville*, Morley's *Miscellanies*. The work professes to come only to 1789, but if Aulard's *Histoire Politique* is included why should Morse Stephens's *French Revolution* not be also? If the works of Brissot are included, why not those of Barnave? Needless to say the work would have been more useful if the compiler had found it possible to classify and cross-reference the titles more systematically. As it is however the work will prove indispensable to all scholars interested in eighteenth-century France.

C. B.

La Jeunesse de Philippe-Égalité, 1747-1785. Par Amédée Britsch. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 480, 30 fr.) M. Britsch has devoted many years to the study of the House of Orleans. Until the appearance of the present work, evidently the first of a series, his researches have been published in periodicals.

The character of Philippe-Égalité has always had about it a good deal of mystery. Now M. Britsch comes into the field with the first objective and carefully documented study, and the reader opens the book with the expectation that at last this man of mystery is to be revealed.

In 450 pages of the most exhaustive detail, the first thirty-eight years of this career are set forth. Nothing is omitted, and much that has little bearing is brought in. We see him enter the world; no detail is spared. The story of his ill-conceived education, which neglected everything of value, his marriage to Mlle. de Penthièvre, and the beginning of a life of libertinage, follow. He takes some part in politics, seconding his father in opposition to the reforms of the Parlement of Meaupeou. He becomes Grand Master of the Freemasons, but we are disappointed to find no corroboration of the old royalist myth, recently resurrected by Mrs. Nesta Webster, that the Freemasons had long plotted the overthrow of the monarchy. He tries a naval career only to be bored with it all. We leave him just before the Revolution, as restless and frivolous at thirty-eight as he was at eighteen. It was a life of amusement and drift; the life of a nobleman who because of the traditional jealousy of his family on the part of the ruling house was left without opportunity for action in the government or in the army. Behind it all there is no pur-

pose, no generous idea, indeed scarcely an idea at all. And finally there is no mystery.

M. Britsch has done his work so thoroughly that it will not have to be done again. The volume is technically well handled; though in a work of this sort, chiefly valuable for its many detailed references to persons and incidents just before the Revolution, one is more inclined than usual to make the conventional complaint about French books, *i.e.*, that there is no index.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

A Guide to the Printed Materials for English Social and Economic History, 1750-1850. By Judith Blow Williams, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Wellesley College. Two volumes. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. xxiii, 535, 653, \$10.00.) These volumes will command for their compiler the gratitude and approval of all students in the field they survey. Part I., which extends to page 184 of the first volume, and which is devoted to bibliographies and works of general reference, will be serviceable to all who are interested in the period. The field covered is in many ways the most significant in modern history, and yet bibliographical aids have heretofore been extremely fragmentary and inadequate. The author has been unsparing of effort and successful in attainment, not only in the compilation of a vast number of titles but in their selection, evaluation, and classification. Manuscript sources are omitted, and certain more or less relevant topics are abridged, but any criticisms suggested thereby are silenced by the author's careful definition of her plan, by the immense task remaining, and by the painstaking and dependable nature of the work. It seems to the reviewer little short of amazing that the work as it stands could have been produced by individual effort rather than by collaboration. Few omissions that would commonly be regarded as important and that fall within the plan of the work can be discovered, but it might be noted that references to the work of societies for the publishing of records, as the Chetham Society, seem inadequate.

Part II., comprising much the larger part of the work, is a classified bibliography of titles under topics centring around two main themes: economic theory, conditions, and problems; and social relations broadly defined. Facile use of the work might have been promoted by repetition of some of the less specialized topical works under different headings, by the indexing of titles (at least of anonymous works), as well as authors, and by a more extensive "Guide to Subjects". The latter, however, is helpful, and generally accurate; only one typographical error has been noted—the paging of the entry "Commercial Policy". This entry illustrates the slightness of the clues in the Guide to Subjects to the riches of the volumes. But these suggestions call for works of supererogation in a task most difficult and extremely well done.

The fifteen volumes of *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, referred to on page 43 of volume I. as Sessional Papers, instead of consisting of reprints from the *Journals of the House of Commons*, contain reports *not* printed in the *Journals*. The inclusion of various works such as Cobbett's *Parliamentary History* under the heading "Publications of the National Government" is technically incorrect, but the author's introductory comment helps to explain apparent inconsistencies. The "Foreword" and the notes introducing the various groups of titles throughout the work are scholarly and helpful. The volumes are handsomely bound and clearly printed.

It is to be hoped that some one with equal diligence and discernment will survey the manuscript sources now so inadequately classified and described.

WITT BOWDEN.

Autour de Danton. Par Albert Mathiez. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 284, 20 fr.) No development in the study of the history of the French Revolution in the last generation is of greater significance than the disputes between Professors Aulard and Mathiez. They disagree on a number of vital points, not the least of which is the interpretation of the characters of Danton and Robespierre. In this country we are still under the influence of the pro-Danton, anti-Robespierre writings of Professor Aulard. It is to be hoped that something will soon be done to make better known the opinions of the opponent school headed by Professor Mathiez. In a long series of always scholarly if sometimes declamatory and argumentative works, Professor Mathiez has maintained that Danton was an intriguing, embezzling, treacherous, double-dealing royalist and *ambitieux*, whereas Robespierre was an honest, incorruptible, patriotic champion of the people, who, after a valiant struggle, surrendered his life and his historical reputation to malignant and more powerful forces.

The present volume is not the most important of the works in that series. It is a collection of eighteen unrelated essays *around* rather than *on* Danton. The most interesting part of the book is the preface, in which Professor Mathiez trenchantly summarizes his characterization of Danton. The eighteen chapters that follow, most of them on some activity or other of some partizan of Danton's, bear out this summary in detail. A large part of the work deals with trivialities. Yet there is a mine of solid substance in it. Of the Dantonists, one learns that Basire was under the influence of a mistress who was a Dutch spy; that Fabre d'Eglantine was a debauchee; that Westermann and Courtois had secret understandings with the court; that Servan, Espagnac, the Simon brothers, Perregaux, Delacroix, and others were constantly engaged in plots to cheat the government on army contracts and captured loot. Of Danton himself it is discovered that he was in the employ of the royal family on August 10; that he admitted to the Duke of Chartres his re-

sponsibility for the September Massacres; that he was involved in intrigues to free Marie Antoinette from prison; that he enriched himself by pillage in Belgium; that his campaign for clemency during the Reign of Terror was begun before and not after the victories of France had made Terror no longer necessary, and probably in order to save his own skin. Despite a certain personal animosity that creeps into all of Professor Mathiez's work, despite the feeling one sometimes gets that he accepts against Danton flimsy evidence that he would be the first to repudiate if it were unfavorable to Robespierre, there is no doubting his industry, ability, and profound knowledge of the French Revolution. From no other writings on that field of history have American students more to learn.

LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK.

Le Général Hugo, 1773-1828, Lettres et Documents Inédits. Par Louis Barthou, de l'Académie Française. (Paris, Hachette, 1926, pp. 205, 20 fr.) General Joseph-Léopold-Sigismond Hugo, the father of Victor Hugo, was a man of great personal magnetism, considerable versatility, and real military talent; he served with distinction in the wars of the Revolution and the Directory and was rewarded by an appointment, in 1799, to Moreau's staff with the Army of the Rhine; his loyalty to Moreau aroused the natural and lasting enmity of Napoleon; in spite of this he enjoyed a few bright years with Joseph in Spain (where he gained the rank of general, only to lose it after the fiasco of the French occupation). For the most part, Hugo's career was one of thwarted ambitions.

The historian will be disappointed if he expects to find a critical biography of the career recounted in the general's *Mémoires*. The book is not a biography, but a collection of letters, too personal and intimate in their nature to concern even the specialist in the Napoleonic era. Aside from a few illuminating passages on the strategy of the battle of Mösskirch (1800), and on the French occupation of Italy in 1806, the majority of them touch upon family matters pure and simple.

For the students of Victor Hugo, on the other hand, the letters contain much of interest with regard to the domestic affairs of the Hugo family. The war-laden years of the Napoleonic régime entailed an almost continuous separation for the elder Hugo and his wife. From the very first, difficulties arose between them, which became accentuated with the passage of time; and upon these difficulties the letters are most informing. They make their chief contribution, however, when dealing with the relationship of the general and his children. Hostile critics have done Hugo an injustice in accusing him of parental indifference. Even when the conjugal atmosphere was most strained he was ever solicitous of the welfare and education of the offspring whom he rarely saw (pp. 81-83). Moreover, biographers of Victor Hugo have erred in stating that for over eight months after his mother's death, Victor could not bring himself to write to his father (p. 115). Finally, the letters throw into clear relief

the attitude of the young Victor to the step-mother who for so long had been his father's mistress.

As for the general himself, we must allow Monsieur Barthou to make his own confession: "Alas! His inventions (of a military nature) fared no better than his poems or his novels. Victor had been his best product, and to this alone he owes the immortality of his name" (p. 195).

DEFOREST VAN SLYCK.

Population Problems of the Age of Malthus. By G. Talbot Griffith. (Cambridge, the University Press, 1926, pp. 276, 12 s. 6 d.) The generalizations of Malthus are of perennial interest to all thinking men. Unfortunately, the discussion of the problems which they raise is more apt to engender heat than light. To economist, philosopher, historian, and even scientist, Malthusianism is apt to be either true or false, something to be condemned or praised rather than investigated. Mr. Griffith to his credit escapes this criticism. But he has not written, primarily, about either Malthus or his doctrine; he has sought rather to sift and classify the data, from 1700 to 1840, upon which conclusions in regard to population may be based.

The author's study is exact and penetrating. He explains fully the dubious character of the statistics which Malthus had at his disposal; he analyzes ably the effect of the old Poor Law on the one hand, and the decay of the apprenticeship system on the other, in augmenting the birth-rate; and the environmental influences under which Malthus wrote are briefly though clearly narrated.

Data of this description the historian already possessed. What makes this book of especial value is the fresh information which it contains. Mr. Griffith is able, for instance, to show that for the whole of the hundred and forty years under review the birth-rate rose but slightly; in 1840 it was less than one per cent. higher than in 1700. What caused the increase in population was the steady drop in the death-rate, due to many causes, among them increase in medical skill and improvements in sanitation, such as resulted from the substitution of washable cotton fabrics for woollen cloth. Moreover, while the diminished death-rate tended to make the problem of a surplus population more serious, the decline in the fertility of marriages, during the latter half of the period, made it less so. This "may reflect the results of Place's extension of orthodox Malthusian principles and the introduction of more direct checks than Malthus had contemplated". But in suggesting at this early date the practice of modern ideas in regard to birth-control Mr. Griffith makes a hypothesis which, in the very nature of the case, is difficult to substantiate.

The bibliography in this book is extensive. It seems strange that the author apparently has never heard of Michael Sadler's refutation of Malthus published in 1830, with its demonstration that ill-fed and semi-starved persons have large families, thus intimating that one way to

limit population is to feed well that which already exists. Furthermore, the author states that "unlike Adam Smith, Malthus did not tell the people the kind of things they wanted to hear". But the possessing classes in England, at any rate, were eager for the thing which Malthus told them, since it gave a logical explanation for the inevitability of poverty. Aside from these two criticisms the reviewer has nothing but praise for this book.

WALTER P. HALL.

Marx-Engels Archiv, Zeitschrift des Marx-Engels Instituts in Moskau. Herausgegeben von D. Rjazanov. Band I. (Frankfort, Marx-Engels Archiv, 1926, pp. 550, 12 R. M.) The well-nigh inexhaustible list of Marxiana is about to receive a series of notable additions from the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow. The Institute was established in 1920 as a Marxian museum and made the repository for a comprehensive collection of material, the nucleus of which was made up of several important Russian private libraries, nationalized after the Revolution. Extensive additions have been made as the result of research in Germany, Austria, and England, and much hitherto unpublished material has been secured, including notes, letters, and other writings of both Marx and Engels.

The present volume was the first to issue under the enterprising editorship of D. Rjazanov, whose idea it was to enlarge the function of the Institute and to establish as part of it an extensive research and publishing organization. Hence the *Archiv* and other publications therein promised. These include a collection of all the material referred to in the foot-notes of the two writers for whom the Institute is named, so that the student may have at hand for study all the sources from which they drew. It is also planned to publish a library of materialism, to include the works of Democritus, Feuerbach, Holbach, and others.

Volume I. furnishes something of an introduction to the theoretical background of Marx and Engels and provides a revised version of the long story of the establishing of the First International. This is told by the editor himself, who also contributes commentaries on the literature. The contention that Marx's debt to Kant is in reality very slight is supported and the true basis for a materialistic interpretation of history is found rather in the French and English writers of histories of trade and industry.

The amount of work necessary for the reconstruction of the original manuscripts here presented must have been stupendous. Frequently this was done by work upon two copies, the first working draft and a revised copy, each of which was deciphered by experts with difficulty and with the help of numerous photostatic reproductions. The original manuscript, shown in facsimile, illustrates the character of this part of the research.

The volume includes classified bibliographies of material on Marx, Engels, and Marxism, covering the publications since the World War and also the Lassalle literature for the same period.

AMY HEWES.

The Empire at War. Edited by Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. [For the Royal Colonial Institute.] Volume V. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. x, 501. £5 for the set.) With this volume Sir Charles Lucas brings to completion the narrative of the war-activities of the British Empire, exclusive of the British Isles, which has been in course of publication for five years. He is justified in saying of the whole work that it constitutes "an accurate and comprehensive survey of the actions and fortunes of all parts of His Majesty's Oversea Dominions in the Great War", and he is personally entitled to most of the credit for the achievement. In addition to his labors as general editor Sir Charles wrote the whole of the first volume and contributed extensively, as author, to each of the others. This final volume describes the part which the Asiatic and Mediterranean dependencies played in the war. Nearly half of it is devoted to an excellent account of the war-activities of India by Sir Francis Younghusband. As in the earlier volumes the narrative is clarified and enlivened by an abundance of maps and illustrations. It is perhaps questionable whether it is desirable to introduce into what is intended as a work of reference such reflections and judgments upon social and political trends as are found in the concluding chapter on India.

Das Französische Gelbbuch von 1914. Herausgegeben von der Zentralstelle für Erforschung der Kriegsursachen mit einem Vorwort von Alfred von Wegerer. (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1926, pp. xxv, 208.) The British Blue Book and the German White Book were hastily compiled and issued during the first week of August, 1914. The French Yellow Book did not appear until five months later, on December 1. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the longer period of preparation gives the French publication a correspondingly greater degree of completeness, accuracy, and reliability. On the contrary, the new German translation and edition shows how cautious one must be in drawing conclusions from a compilation which omits many important telegrams, rearranges the wording in others, and is guilty of at least one generous fabrication (No. 118, in which M. Paléologue explains the Russian general mobilization)—all done with the intent of incriminating Germany and relieving France and her Russian ally of responsibility. This German edition gathers together twenty-six wholly new telegrams which were suppressed from the original Yellow Book but which have since been revealed in part by Poincaré, Renouvin, and Bourgeois and Pagès. In a number of other documents it is able to add the exact hour and minute of despatch and receipt. It also calls attention in foot-notes to numerous errors of fact contained in the French diplomatic correspondence. It thus forms an indispensable corrective to the French propagandist publication, and will be found by scholars very useful for reference, until the day when France will follow the example of Germany, Austria, Russia, and England in making a full

and precise publication of her diplomatic documents concerning the crisis of July, 1914.

S. B. F.

La Politique Allemande pendant la Guerre. Par Charles Appuhn. (Paris, Alfred Costes, 1926, pp. 131, 10 fr.) M. Appuhn has not attempted to give a complete history of German policy during the war. He has, however, performed a service by analyzing, lucidly and dispassionately, the mass of material available on three important aspects of this problem. The first essay traces the variations in German opinion towards France. During the first year of the war there existed in Germany a general and profound pity for the useless expenditure of blood and treasure by the people of one of the ancient, though decadent, centres of Western civilization. This feeling was replaced by admiration after Verdun, and a large section of the German people evinced a sincere desire for the friendship of France. The military party, however, opposed the idea of co-operation on equal terms with the traditional enemy of Germany; instead, France must be rendered impotent to oppose Germany in the future.

The triumph of the General Staff over the civil government and the resultant effects on German policy furnish the theme for the succeeding essays. The crisis arose out of the Pope's offer of mediation. Bethmann-Hollweg and William II. favored a conciliatory reply. This implied the evacuation of Belgium and a "re-consideration" of the Alsace-Lorraine question. The Chancellor was removed at the demand of the General Staff, and the reply to the Pope ignored Belgium and gave no satisfaction to French aspirations. Henceforth Ludendorff maintained his supremacy by the Bismarckian expedient of threatening to resign when his wishes were opposed. The triumph of the military was also of great significance in domestic affairs. The conservative elements took heart and thwarted the proposals for democratic reform, which alone might have saved the monarchy. In his concluding essay M. Appuhn makes a brilliant rebuttal of Ludendorff's theory that the army was "stabbed in the back" by craven civilians.

RAYMOND J. SONTAG.

The Rise of South Africa. By Sir George E. Cory, D.Litt. Volume IV. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. xx, 546, 26 s.) Since the publication of his third installment in 1919 the author of this work has been knighted and become a professor emeritus. For over fifteen years he has combined the arduous functions of teaching science in Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, and of pursuing researches in South African history. A year's leave of absence was industriously employed in gathering materials for this fourth volume. It is based upon studies in the government archives at Cape Town, in the Craig Dhu collection of books and manuscripts

belonging to Major Jardine, to say nothing of blue books, newspaper files, reports of missionaries, and conversations with eye-witnesses of the events with which he is concerned. Reminiscences of garrulous partizan ancients have naturally to be used with caution, as indicated by the conflicting accounts of the same incident recorded on pages 16 and 17. Sir George's chief tribute of indebtedness is paid to the late Dr. Theal, who indefatigably continued his monumental work till his eighty-third year.

As indicated in a notice of the preceding volume, in this *Review* (XXVI. 357), Sir George's work is somewhat restricted in scope and is marked by decided sympathy for the Boers. The latest volume is devoted mainly to the Boer trek, the establishment of the Dutch Republic in Natal, and the beginnings of the Orange Free State, with particular emphasis on the difficulties of the trekkers with the British on the one hand and with the natives on the other. The Kaffir War of 1846, with the events leading up to it, occupies nearly half the work. It seems to be inevitable in pioneer history that the author must perforce be a "traveller in little things". Yet while there is much about obscure persons and local affairs and while the pages are strewn with uncouth names of Kaffir and other negro chiefs, the reader gets vivid pictures of the hardships of the settlers and of the buoyant courage with which they faced them, though, at the same time, unfortunate instances of jealousy and dissension are honestly recorded. Among other things it is evident (pp. 174, 182) that formidable militant women asserted themselves previous to the present generation. Due credit is given to the British administrators and army officers wherever it seems deserved, but the final impression left upon the reader is that of rather inept officials, generally hampered by the home authorities, vainly striving to maintain impossible treaties with slippery savages who rarely could or would recognize the binding character of any agreements.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Americana: the Literature of American History. By Milton Waldman. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1925, pp. xviii, 271, \$5.00.) This octavo volume of 271 pages furnishes an account of the important printed narratives and sources of early American history, giving the historical setting of the various authors and describing the value and comparative scarcity of their writings. Beginning with Columbus and Vespuccius, chapters follow on the Spanish, French, and English explorers, and then on the general historians of voyages. The early history of Virginia, New England, New York, and Pennsylvania is succeeded by a chapter on the eighteenth century, chiefly the French wars and the Revolution. The two concluding chapters are devoted to early printing, characterizing some of the rare productions of the colonial press, and to American literature, in which a score of titles from Wigglesworth to Poe are described.

The story is entertainingly and in the main accurately told. Ostensibly the book is written by a layman for the general reader, rather than for the student, and as such it accomplishes its purpose of providing a readable narrative of the sources of American historical literature. The book is quite similar in scope to the volume issued in 1923 to describe the William L. Clements Library of Americana. In comparison, the Clements volume is more scholarly and more exact for the subjects which it covers; the Waldman book is more comprehensive in that it describes books not in the Clements collection, and is more entertainingly written. In fact the style is often graphic and the narrative punctuated by frequent comments that are enlightening and pertinent.

Since the word "Americana" is interpreted chiefly from the book-collector's point of view, there is constant attempt to place a money value on rare books and locate the number of existing copies, always a dangerous experiment unless one keeps up with all the latest developments in the rare-book market. As a result there are frequent overstatements as to scarcity. Xeres's *Relacion del Peru* (1534) is in the Carter-Brown Library; Hawkins's *Voyage* of 1569 is in the British Museum; Medina's *L'Arte del Navegar* (1554) is represented by at least six copies; there are a dozen copies known of Hariot's *Virginia* (1588); Crashaw's *Sermon* of 1609 on Lord Delaware is known by six copies in this country alone; there are at least five perfect copies of the Molina *Vocabulario* of 1555; and Mather's *Brief History of the Warr with the Indians* (1676), in spite of Sabin's note, was never an "introuvable" in American bibliography. The Prince Collection at Boston does not have the largest collection of the Mathers, since it is exceeded by the American Antiquarian Society and other libraries. There are a few errors in the spelling of names—Josiah Quincey, Gazateer, Paul Leicester Field (for Ford), Jose Torilio Medina, and Hawthorne's "Franshawe". There is also a curious error in the preface, where the author, in referring to the appreciation of book values, states that ten dollars, if it had been invested at five per cent. compound interest in the year 1623, would now amount to \$300,000,000. The correct answer is \$3,000,000 and even this amount would be considerably depleted by taxation. These errors are of minor importance and would be corrected in a subsequent edition. It should be added that the volume contains fifteen well-chosen illustrations and is excellently indexed.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, 1775-1778. Volume II., Minutes of the Schenectady Committee, 1775-1779. Prepared for publication by the Division of Archives and History, Alexander C. Flick, Ph.D., Litt.D., Director and State Historian. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1925, pp. 1005-1283, \$2.50.) This volume contains such minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence as were not included in the first volume published at Albany in 1923.

Peter Nelson, assistant state historian of New York, in the introduction, points out that the principal part of the volume is devoted to the proceedings of the Schenectady District Committee whose records are the only ones "of any district committee that have even partially survived to the present". In the opinion of Mr. Nelson, therefore, "it seems entirely fitting to print them as a supplement to the record of the larger parent body". It is truthfully stated that a study of the work of the Schenectady Committee makes the reader "feel a little closer to the frontier conflict" than he does from reading only the record of the Albany Committee. The records of the district committee run from May 6, 1775, to May 27, 1776, from January 15, 1777, to February 7, 1778, and from June 15, 1779, to August 18, 1779; those from May 27, 1776, to January 15, 1777, and from February 7, 1778, to June 15, 1779, are wanting. Following the records comes an appendix of 124 pages, which contains the names of the different members of the five Schenectady committees, the names of their officers, a record of the attendance of each member of each committee, and a complete index to the two volumes. The record-material is similar in character to that found in volume I. It gives many valuable side-lights on the American Revolution in its social and economic aspects, and it offers many suggestions as to the extent and minuteness of the revolutionary movement. Like the first volume, the second is mechanically attractive and the records give every evidence of careful and painstaking editing.

ORLANDO W. STEPHENSON.

Development of American Architecture, 1783-1830. By Joseph Jackson. (Philadelphia, David McKay Company, 1926, pp. viii, 230, \$2.50.) This volume, though an independent work, may be considered a continuation of the author's *American Colonial Architecture* and covers the period which begins at the close of the Revolutionary War and closes in 1830, approximately half a century. During these years architecture was produced in America which was free from the direct influence of Great Britain. "There was the impatience with all that was old and reminded the people of the Colonial struggles. They felt that they had become a nation, and with the feelings of maturity they wanted to develop themselves."

It was the period of the laying-out and development of the new capital at Washington, and this city, Philadelphia, and New York were the principal centres of architectural activity, that is, so far as monumental architecture was concerned, each of these localities having been at one time or another the seat of the national government.

Many of the more distinguished architects were native born—Bulfinch, Strickland, and Mills—while others, such as Latrobe and Hoban, were British, and still others, as L'Enfant and Brunel, were French.

Mr. Jackson has made a geographical arrangement of his subject and has collected interesting data relating to the buildings and architects

working in the various localities. In many instances also, contemporary descriptions of the monuments are quoted and these add a certain vitality to the subject, putting the building into the setting of its time.

It is more from the point of view of the historian than of the architect that the subject is treated and the volume would probably appeal more to the antiquary and layman than to the architect.

The work of Strickland, in which he employed Greek instead of Roman forms, and which inaugurated what is sometimes called the Greek Revival in America, is referred to as an effort to "abandon British tradition and give to the new country a newer style and one in keeping with the economic conditions of the United States at that period, which would be simple in form". This would seem to be somewhat misleading, for in England at this time the architects had also turned for their inspiration to Greek models. It is true that the results were not identical, but it would be difficult to maintain that the Americans had initiated this movement to abandon British tradition.

The material of this period has probably never been presented before in a single volume and, while the period is not a particularly brilliant one from an architectural standpoint, it has a certain interest on account of having produced the earliest efforts in architecture of the new nation.

The work contains a bibliography and an index and is illustrated with reproductions of old prints. In a number of cases, unfortunately, the sense is perverted by typographical errors.

The Conquest of New England by the Immigrant. By Daniel Chauncey Brewer. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926, pp. vi, 369, \$2.00.) This is a book for every descendant of the Puritans, whether or not he lives in the land of his ancestors, to read and ponder. He will find in it the facts of censuses and state and town records. And if he catches the fervor of the author, the feeling will grow upon him that the account might better be entitled: the surrender of New England to the foreigner.

The Yankees built their civilization out of hardship and toil in the wilderness, bitter rivalry with Indians and Frenchmen, and the struggle for independence. But having established the equilibrium of "liberty" and "shrewd common sense", the Yankees "slipped beyond the point of balance". In exploiting the resources of nature and their own ingenuity they yielded to the lure of foreign markets. They expanded the industries of New England beyond the capacity of native labor. They sought alien workers for their mills and broke the homogeneity of New England's population. In so doing they weakened the foundations of Yankee culture.

The first newcomers, those Irishmen and northern Europeans who came before the Civil War, did not, however, threaten the social structure of New England. Notwithstanding the devotion of the Irish to the Catholic faith, and the animosity of native American labor, they proved

fairly amenable to Yankee ways. Nor does the author seem to feel that the influx of French Canadians was a serious menace to Yankee culture.

But after the Civil War there came a deluge from the southern and eastern parts of Europe—Italians, Jews, Russians, Poles, Lithuanians—inundating the land and threatening to sweep away New England's culture altogether. For this disaster, the author indicts the passing generation of Yankee industrialists. They have been partners in the wholesale business of importing cheap labor from Europe, without regard for the character, health, or fitness of the immigrants for participation in the life of New England. These Yankees have "accumulated great possessions", but they have "lost New England".

Despite some incoherencies of expression that perplex even after a second and third reading, the author's thoughts are strong and provocative of reflection. One may query whether these Yankee industrialists are solely responsible for the decay of Yankee society. Should not more consideration be given to the desertion of New England by those adventurous Yankee pioneers who pushed westward, and to the casualty lists of the Civil War? And perhaps, even had there been no westward migration, no slaughter of fine youth, no alien invasion, the personality of New England might have changed radically in the passing of time under the pressure of successive generations.

ARTHUR B. DARLING.

Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, October, 1925–June, 1926. Vol. LIX. (Boston, the Society, 1926, pp. xvi, 441.) The chief contents of this volume, named somewhat in their chronological order, are as follows: Mr. A. M. Tozzer has a paper on the Chronological Aspects of American Archaeology, outlining in general terms the temporal relations of the Mayan, Toltec, and Aztec civilizations. Dr. Worthington C. Ford gives an entertaining account of Sir Kenelm Digby's privateering voyages of 1628 in the Mediterranean, identifying his ship *Eagle* with the *Arbella* of Winthrop's first fleet; presents a body of papers on colonial commerce in 1774–1775, chiefly those of Zachariah Burchmore, who sailed for James Lee and Company of Beverly and Salem; and gives from the William Smith Carter collection a group of Massachusetts letters of 1775, mostly of Isaac Smith, uncle of Mrs. John Adams. Professor W. C. Abbott has a paper on James Bloxham, Washington's farmer. In reply to the late Senator Lodge's account of the Alaska Boundary Award, presented by C. G. Washburn in volume LVIII., Mr. James White's animadversions on that statement are reprinted from volume VI. of the *Canadian Historical Review*. Mr. Washburn has also a paper on Roosevelt in the presidential canvass of 1912. The volume also contains a body of letters of Professor Christoph Daniel Ebeling to American correspondents, 1795–1817, relating to his history of America and to European literary and political conditions of the time, especially in Hamburg in 1815–1816, and a journal of travels from

Washington to Niagara Falls and back, in 1826, by the British minister of that time, Sir Charles Vaughan.

Rhode Island Privateers in King George's War, 1739-1748. By Howard M. Chapin. (Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society, 1926, pp. 225.) Mr. Chapin gives in full detail whatever history he can find of the exploits of some thirty-six Rhode Island privateers, all but one or two of them from Newport. Of two of these voyages we have exceptionally full information. The Massachusetts Historical Society has by gift from the late Professor Charles Eliot Norton the journal kept by the company's quartermaster on the *Revenge*, Captain Benjamin Norton; and one of the Jesuit Relations, by Father Fauque, gives a full history of the ravaging of French Guiana and capture of Oyapoc by Captain Simeon Potter, in the *Prince Charles of Lorraine*. But Mr. Chapin, by varied research in admiralty records and in the collections of various historical societies, has put together histories, and often very entertaining histories, of the voyages of the others. He has also a chapter on the colony's sloop *Tartar*. Not much effort is made to illuminate the history of prize law in Rhode Island. The record of capture is a remarkable one, especially when it is considered that Mr. Chapin's privateers averaged only 106 tons, ranging from 250 down to 33. Of two of the largest, the *Prince of Wales*, 200, and the *Duke of Cumberland*, 180, sent by Godfrey Malbone from Newport, it is recorded that "according to the custom of the time their horoscope was cast and the figure had disclosed that they should sail on Friday the 24th of December, 1775". They sailed out that day in a northeast snow-storm and were never heard of again. They carried to death 260 men, for these little vessels were manned almost to the extent of one man to a ton. The book has excellent illustrations, an index of ships, and an index of persons.

Valentine's Manual of Old New York, 1926. Edited by Henry Collins Brown. (New York, Valentine's Manual Inc., 1926, pp. xix, 388.) Students of the history of New York City have been accustomed to value the annual volumes of *Valentine's Manual*, which, scrappy as they were in arrangement, contained a good deal of antiquarian or historical lore. Mr. Brown has revived them in a modern series, of which this volume figures as the tenth. He has however given to this issue the special character of an informal description of New York and its life in the 'seventies. "In no other place in the world, I venture to say, would it be possible to treat of so recent a period as if it had already passed into history. Yet that is exactly what has happened to New York of the Seventies." In reality much the same has happened to the Chicago of the 'seventies and many another American city, but New York is fortunate in that a patient chronicler has taken the trouble to unearth or remember the traits of social and business life in that period, and to display the results in an exposition almost always correct, somewhat de-

terminedly facetious, but always entertaining. He presents numberless details concerning methods of transportation, costumes, pastimes and outings and shows, stores, preaching, in short, those "domestic antiquities" of which we read with such avidity in the case of Athens and Rome, but which we easily forget if old, and never knew if young, in the case of New York. There are many diverting illustrations, and many portraits of the "solid men" and famous beauties of that time, the latter from the Peter Marie collection of miniatures.

The Story of the Western Railroads. By Robert E. Riegel, Ph.D., Dartmouth College. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xv, 345, \$2.50.) The author received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1922, with a doctoral thesis on the history of the construction of trans-Mississippi railroads, and the present volume is evidently an elaboration of this thesis, with elimination of foot-notes and addition of chapters to give it a wider appeal.

A young man's first scholarly publication is generally a detailed study, based on original sources, of some subject in which he has become interested. The reader must not expect overmuch in the way of background, nor anything unusual in the way of literary skill, although he is entitled to look for accuracy and system, and some new contribution to our knowledge. On this basis the work is creditable. Its best chapters are those on railroad construction from Chicago to the Missouri River (ch. VII.), on pooling agreements in the Middle West (ch. X.), and on the Gould system (ch. XI.). The author's contribution is to be found in this part of the book and in sections elsewhere which also deal with railroad construction and operation in the territory between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. Other chapters discuss federal, state, and local aid to Western railroads, the construction of the transcontinental railroads, labor conditions on Western railroads, the Act to Regulate Commerce, and some other topics. There is not much that is new in this supplementary discussion, and there are some inexact statements.

It is not correct, for instance, to say that the government bonds loaned to the Union Pacific were at the rate of \$16,000 per mile in the plains, \$32,000 in the foot-hills, and \$48,000 in the mountains (p. 71). The use of the word foot-hill in this connection is misleading, if for no other reason than because there were no bonds issued in amounts of \$32,000 per mile either east of the Rockies or west of the Sierras, where most people would locate the foot-hills of these mountain ranges. Again, the author says what he does not really mean when he remarks (p. 70) that under the Act of 1862 the Union Pacific was to build to the eastern boundary of Nevada, and the Central Pacific was to complete the line. In the first place, the act mentions the western and not the eastern boundary of Nevada; and, in the second place, the company which first reached the California-Nevada boundary was authorized to continue construction to a connection with the rails of the other enterprise. The author himself refers to this qualification at another point.

In spite of such occasional slips, the narrative is on the whole accurate in so far as the reviewer has been able to test it, and considerable parts of it are based upon material which is not elsewhere summarized in print. There is at the end a useful bibliography of general works and articles, arranged according to subjects discussed in the different chapters.

STUART DAGGETT.

Illinois in the World War. Edited by Theodore Calvin Pease. . Volume V., *War-Time Organization*; volume VI., *War Documents and Addresses.* By Marguerite Edith Jenison. (Springfield, Ill., State Historical Library, 1923, pp. xvi, 508, xxvii, 522.) The War Records Section of the Illinois State Historical Library has been one of the most successful of state organizations in the collection of sources for state history during the period of the World War. In the preparation of one of the volumes under review Miss Jenison has drawn upon these sources for a summary account of the activities of organizations which were concerned with the mobilization of Illinois's men and resources for participation in the war, and has appended several pages of statistical data. In the other volume she has presented some of the most fundamental of the sources: acts of the legislature, resolutions, messages, proclamations, memorials, addresses, statements, agreements, and reports.

In presenting such matters as war laws and their enforcement, war finance, food and the war, war industries, welfare organizations, and war-relief organizations, proper attention has been paid to state and federal relations as well as to similar relationships in national organizations of a semi-official or private character having state and county branches. The war-time organizations of Illinois, the functioning of those organizations for the mobilization of men, resources, and public opinion, and the problems of food, clothing, shelter, heat, and transportation had so much in common with those of other states that these volumes forecast in broad outlines the economic and social history of all.

Miss Jenison has listed the publications which were consulted in the preparation of her volumes. An equal amount of space might well have been given to a description of the mass of unpublished material, in the collection of which she had so large a share. No adequate description of the records in any of the larger state war-history collections has yet been published, and queries relative to such important records as minutes of meetings have brought little or no return.

N. D. MERENESS.

The American Transcontinental Trails. Edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, Director of the Stewart Commission on Western History, Colorado College. Volume I., *The Platte River Routes.* [The Crown Collection of American Maps, ser. IV.] (Colorado Springs, Stewart Commission on Western History, 1926, 45 maps.) The first three series of Professor Hulbert's collection, published in 1908-1916, were photo-

graphic reproductions of manuscript maps found in the British Museum and the Colonial Office Library, London. The new series will contain upwards of three hundred blue prints of the main overland trails of America and will be issued in four volumes. The first of these volumes, entitled *The Platte River Routes*, delineates the historic Oregon Trail from Independence, Missouri, to the junction of the North and South Platte rivers at North Platte, Nebraska. It contains forty-five maps (about 6½ by 8 inches) and a brief descriptive text accompanying each map. By reason of the large scale of the maps and the delineation of range and township lines and the "ganglia" which make up the trail, Professor Hulbert's volume will greatly facilitate a minute study of his subject.

Ácoma, the Sky City: a Study in Pueblo-Indian History and Civilization. By Mrs. William T. Sedgwick. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1926, pp. xiv, 314, \$4.00.) The author of this interesting book characterizes her work as an attempt "to bring together and put into a form for the general reader, the story of that pueblo of the Keres people known as Ácoma, so far as yet discovered in the records of Spanish diarists and in those of more recent historical writers". She disclaims being "more than a compiler" who, "in assembling . . . fugitive accounts of the Sky City . . . has followed in the footsteps of genuine research".

Mrs. Sedgwick has done her self-assigned task well, and even more. Besides having compiled an interesting and authentic history of the "Sky City", in which just so much of the general historical narrative figures as is necessary to constitute a background for the recorded details concerning the pueblo discussed, Mrs. Sedgwick has admirably described Ácoma—both its physical appearance and its social customs and organization—at the present time. This description is that not merely of an interested and sympathetic visitor but of a critical and well-informed student who has viewed present conditions in the light of their historical development and setting. Furthermore the book may be cited as an outstanding example of local history. What Mrs. Sedgwick has done in compiling a history of Ácoma with such painstaking and devoted care, might be done, not only for a score of other Indian pueblos of the Southwest, but for historic places galore.

The first two chapters of the book are introductory; they describe the physical appearance of "Mesa Land" and the "Citadel of Ácoma". Chapters 3 to 9, inclusive, give a comprehensive and well-documented history of Ácoma from the date of the first expeditions into the Southwest from New Spain. The last chapter of the historical section discusses the relations between Ácoma and the federal government of the United States. The final nine chapters of the book deal with the legends, the social organization, and the ceremonials, rituals, games, and pottery of the Ácomas. A carefully selected bibliography of historical, archaeo-

logical, and ethnological primary and secondary sources, and an appendix containing brief explanatory statements by the author or excerpts from the writings of well-known authorities on the Southwest conclude the author's work. The book is excellently printed. An artistic cover design is from a water-color done by a Santa Fe artist from an ancient jar of Ácoma potters. Thirty-eight illustrations, only two of which are from photographs hitherto published, and several helpful maps ornament the book. There is a comprehensive index.

CHARLES W. HACKETT.

The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States, 1898-1925. By Moorfield Storey and Marcial Lichauco. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926, pp. xi, 274, \$2.00.) If it be permitted the reviewer to hazard a guess, he would suggest that the major part of the actual writing of this volume may have been done by the very clever Filipino associated with the venerable, learned, and brilliant reformer, Moorfield Storey; and that the latter's principal contributions may have been the writing of the preface and the revision of the text. Be that as it may, there is little or nothing that is new in the book. It reads throughout much like the pamphlets of the Anti-Imperialist Society, and, indeed, employs the same arguments couched in much the same language; or sounds like an echo of the propaganda carried on by Filipino politicians and their friends in the United States. The reader who seeks new arguments against the dangers of an imperialistic policy will not find them here. The volume is above all a clever brief worthy of a great lawyer retained on an important case. It is throughout an *ex parte* statement, and, as such, is subject to the same limitations as all statements of similar nature. Consequently the reader or student who wishes to get a true exposition of the policy or lack of policy of the United States in the Philippines and of the actual working out of our administration there, as well as of the motives that have influenced officials and public men, can not afford to trust alone to this book. The right-thinking person will naturally condemn acts of ruthlessness and no one denies that there have been such in the Philippines. But this book is a severe indictment of the people and government of the United States through their officials and interested persons. The inference to be drawn is that the United States has been acting in bad faith toward the Philippines since, and even before, the Treaty of Paris, of December 10, 1898. In this wholesale condemnation of the motives and deeds of the people of the United States and, on the other hand, the exaltation of those of the Filipinos lies the danger of this book. In reading it our moral pity may be aroused, but that sentiment should not deprive us of our sober common-sense. There is no doubt that the work will be immensely popular in the Philippine Islands. It may not, perhaps, be out of place to suggest that the volume may have been intended as pabulum for the Filipino *independistas* and their sympathizers during the coming presidential campaign.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

The Correspondence of Lieut.-Governor John Graves Simcoe, with Allied Documents relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada. Collected and edited by Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, LL.D., F.R.S.C. Vol. III., 1794-1795. (Toronto, Ontario Historical Society, 1925, pp. xi, 404.) This volume continues General Cruikshank's series, running to the end of April, 1795. It contains some 350 letters or documents, of which a hundred are letters of Simcoe. We have only to repeat what was said in our review of the first two volumes (XXX. 869), that the range of allied documents, outside of the actual correspondence of Simcoe, and sometimes taken over from texts already printed, seems somewhat uncertain, but that the volume is an important contribution, not only to knowledge of the early administrative history of Upper Canada, but especially to that of the relations between Upper Canada and the United States.

The Unreformed Senate of Canada. By Robert A. Mackay, Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xvi, 284, 15 s.) The Senate of Canada has not always been treated with the respectful attention which is accorded it by Professor Mackay. Though styling it "unreformed" he pays it the compliment of studying its history and operation with exhaustive care. Obviously the problems presented by a second chamber are a hard nut for those to crack who endeavor to shape a federal constitution for a democratic population inhabiting a vast, sparsely settled country. In Canada the difficulties were enhanced by the presence of contrasted races and religion. Confronted less by a theory than by numerous and complicated conditions, the constitution-builders of 1867 created a federal senate in which the government of the day fills vacancies by conferring a life-appointment upon its own friends. In a world where every second chamber is a target for malicious pleasantries, a body thus constituted can not escape criticism.

Professor Mackay has no sympathy with the view that Canada should get rid of her second chamber. Such a suggestion he considers to be purely visionary in view of the veto which would be placed upon it by Quebec, supported by the Maritime Provinces. Quite apart from this very practical consideration, he finds much in the bi-cameral system to merit approval and perpetuation. No less emphatic, however, is his declaration that the Senate stands in need of reform. "Undoubtedly its greatest defect", he says, "is that in a democratic community, governed by representative institutions and wedded to theories of popular government, the Senate rests upon no popular foundation." The fact that in its membership there is a preponderating number of old, or elderly, men, he does not look upon as a necessary evil. If senators rest on their laurels "the reason is less the impotence of age than the lotus-land atmosphere apparent in every upper chamber endowed with dignity and bereft of political power". Professor Mackay also comments upon the

lopsided aspect which the Senate presents after one party has been in a position to fill vacancies throughout a considerable period. Here his view is that, though much of its work is non-partizan in character, its usefulness is seriously limited by a condition which tends to check government measures of a questionable character.

For many readers the most interesting part of this book will be found in its concluding pages (pp. 223-229). Here Professor Mackay presents a plan of reform which is designed to exclude from the Senate those who are possessed of insufficient merit. It is in the nature of things that any plan of this character should be rather complicated—the more so since the fixed conditions under which federal government is conducted in Canada do not favor simplicity. But Professor Mackay's proposals deserve the respectful attention which should be given to any suggestion put forth by one who has studied with painstaking and intelligent care the institution which he seeks to improve. He has written an excellent book, but we fear that the Senate is not likely to be reformed for some time. Mr. Mackenzie King has just been returned with a real working majority which should keep him in office for five years. Under such circumstances, and with the power of making numerous highly coveted appointments, he will differ from preceding premiers in Canada if he does not agree that the Senate "does nothing in particular, and does it very well".

The Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Compiled by W. Stewart Wallace, M.A., Librarian of the University of Toronto. (Toronto, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. 429.) Mr. Wallace has carefully prepared an admirable volume, which differs from preceding dictionaries of Canadian biography in that it includes no living persons; it therefore includes no flattery. It seems also to have been prepared with much more pains than its predecessors, and, so far as immediate and somewhat rapid examination will show, it seems to be remarkably correct. About two thousand biographies are included. The articles therefore are brief—not as brief as those in a *Who's Who*, but briefer than those in the *British Dictionary of National Biography*. The plan of the articles is in general like that of the shorter articles in the *D. N. B.*, but there is, of necessity, almost no characterization. As a work of reference for biographical details it will certainly take very high rank. References to sources of information are given.

CORRECTIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Sir: The introduction to the extract from the "Recollections of the Marquis of Tweeddale", printed in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1926, states that "he had then forgotten to mention the fact that he was himself taken prisoner at the battle of Lundy's Lane", etc. The Marquis of Tweeddale was not present at the battle of Lundy's Lane for he was then in hospital at Montreal, having been severely wounded at Chippawa, twenty days before. Nor was he taken at any other time. The author of the sketch of his life in the *D. N. B.*, who quotes the *London Times* as one of his authorities, states that the Marquis was taken prisoner in 1813, but he did not come to Canada until May, 1814.

The "Recollections" state that "On Guest's Island there were four pieces of artillery playing upon us". A note suggests that Goat Island is meant, but this is out of the question as Goat Island is on the opposite side of the river on the brink of Niagara Falls, more than three miles distant.

The editor remarks that he has not found this statement made elsewhere. It is corroborated to some extent in a MS. account of the battle of Chippawa by Lieutenant James Driscoll, also of the 100th Regiment, which says, "A couple of howitzers placed on an island a short distance from the shore covered their right and threatened to exterminate the left of the British line", and later on, "The two guns on the island had much cut up our left".

If there was an island in the river there then it has disappeared, but it seems more probable that these guns were posted on the point formed by the junction of Street's Creek with the Niagara River, which may have had the appearance of an island.

Both Lord Tweeddale's and Driscoll's narratives were written long after the event.

Yours truly,

E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

OTTAWA, CANADA.

November 1, 1926.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Sir:

In his kind review of volume III. of the *Cambridge Ancient History* Professor Rogers makes certain references to my own contribution which—quite unintentionally—are based upon a misapprehension so serious that I trust you will permit me to correct it. My view of the late date of Deuteronomy in its present form—the italicized words are essential—

is not due to the recent work of Professor Hölscher, although I am, of course, acquainted with it. My indebtedness goes back much earlier, to the pioneering articles of my esteemed teacher Professor Kennett in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1905-1906. This view and others which I have developed in the *Cambridge Ancient History* were already adumbrated by me half-a-dozen years later in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; and, so far as I have noticed, are not affected by the objections brought against Professor Hölscher's work. That there are "exilic" (sixth century) passages in Deuteronomy has long been recognized, for example, by Professor George Foote Moore in 1899 (*Encyc. Biblica*, vols. 1087, 1089); and my own view is that the book—which I should never describe as "not prophetic but priestly" (as Professor Rogers interprets me)—is a composite one, fully meriting his adjective "glorious", but manifesting in its later tendencies the "beginning of legalism". It is quite true, as he says, that "the conclusions of 125 years of criticism" are being reconsidered; but Biblical criticism is a progressive science, and both the external evidence and the new studies of the Biblical evidence itself are, I am persuaded, leading to a new position which cuts across old "critical" and "anti-critical" divisions, and supersedes various old controversies between "conservative" and "radical" writers.

Yours, etc.

STANLEY COOK.

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

On page 156 of our last number, in Professor A. J. Barnouw's review of Dr. Bense's *Anglo-Dutch Relations*, appears, by an error for which he is not responsible, a sentence reading as follows: "If that is true—and no student of Germanic philology will deny it—it must be equally impossible to prove that Middle English words of supposed Low Dutch origin are not part of the Old English literature, which, in its poetry, employs an artificial diction and, in its prose, is strongly influenced by Latin models." The reading should be: "If that is true—and no student of Germanic philology will deny it—it must be equally impossible to prove that Middle English words of supposed Low Dutch origin are not part of the Old English inheritance. The vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon's speech must have been different in many ways from that recorded in Old English literature, which, in its poetry, employs an artificial diction and, in its prose, is strongly influenced by Latin models."

A note from the publishers of Krause's *Geschichte Ostasiens*, Messrs. Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, of Göttingen, reviewed in our last number, states that the reviewer's indication that one of the maps in that work has been "reversed in photographic reproduction" is erroneous. "The fact is", they say, "that in this map, as in most [early] medieval maps, south is above and north below."

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Just before publication of this number of the *Review*, the Association has held its forty-first annual meeting at Rochester, N. Y., December 28-30. In addition to the features of the programme which have already been mentioned in these pages, others around which interest will centre are the luncheon at which reports will be made concerning the progress of the canvass for additional endowment, with speeches intended to promote and encourage the work yet to be done during the remainder of the winter; the discussion concerning the continuance of productivity after the winning of the doctor's degree; and the musicale offered at the Eastman School of Music. The circular sent out by the Committee on Nominations nominates Henry Osborn Taylor for president, James H. Breasted for first vice-president, James Harvey Robinson for second vice-president, Messrs. Bassett and Moore for secretary and treasurer, respectively, and the following for membership in the Executive Council: William K. Boyd, Nellie Neilson, Albert J. Beveridge, Laurence W. Larson, Frank M. Anderson, James T. Adams, Dwight W. Morrow, and Payson J. Treat. For the succeeding Committee on Nominations the present committee names Solon J. Buck (chairman), Charles W. Hackett, Percy A. Martin, Louis M. Sears, and Lucy E. Textor. The Council expects to recommend that the meeting of December, 1927, shall be held in Indianapolis, and names Dr. Christopher B. Coleman as chairman of the Committee on the Programme.

The Executive Council held a two-day meeting in New York, November 26 and 27, at which reports from committees were considered, and some new actions taken in contemplation of enlargement of activities made possible by increased endowment. A "revolving fund" of \$25,000 having been contributed by the Carnegie Corporation, for the publication of valuable historical books whose success may be too slow to ensure the favor of a publisher, the Council appointed for the work of administering this fund a new committee consisting of Messrs. Edward P. Cheyney, George L. Burr, Samuel E. Morison, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, and the president of the Association *ex officio*. We are obliged to state, with much regret and some surprise, that the committee on the George Louis Beer prize announced that no manuscripts had been submitted in competition for that award. Provision was made for printing, before the Rochester meeting, of the reports of the Committee on Publications, the Committee on Membership, the Committee on History Teaching in the Schools, the delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies, the representative of the Association in the International Committee of Historical Sciences,

Mr. Waldo G. Leland, and his account of the proceedings of the last meeting (May, 1926) of the Union Académique Internationale.

It is believed that, in spite of the usual unfortunate delays in the Government Printing Office, the *Annual Report* for 1921 will be distributed in January, to be followed in about three months by the volume for 1922. The 1923 volume of Miss Griffin's annual bibliography, *Writings on American History*, has also appeared; a volume of the same size and composition as the preceding volumes of this indispensable series, and prepared with the same exemplary care.

The Justin Winsor Prize has been awarded to Mr. Lowell J. Ragatz, assistant professor in the George Washington University, for an essay entitled, "The Decline of the British West Indies, 1763-1833".

In our number for last January (XXXI. 375) it was mentioned that, through a subvention of \$5000 a year for three years, the American Council of Learned Societies was enabled to offer a number of small grants (not exceeding \$300) for the purpose of aiding scholars who require assistance in the conduct of projects of research in the humanistic and social sciences. Grants are made only to mature scholars, experienced in scientific methods of research, and for specific purposes (travel, assistants, copies, photographs, appliances, etc.) in connection with definite projects. The awards, restricted to scholars who are citizens of the United States or are permanently domiciled or employed therein, will not be available for work the object of which is to fulfill the requirements for any academic degree. The year 1927 is the second year of the system. The awards for that year will be made by April 1. Applications should be addressed to Professor Guy S. Ford, chairman of the Committee on Aid to Research, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, before January 31. Circulars describing the form and contents requisite in the application can be obtained from him.

Students of history are also reminded that, the American Historical Association being a constituent member of the Social Science Research Council, history has a part in the scope of its operations, and that applications for fellowships and grants for 1928 administered by that Council should be sent to Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia University, before January 1, 1928.

The subcommittee of the International Committee of Historical Sciences on an International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography met in Paris in October, as announced in these pages. There were present Messrs. Friis (chairman), Leland (vice-chairman), Lhéritier (secretary), Pierre Caron, Handelsman, Reincke-Bloch, Temperley, and Ussani (in place of Senator Calisse, unavoidably absent). There also attended Messrs. Gatto and Muszkowski, while Dr. Oldenburg, secretary of the Academy of Sciences of Leningrad, and M. Tarlé, corresponding member of the same academy, were present for parts of the two-day sessions. It was agreed to recommend to the International Committee that the Bibli-

ography should not include books and articles devoted to national history, which are left to be dealt with in the numerous national bibliographies. The following scheme of chapters or sections was provisionally adopted: (1) auxiliary sciences; (2) general works; (3) pre-history; (4) the ancient empires; (5) Greek history; (6) Roman history; (7) Byzantine history; (8) the history of the Middle Ages; (9) religious and ecclesiastical history; (10) the history of civilization—letters, sciences, arts; (11) the history of ideas; (12) economic and social history; (13) the history of institutions; (14) the history of relations between peoples—migrations, colonization, diplomatic history, questions of the Orient, the Baltic, the Pacific, etc.; (15) comparative political history; (16) the history of Asia; (17) the history of Africa. The Yearbook will be edited under the direction of a permanent international committee, to be appointed, the secretary of which will probably serve as the general editor. In each country a group of correspondents or a committee will be asked to provide on uniform cards the titles and bibliographical information respecting the works produced in that country which are to be included in the Yearbook. These cards will be classified according to the scheme adopted for the bibliography and those of each class will be sent to the special editor of that class or section, who will combine them with the cards received from all the other countries and forward the completed chapter or section, with a suitable introduction, to the secretary of the committee. The special chapter-editors will be selected from different countries, thus widely distributing the work of editing the Yearbook and allowing numerous countries to take part in it. The bibliography will be a bibliography of titles, rather than a series of bibliographical articles as were the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, but each title will be accompanied by a brief description or analysis, unless this is rendered unnecessary by the nature of the title itself, and by references to important reviews. Critical notices will not however be admitted. The languages of the international congress, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, will be used in the bibliography, but titles in other languages will be exactly reproduced, accompanied by translations into one of these five languages. It is expected that final plans for the Yearbook will be perfected this spring and adopted by the International Committee at its meeting in May. The first Yearbook will probably contain the writings of 1926. To co-operate with the International Committee on this subject the American Historical Association has appointed a special committee for the United States consisting of Professors Michael Rostovtzeff, Francis A. Christie, and Lynn Thorndike.

The Governing Board of the International Committee of Historical Sciences held its first regular meeting in Paris, in the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, on November 25 and 26. All the members were present: Messrs. Koht of Oslo, Dopsch of Vienna, Pirenne of Ghent, Brandi of Göttingen, Dembinski of Posen, De Sanctis of Turin, Temperley of Cambridge, Lhéritier of Paris, and

Leland of Washington. Apart from taking various decisions with respect to the Sixth International Congress to be held at Oslo, as reported in a later paragraph, the Board voted to recommend the adoption by the International Committee of a project, originally proposed by J. F. Jameson, for the compilation of a list of diplomatic representatives of the various governments since 1648. A special committee was named for the further study of the project, composed of Messrs. Jameson, Bittner of Vienna, Temperley, and the secretary. It was also voted to secure the preparation of a brief survey of the present state of national historical atlases with especial reference to undertakings in progress, and to recommend to the Committee the study of a project for an International Historical Review devoted especially to articles written in collaboration by scholars of different countries. The Board further voted to recommend to the Committee the appointment of a standing committee on the teaching of history, to take cognizance not so much of pedagogical questions as of questions relating to the place of history in education and to the giving of an objective character to historical instruction. The Board also considered proposals for an international directory of historical scholars, for the creation of an International Review of Economic History, and for the appointment of a standing committee on historical method, but did not take action respecting them. It was voted to ask the countries which are represented in the Committee to raise \$1000 in 1927 by means of voluntary contributions, but the assessment of fixed dues was left until a later time. Finally it was decided to hold the regular annual meeting of the International Committee in Göttingen on May 13 and 14, 1927.

No. 1 of the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France) contains much matter of interest for historical students. Of its 123 pages nearly one-half are occupied with the record of the formation of the committee, its constitution, and the minutes of its sessions at Geneva last May. Then follow interesting statements concerning the organization of historical workers in nine respective countries of those represented in the committee, the organization of historians in the United States being treated by Mr. Leland. Finally, there are reports of several recent historical congresses: a Franco-Belgian conference on modern history held at Brussels, the first international congress on Byzantine studies (Bucarest), the fourth congress of the Scandinavian historians, held last summer at Copenhagen, Italian archaeological congresses held at Tripoli, at Florence, and at Cagliari, for North African, Etruscan, and Sardinian archaeology respectively, a Polish historical congress (Poznan—Posen), and last April's archaeological congress in Syria and Palestine. Information is also given concerning the historical courses given in the international gatherings of last summer in Geneva, the Hague, and Vienna. The *Bulletin* is evidently destined to contain much matter interesting to American historical students and deserves their cordial support. The subscription price is \$1 a volume (five numbers, with index). American subscriptions may be sent to the Yale University Press.

The Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Oslo on August 13-18, 1928. The details of organization and arrangements will be in the hands of a committee of Norwegian scholars, on which the International Committee of Historical Sciences will be represented by its president, Professor Halvdan Koht, and its secretary, M. Lhéritier. The following scheme of sections has been adopted for the congress by the International Committee: (1) auxiliary sciences, archives, documentary publications; (2) pre-history and archaeology; (3) ancient history of the Orient; (4) ancient history of Greece, Rome, and Byzantium; (5) medieval history; (6) modern and contemporaneous European history; (7) American history, history of the Far East, colonial history; (8) religious and ecclesiastical history; (9) social and economic history; (10) legal and institutional history; (11) history of science, learning, and letters; (12) history of art; (13) historical method; (14) the teaching of history. Within this comprehensive *cadre* a place will be reserved for papers on certain subjects which will be suggested by the International Committee after consultation with historians of the different countries, while the remaining space will be available for papers on subjects chosen by their authors. In general, papers will be solicited or received only through the national committees or other national organizations of the various countries (in the case of the United States through the American Historical Association, or such committee as it may create for the purpose). In this way it is expected that it will be possible to avoid encumbering the programme with papers of too restricted interest or of slight importance and at the same time to provide a large place for constructive discussion. Résumés of the papers selected for presentation will be printed and distributed in advance of the congress, but in order that this may be done the International Committee has decided that such résumés must be in the hands of the national committees not later than March 1, 1928. The sessions of the Congress will be held in the buildings of the University of Oslo and their schedule will be so arranged as to reduce to a minimum the inevitable conflicts of interest. As in the past, papers may be written in English, French, German, Italian, or Spanish. The fee for membership in the congress will not exceed 20 Norwegian crowns (*ca.* \$5.40) and a reduced fee will admit to associate membership wives or other members of the families of those who are active members of the congress. Reduced rates to Oslo from Antwerp have been accorded on Norwegian steamers and it is probable that advantageous conditions of travel will be available from other points. Further announcements respecting the congress will be made in these pages, particularly in the issue for July next. Meanwhile inquiries from scholars in the United States respecting the congress, especially as to participation in its programme, should be addressed to the secretary of the American Historical Association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL

Professor Édouard Naville, of Geneva, one of the most eminent of Egyptologists, died in that city on October 17, at the age of eighty-two. He had been occupied with excavations in Egypt since 1883, and was distinguished for a long series of archaeological and historical articles, as well as for the book *La Religion des Anciens Égyptiens* (1906), and volumes on the Old Testament and other themes.

Professor Marcus W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, will teach in the summer school of Harvard University next July and August.

The following professors from other institutions will teach in the summer session of 1927 in Columbia University: Professors D. C. Munro of Princeton, L. M. Larson and A. T. Olmstead of Illinois, W. E. Lingelbach and St. George L. Sioussat of Pennsylvania, Bernard Faÿ of the University of Clermont-Ferrand, Charles W. Ramsdell of Texas, W. W. Pierson of North Carolina, E. F. Humphrey of Trinity, and Captain Holdridge of the U. S. Military Academy.

Mr. Courtney S. Hall has been appointed professor of history in Adelphi College.

Dr. Raymond Sontag, of Princeton University, has been appointed assistant professor of history there.

Mr. Donald L. McMurry, formerly of the University of Iowa, has been appointed professor of history and head of the department in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

Professor Mary W. Williams, of Goucher College, is on leave of absence for the present academic year and is gathering data in South America for the completion of her history of the Latin-American people.

Dr. Arthur P. Whitaker has become professor of history in Florida State College for Women, at Tallahassee.

Dr. Ludwig Riess, professor of history in the University of Berlin, and well known through his studies of the English Parliament in the Middle Ages, is acting as exchange professor of history in Wittenberg College, Ohio, during the academic year 1926-1927.

Mr. J. B. Sanders resigned his fellowship in the University of Chicago in September to become an assistant professor of history in Denison University.

Dr. Bessie L. Pierce, of the University of Iowa, has been promoted to an associate professorship of history.

GENERAL

General reviews: Oswald Redlich, *Fortschritte der Urkundenlehre* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 1, 2); Henri Sée, *Histoire Économique et Sociale* [publications of 1920-1925] (Revue Historique, July).

The societies of Colonial Dames in the state of New York have planned to signalize by an award of \$1000 the best piece of work on some phase of the colonial period in American history written by a citizen of that state and published during the five years preceding January 1, 1929, or, in exceptional cases of high merit, unpublished. Preference will be given to authors who have not yet made any considerable contribution to historical literature. For further information, application is to be made to Miss Ruth Loomis, chairman of the committee, 24 East 63d Street, New York City.

To encourage research in the history of the South, particularly in the Confederate period, the United Daughters of the Confederacy offer the Mrs. Simon Baruch University Prize of \$1000, to be awarded biennially, for the best unpublished monograph or essay submitted, in the field of Southern history, preferably in or near the period of the Confederacy or bearing on the causes that led to the Civil War. Competition is limited to undergraduate and graduate students of universities and standard colleges in the United States, and those who have been students in such universities within the preceding three years. The prize will be paid in two installments of \$500 each, the first at the time of the award, the second when the manuscript shall have been printed. Essays in the first competition are to be sent, before September 1, 1927, to Mrs. Arthur H. Jennings, chairman of the committee, 2200 Rivermont Avenue, Lynchburg, Va., from whom circulars stating further details can be obtained.

The series of volumes called *Records of Civilization*, edited under the auspices of the Department of History in Columbia University, has been placed under the special editorial care of Professor Austin P. Evans. The forthcoming volumes noted in its announcements include a volume on *Calendar Reform in the Thirteenth Century* (the *Compotus* of Robert Grosseteste and the like), edited by Miss Mary C. Welborn of Hood College; the *Slavic Chronicle* of Helmold of Bosau, translated and edited by Professor Francis J. Tschan of the Pennsylvania State College; *The Gutathings-Law and the Frostathings-Law*, translated and edited by Professor Laurence M. Larson of Illinois; a version of Otto of Freising, by President C. C. Mierow of Colorado College; Pierre du Bois on the *Recovery of the Holy Land*, by Professor W. I. Brandt of Iowa; *Sources for the History of Ireland in the Middle Ages*, by Dr. James F. Kenney of the Public Archives of Canada; the autobiography of Usāmah ibn Munkidh, by Professor Philip Hitti of Beirut; and William of Tyre, by Mrs. W. M. Babcock and A. C. Krey of Minnesota.

In the collection called *History of Civilization* (London, Kegan Paul; New York, Knopf) there are published an illustrated volume called *The History of Medicine*, by Dr. C. G. Cumston, running from the time of the Pharaohs to the end of the eighteenth century; and *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, by Montague Summers.

In common with many others, we welcome cordially the reappearance of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, of which a new number, marked as vol. VI, nos. 1-3, came out in September. The last preceding number was that of November, 1922. The present number comes out under the auspices of Duke University, with a board of editors nearly the same as before, with Dr. James A. Robertson continuing as managing editor, and with Professor J. Fred Rippey of Duke University as associate managing editor. It is expected that the reviewing of important books which have appeared in the interim will gradually be brought up to date. The numbers are expected to consist of about equal proportions of bibliographical matter and reviews, and of articles. In the present number the journal presents a glowing poem on the Archives of the Indies at Seville, by Miss Irene A. Wright; an interesting paper of reminiscence of Simancas, by Professor William R. Shepherd; an article on the Policy of Spain toward its Revolted Colonies, 1820-1823, by Professor William S. Robertson; and a lecture on the Geographical Discoveries and Conquests of the Portuguese, by Professor Fidelino de Figueiredo, editor of the *Revista de Historia*. In the November number, received just as we go to press, there is an account of the Pan-American Centennial Congress held last June at Panama; an article by Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., on the Political Influences of an Interoceanic Canal, 1826-1926; and one by Professor A. S. Aiton on the Real Hacienda in New Spain under the First Viceroy.

The October number of the *Historical Outlook* contains an article by Professor F. L. Paxson on the United States in Recent History; one by Professor R. F. Nichols on Biography, the "Case" Method in History; and one by Professor J. G. Randall on the Rule of Law under the Lincoln Administration. In the November number Mr. Herbert Adams Gibbons has a paper on Contemporary European History, and Professor W. H. Stephenson one setting forth the status of the History of the South in Colleges and Universities, 1925-1926.

No. 1 of vol. II. of the *Cambridge Historical Journal* maintains the interest and high quality which attached to the first volume. M. P. Charlesworth has a paper on the Fear of the Orient in the Roman Empire; Miss Eileen Power one on the English Wool Trade in the Reign of Edward IV.; Dr. A. B. C. Cobban one on Edmund Burke and the Origins of the Theory of Nationality, while P. C. Vellacott sets forth the historical contents, of considerable value, in the Diary of a Country Gentleman in 1688. There is a minor contribution, with some statistics, on the Middelburg Staple, 1383-1388, and, especially interesting, a body of rather important information on the origins of the War of 1870 which Dr. Harold Temperley has put together from the papers of Lord Acton, supplementing them with letters of Eugénie and Francis Joseph on the situation of Austria. There is also an unpublished memorandum of Aehrenthal (1894) on the Straits question.

Students and teachers of history who take a large view of its scope and content will rejoice at the creation, in the Johns Hopkins University, of a chair for the history of medicine, the first such chair to be established in the United States, and at the appointment to that chair of Dr. William H. Welch.

History for October presents three papers on Bias in Historical Writing which were presented at the Anglo-American Conference of Historians last July, by Professor C. H. McIlwain of Harvard, Baron Meyendorff of the University of London, and Professor J. L. Morison of Armstrong College.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1925, lately published, contains papers on How Massachusetts received the Declaration of Independence, by John H. Edmonds, and on the Trend toward Centralization, by Thomas Willing Balch. The rest of the issue is occupied by a copious mass of letters (pp. 170) of Professor C. D. Ebeling to the Rev. Dr. William Bentley, edited by the Harvard librarian, W. C. Lane. They relate mostly to Ebeling's efforts to collect Americana and to perfect his *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika* (1793-1816). There are also, however, some long and interesting letters on the Freemasons and the Illuminati in Germany, in comment upon Professor John Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy* (Edinburgh, 1797).

The *Catholic Historical Review* for October has an account of Peace Laws and Institutions of Medieval France, by Sister Mary Joseph Aloysius, and the first installment of one on Father Robert Parsons, S.J., by B. F. Weisman.

The October number of the *Journal of Negro History* is one of exceptional merit. It contains the annual report of the director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, editor of the journal; a brief address on Rural Economic Progress of the Negro in Virginia, by Professor James S. Russell; a substantial paper on the Federal Government and the Negro Soldier, 1861-1865, by Fred A. Shannon of Iowa, and a highly valuable treatise of eighty-four pages on Slavery on the British West Indian Plantations in the Eighteenth Century, by Professor Frank W. Pitman of Pomona College.

The *Proceedings* of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia for the years 1922, 1923, 1924, includes a paper by Richard Peters, jr., on Belmont Mansion, with some account of the Peters family, whose seat it was, and in particular a biographical sketch of Judge Richard Peters (1744-1828). Another paper is Early Christian Art as the Result of a Conflict between the East and the West, by Dr. Arthur E. Bye.

The University of Chicago's second volume of *Abstracts of Theses* in the humanistic departments, 1923-1924, includes summaries of a dozen historical dissertations, offered in the historical and other departments. The inquirer will find in the volume summaries, averaging

seven pages, of dissertations on: the Logic of the Early Greek Physicians (Crowley); the History of Educational Legislation in New Jersey, 1776-1867 (Harrington); the History of Educational Legislation in Pennsylvania, 1775-1850 (Schutte); Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860 (Craven); the Political History of the English Working Classes, 1850-1867 (Gillespie); the Panic of 1837 and the Subtreasury Bill (McGrane); State Rights and the Downfall of the Confederacy (Owsley); Henry Clay and the Disruption of the Whig Party in 1841 (Poage); Aspects of the Economic History of Virginia in the Eighteenth Century (Tschan); Studies in the Economic History of the Ur Dynasty (Keyfitz); Syria under Mehemet Ali (Rustum); the Athenian Political Amnesty of 403 B. C. (Dorjahn); Samuel Daniel's Relation to the Histories and Historical Poetry of the Sixteenth Century (Roberts); the Hellenization of Christian Messianism in Paul and the Synoptic Gospels (Jackson); a Study of Persecution as an Influence upon Early Christianity (Riddle); and the Economic Causes of the Reformation in England (Marti).

Messrs. Ginn and Company publish a volume on the work of the *College Entrance Examination Board* (pp. 300), describing the operations and summarizing the results of a co-operative educational institution which has functioned successfully for twenty-five years, 1901-1925.

Father W. Schmidt, professor of ethnology and comparative philology in the St. Gabriel Mission House, editor of *Anthropos*, and Father W. Koppers have joined in producing an important volume on historical ethnology, *Völker und Kulturen*, I. Teil, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft der Völker* (Regensburg, Habbel).

Teachers of history who wish to know something of the history of science, but to find that knowledge presented in small compass, will greatly welcome E. J. Holmyard's small book on *Chemistry to the Time of Dalton* in the "World's Manuals" series (London, Humphrey Milford), fresh, well proportioned, authoritative, and interesting.

A small book by M. Jules Cambon, *Le Diplomate* (Paris, Hachette, pp. 123), may with great pleasure be read as a pendant to Mr. Jusserand's presidential address on "The School for Ambassadors" (this journal, XXVII. 426-464). It is only in part historical, but that part has the flavor and advantage of the ripest experience.

H. E. Luccock and Paul Hutchinson appear as joint authors of *The Story of Methodism*, which the Methodist Book Concern has published.

A translation, by John M. Gitterman, of Franz Oppenheimer's *The State: its History and Development viewed Sociologically*, has been brought out by the Vanguard Press, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The Truth of History: a Study in Political Development, by St. George R. Fitzhugh, comes from the Old Dominion Press, Richmond, Va.

In the volume entitled *Historic Ships*, by Rupert S. Holland, which Macrae Smith of Philadelphia has published, all kinds of ships, from those of the viking age to the present day, are described, with illustrations in color from paintings made for the 1926 year-book of the United States Naval Academy.

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *A History of Firearms*, by Major H. B. C. Pollard.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Hilda D. Oakley, *The Problem of Truth in History* (Church Quarterly Review, July); Ernst Meister, *Die Geschichtsphilosophischen Voraussetzungen von J. G. Droysens Historik*, III. (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 2); C. W. Alvord, *Changing Fashions of History* (American Mercury, September); C. O. Paullin, *Historical Predictions* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); W. M. Babcock, *Practical Uses of an Historical Museum* (Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, May); Frederic R. Coudert, *The Evolution of the Doctrine of Territorial Incorporation* (Columbia Law Review, November); Richard Ford, *Imprisonment for Debt* (Michigan Law Review, November).

ANCIENT HISTORY

In *Les Peuples Primitifs de l'Europe Méridionale, Recherches d'Histoire et de Linguistique* (Paris, Leroux, 1925, pp. xii, 327), Ed. Philippon studies the origin of those peoples who, toward the middle of the second millennium B. C., began to move toward the lands around the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

An effort to reconstruct the history and life of the half-century from 1400 to 1350 B. C. is made by the Rev. James Baikie in a book entitled *The Amarna Age: a Study of the Crisis of the Ancient World* (London, Black).

A lecture by Dr. D. G. Hogarth on the *Twilight of History*, being the eighth Earl Grey Memorial Lecture at Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Oxford University Press), treats with brilliant insight the late Minoan period and the age immediately preceding.

The *Griechische Geschichte* of Karl Julius Beloch, which in its first edition comprised three books in four parts, has now been expanded into four volumes in eight parts. Of this second edition, the first part of the fourth volume treats of *Die Griechische Weltherrschaft* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1925, pp. xiii, 734).

The Chicago University Press has published *The Business Life of Ancient Athens*, by George M. Calhoun.

The Oxford University Press has published a volume by Stanley Casson entitled *Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria: their Relation to Greece from the Earliest Times down to the Time of Philip Son of Amyntas*.

A convenient survey of the development of historiography in the field of primitive Rome, culminating in the modern conservative reaction toward a high evaluation of tradition, is furnished by Corrado Barbagallo in *Il Problema delle Origini di Roma da Vico a Noi* (Milan, Società Unitas, 1926, pp. iii, 150). Relating to a somewhat later period, but likewise warmly praised, is Emmanuele Ciaceri's rehabilitation of Cicero, *Cicerone e i Suoi Tempi*, vol. I., *Dalla Nascita al Consolato* (Milan, Albrighi, 1926, pp. xxxix, 304).

In vol. V. of the *Memoirs* of the American Academy in Rome (pp. 113, quarto, 66 plates) the leading article is a careful description, by the late C. Densmore Curtis, of all the known objects obtained from the excavation in 1855 of the Barberini tomb at Palestrina, dating from the first half of the seventh century B. C., and containing an unusually important number of objects of gold, silver, ivory, bronze, iron, and wood; 43 of the plates are devoted to these finds. The volume also contains an account of the Temple of Concord in the Roman Forum, by Homer F. Rebert and Henri Marceau; a paper by Professor Tenney Frank on the Temple of Castor pledged at Lake Regillus in 496 B. C., and its successor built in 117 B. C.; some Further Studies in Pompeian Archaeology by A. W. Van Buren, supplementing his studies printed in the second volume of the *Memoirs*; and an account of the Sacra Via of Nero, by Miss Esther B. Van Deman.

In the *University of Wisconsin Studies* Professor Wayland J. Chase presents, with a learned introduction, the text and a translation of the *Ars Minor of Donatus*, which deserves to be known to teachers of Latin and students of history, as having been for a thousand years the leading text-book of grammar.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. L. Woolley, *Recent Discoveries at Ur* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October; and Antiquaries Journal, October); G. A. Barton, *The Present Status of the Hittite Problem* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LXV. 3); Sir William Ramsay, *Homer and the Troad* (Quarterly Review, October); Giacomo Guidi, *Gli Scavi della Cirenaica nel Passato, nel Presente, e nel Futuro* (Nuova Antologia, September 16).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: Ch. Guignebert, *Histoire Générale des Religions* (1921-1926); *Judaïsme, Christianisme Antique* (Revue Historique, September).

An important contribution to the early history of Christian worship is Professor Hans Lietzmann's *Messe und Herrenmahl: eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber).

The history of opinion, legend, and discussion respecting the Donation of Constantine is given in Gerhard Laehr's *Die Konstantinische Schenk-*

ung in der Abendländischen Literatur des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, Ebering, 1926, pp. iv, 195).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: U. Fracassini, *I Nuovi Studi sul Manicheismo* (Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana, 1926, I.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The April and July numbers of *Speculum*, which we have only recently received, maintain well the highly scholarly and interesting character exhibited by the first number. Of historical articles we have to note, in the former number, one by Acton Griscom on the Date of Composition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1136). In the July number there is a delectable address delivered by Professor Edward K. Rand as president of the Medieval Academy of America, on Medieval Gloom and Medieval Uniformity, and a paper by John Dickinson on the Medieval Conception of Kingship and some of its Limitations as developed in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury. Professor Lynn Thorndike has a note on the Relations of the Inquisition to Peter of Abano and Cecco d'Ascoli, and there are valuable reviews of historical books. The photographic facsimile illustrations which abound in these numbers can not be too highly praised.

The Legacy of the Middle Ages, edited by C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob, has just been published by the Oxford University Press. The sixteen chapters include chapters on Aspects of Latin Literature, by Rev. Claude Jenkins, on Vernacular Literature, by Cesare Foligno, on Customary Law, by the late Sir Paul Vinogradoff, on Education, by J. W. Adamson, on the Position of Women, by Miss Eileen Power, and on Royal Power and Administration, by Charles Johnson.

Medieval and Modern Times, by Professor James Harvey Robinson, which Ginn and Company have recently published, is a revised version of the author's *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, published in 1902.

Vol. V. of *Peuples et Civilisations*, the general history edited by Louis Halphen and Philippe Sagnac, is devoted to *Les Barbares, des Grandes Invasions aux Conquêtes Turques du XI^e Siècle* (Paris, Alcan, 1926, pp. viii, 437). It is by Professor Halphen.

Vol. XVIII. of *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, published by the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome (Rome, Regenbogen, 1926, pp. xii, 336), contains the following studies: Ferdinand Güterbock, "Die Rektoren des Lombardenbundes in einer Urkunde für Chiaravalle"; Robert Ries, "Regesten der Kaiserin Constanze, Königin von Sizilien, Gemahlin Heinrichs VI."; Karl Wenck, "Das Erste Konklave der Papstgeschichte, 1241"; Walther Holtzmann, "Unbekannte Stauferurkunden und Reichssachen"; Fedor Schneider, "Untersuchungen zur Italienischen Verfassungsgeschichte, II. Staufisches

aus der Formelsammlung des Petrus de Boateriis"; Karl Schellhass, "Die Franziskanerobservanten Johannes Nasus und Michael Alvarez und die Gründung ihrer Ordensprovinz Tirol im Jahre 1580"; Eberhard Freiherr von Danckelman, "Zur Frage der Mitwissenschaft Papst Innocenz' XI. an der Oranischen Expedition".

The late Professor Barrett Wendell amused himself by making an English translation of Eginhard's *History of the Translation of the Blessed Martyrs of Christ, Marcellinus and Peter*, which especially interested him because of the vivid scenes of life in the ninth century. This has now been published by the Harvard University Press, and will interest those concerned with the history of medicine and superstition.

The Morehouse Publishing Company of Milwaukee has brought out a volume on *Saint Francis and the Greyfriars*, by Rev. Dr. Ernest H. Day, and another entitled *The Story of Saint Francis of Assisi*, by Elizabeth W. Grierson.

The second volume of Canon Edward H. R. Tatham's *Francesco Petrarca* (London, Sheldon Press) begins with a valuable essay on the Latin classics of the Middle Ages, and deals with the *Africa* and the *Secret* and with all the middle portion of the poet's life.

A critical edition of the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua is being prepared from the manuscripts by C. W. Previté-Orton, librarian of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Wilhelm Erben, *Ueber die Erwahnung eigener Erlebnisse bei Geschichtschreibern des Mittelalters* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 1, 2); Alfons Dopsch, *Die Leudes und das Lebenswesen* (*ibid.*); S. Stein, *Lex und Capitula: eine Kritische Studie* (*ibid.*); Harold Steinacker, *Zu Aventin und den Quellen des Dritten Kreuzzugs* (*ibid.*); G. Batault, *Saint François d'Assise* (*Mercure de France*, October 1); Pio Rajna, *S. Francesco d'Assisi e gli Spiriti Cavallereschi*, and M. F. Pugnani, *I "Fioretti" di S. Francesco* (*Nuova Antologia*, October 16); Justus Hashagen, *Papsttum und Laiengewalten im Verhältnis zu Schisma und Konzilien* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIII. 3); Lynn Thorndike, *Lippus Brandolinus de Comparatione Reipublicae et Regni* (*Political Science Quarterly*, September); J. Hollnsteiner, *König Sigismund auf dem Konstanzer Konzil, nach den Tagebuchaufzeichnungen des Kardinals Fillastre* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 1, 2); Louis Lewin, *Der Tod des Papstes Alexander VI.* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, October); L. Gallois, *La Cartographie du Moyen Age et la Carte attribuée à Christophe Colomb* (*Revue Historique*, September).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Upon the model of Professor J. F. Willard's valued bulletins showing the progress of medieval studies in this country, Professor Chester P.

Higby of the University of North Carolina has begun the issue of a series of annual pamphlets on the present status of modern European history in the United States, published by the University of North Carolina (*James Sprunt Historical Studies*, XIX. 1, pp. 48). This first number consists of a list of persons interested in the field of modern European history with indication of their respective courses of preparation, present position, field of special interest, and publications. Workers in the fields of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic period, that of the World War, and Slavic history will obtain, as the result of Professor Higby's public-spirited efforts, many interesting data concerning fellow-workers. To the many important and interesting portions of modern European history lying outside these specialties American historical scholars have shown a surprising and lamentable indifference.

Gennaro Maria Monti of Naples, one of the most diligent of Italian archivists, has published a rich collection of new documents in his *Ricerche su Papa Paolo IV. Carafa con 108 Documenti Inediti* (Benevento, Cooperativa Tipografia, 1925, pp. 358).

Professor Paul Van Dyke has brought out through the firm of Scribner a biography of *Ignatius Loyola*.

The "Bedford" Series of Economic Histories, intended to afford English readers knowledge of the economic development of Europe as interpreted by scholars of other nations, opens with a volume by Paul Mantoux on *The Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century*, and *A Study of the Fuggers and their Connexions*, by Dr. Richard Ehrenberg.

Professor Parker T. Moon has brought out through Macmillan a volume on *Imperialism and World Politics*.

The historical background of one of the most dangerous political questions in present-day Europe is studied from the German side by a group of scholars (W. Geisler, H. Hübner, K. J. Kaufmann, W. La Baume, M. Laubert, F. Lorentz, W. Millack) under the leadership of Erich Keyser in *Der Kampf um die Weichsel, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Polnischen Korridors* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1926, pp. ix, 178).

The Hoover War Library at Stanford University has put forth a catalogue (pp. 96) of a peculiarly interesting portion of its rich treasures, under the title of *Paris Peace Conference Delegation Propaganda*, mainly devoted to listing documents presented to the Peace Conference by the delegations of various governments or distributed to the public by them, but also embracing items of propaganda not thus authenticated by the delegations.

In *Papst und Kurie in ihrer Politik nach dem Weltkrieg* (Illertissen, Martinus-Buchhandlung) the Ritter von Lama gives a well-documented account, by a German Catholic, of papal policy since 1914.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ch. Benoist, *L'Esprit de Machiavel et les Méthodes Politiques* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); Edgar Prestage, *Vasco da Gama* (Dublin Review, April); K. Brandi, *Die Wahl Karls V.* (Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., 1925, 2); Johannes Kühn, *Thomas Morus und Rousseau: die Geburt einer Gesellschaftslehre aus einem Menschenideal* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 2); Inna Lubimenko, *Les Relations Diplomatiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie au XVII^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, September); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Zur Schlacht von Lützen und zu Gustav Adolfs Tod* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 1, 2); Gisbert Beyerhaus, *Abbé de Pauw und Friedrich der Grosse, eine Abrechnung mit Voltaire* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 3); Eugène Hubert, *Dissensions dans la Famille des Habsbourg à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, XII. 5); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Der Prinz von Preussen und Metternich, 1835-1848* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 2); Emil Daniels, *Die Politische Vorgeschichte des Krieges von 1859* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); Albert v. Berzeviczy, *Der Italienische Feldzug von 1859 und Bachs Sturz* (Ungarische Jahrbücher, August); Ed. von Wertheimer, *Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm und die Spanische Hohenzollern-Thronkandidatur, 1868-1870* (Preussische Jahrbücher, September); Wickham Steed, *Politique Vaticane [1898-1900]* (Revue de Paris, October 15); Émile Laloy, *Bülow et Rouvier après la Chute de Delcassé, d'après les Documents Allemands* (Mercure de France, September 15); Émile Bourgeois, *La Mission de Lord Haldane à Berlin, Février, 1912* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15); B. J. Hovde, *The Socialists and the Triple Entente* (Journal of Political Economy, June); Marcel Chappey and Wilfrid Baumgartner, *Les Finances des Principaux États depuis la Guerre, IX., Allemagne [November, 1918-October, 1924]* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January-March); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX^e Siècle, XXIII.-XXVI.* (Nouvelle Revue, August 15-October 15).

THE WORLD WAR

The Stationery Office expects to publish during the next three years, in eleven volumes, *British Official Documents of the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, under the editorship of Drs. George P. Gooch and Harold Temperley. The first to appear is the eleventh volume, dealing with the few weeks immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, and declared to present all the documentary material bearing on the subject which the Secretary of State and his advisers had before them at the time, including all relevant extracts from the Foreign Secretary's private correspondence, which Lord Grey had left at the Foreign Office, and that of Sir Arthur Nicholson. This volume, edited by J. W. Headlam-Morley, was published in December. Vols. I. and II., for the years 1896-1904, will, it is hoped, appear next year.

The Division of Economics and History in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has in press, in its British series, a group of monographs on Rural Scotland during the War, on the War and Insurance, and a Guide to the Study of War-Time Economics; in the Austrian and Hungarian series, a group of studies of the Economic Use of Occupied Territories; in the Belgian series, volumes on Unemployment, Deportation, and Destruction of Belgian Industry during the German Occupation, and on the Economic Policies of the Belgian Government; in the French series, on the Effects of the War upon Transportation in the Occupied Territories and on the Economic History of Paris and other cities during the war; in the German series, works on the Effect of the War on Morals and Religion and on the Political Administration of Occupied Territories; in the Italian series, on Economic Legislation; and in the Netherland series, monographs on the effects of war in that country. It is announced that Professor Alvin S. Johnson will prepare a volume on the War-time Control of Industry in the United States, Mr. Walker D. Hines a volume on War History of American Railways and War Transportation Policies, and Professor T. S. Adams a Financial History of the War.

Plon announces *Les Organisations de Blocus en France pendant la Guerre, 1914-1918*, "under the inspiration of Denys Cochin by a group of his collaborators" (Paris, 1926, pp. 292).

An illustrated record of the assembling in Russia of the Czechoslovak army and its adventures in Siberia, by Henry Baerlein, is entitled *The March of the Seventy-Thousand* (London, Leonard Parsons).

Captain A. Thomazi's *La Marine Française dans la Grande Guerre* has reached its third volume, which deals with *La Guerre Navale aux Dardanelles* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 256).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. E. Schmitt, *July, 1914* [reviews of Poincaré, Stieve, Seton-Watson, Barnes, etc.] (*Foreign Affairs*, October); Friedrich R. von Wiesner, *König Alexander von Jugoslawien und die Attentäter von Sarajewo* (*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, September); W. L. Langer, *Der Krieg: Ursachen und Anlässe, Ziele und Folgen*, III., *Der Russisch-Japanische Krieg* (*Europäische Gespräche*, June); F. Charles-Roux, *Veillée d'Armes à Londres, 22 Juin-4 Août 1914* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15); Richard Grelling, *Le Conseil des Ministres Prussiens du 30 Juillet 1914* (*Revue de Paris*, September 1); H. C. Bywater, *What really Happened: Notes on the Battle of Jutland* (*Atlantic Monthly*, November); Manfredi Gravina, *Il Libro Arancione Russo e la Questione degli Stretti alla Luce di Nuovi Documenti* (*Nuova Antologia*, August 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: Ch. Bémont, *Histoire de la Grande-Bretagne* (*Revue Historique*, September).

The Ford lecturer for 1927 at Oxford will be Professor F. M. Powicke, of the University of Manchester.

Professor William T. Laprade has brought out through Macmillan a *British History for American Students*, intended for use as a college text-book.

The seventh volume of the *Unity Series* contains a dozen essays, arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin, on *England and the World*, the international relations of England being traced in historical order by Dr. A. J. Carlyle, Professor A. J. Grant, Dr. G. P. Gooch, and others.

In continuation of a series in which Flemish, French, and Italian miniatures have already been treated, the publishing house of G. Van Oest of Brussels and Paris brings out a book on *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century* (pp. 160 and 160 color-type plates), by Eric G. Millar of the British Museum.

Dr. Robert L. Henry, formerly professor of law in the University of Iowa, publishes through Longmans a volume of discussions and documents on *Contracts in the Local Courts of Medieval England*.

Mr. P. B. M. Allen, continuing the work of the late Canon Westlake, has now made ready for the press the first volume of the proposed publication of *Westminster Abbey Documents*, which will go forward if further subscribers are secured. The material for this volume consists of a series of early royal charters, and of more than 1200 documents relating mainly to Berkshire, Essex, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, and Warwickshire.

Edward Hutton has written a history of *The Franciscans in England* (London, Constable) covering the whole period from the landing of the friars in 1224 to the suppression of the order by Henry VIII., 1538-1539.

The Chetham Society has published a *Calendar of County Court, City Court, and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1259-1297* (pp. lx, 304), edited, with a careful introduction, by R. Stewart-Brown, comprising a calendar, and in the case of many entries somewhat more, of the earliest extant rolls of the courts of the county palatine of Chester. Their importance for legal history is obvious. The eyre roll is that of Macclesfield. The same society has also brought out *A History of the Township and Manor of Clayton-le-Moors, Co. Lancaster* (pp. xi, 175), by Richard Trappes-Lomax.

The Oxford University Press is issuing two volumes on *John Wyclif: a Study of the English Medieval Church*, by Dr. Herbert B. Workman, who examines both the life and the works of Wyclif.

In a series which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is devoting to "The Historic Monuments of England" Mr. Arthur R. Green has a competent volume on *Sundials, Incised Dials, or Mass-Clocks* (pp. xx, 203), containing full discussion of types, with elaborate illustrations, and a catalogue *raisonné* of examples visited.

The Somerset Record Society publishes as its fortieth volume a book of *Medieval Wills from Wells* (pp. ix, 298) in which are printed full and careful summaries of some five hundred wills of 1543-1546 and 1554-1556 found in the Diocesan Registry at Wells. Much material illustrative of social history is in the volume, which is fully indexed. The society, which lately published a volume of *Accounts of the Chamberlains of the City of Bath*, expects before long to publish a third volume of *Somersetshire Pleas*, temp. Edw. I., continuing two previous volumes of which the second ended with 1272.

John Howell of San Francisco has published *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World: its Aims and Achievements*, by Henry R. Wagner.

Vol. III. of the Historical Manuscripts Commission's *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry* (Stationery Office, pp. 487) forms a second series of the Montagu Papers, edited by the late R. E. G. Kirk. It contains papers running from 1538 to 1649, but mostly of the last fifty of those years. They are papers bearing upon the family history of the Montagus, especially the first Baron Montagu, letters and papers connected with the affairs of Northamptonshire, and notes of proceedings in the House of Commons in 1604, 1606, and 1607, taken by Sir Edward Montagu, and in the Lords, after his elevation to the peerage as Baron Montagu, for various dates from 1621 to 1641.

The Lincoln Record Society, under the capable editorship of Canon C. W. Foster, has published the first volume of *The State of the Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*, as illustrated by documents relating to the diocese of Lincoln.

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *The Life of Charles the First, the Royal Martyr*, by Charles W. Coit.

A new volume of the Harvard Economic Studies lately published by the university press is *Forests and Sea Power: the Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862*, by Robert G. Albion, assistant professor in Princeton University.

A popular one-volume abridgment (615 pp.) of the Wheatley edition of the Diary of Samuel Pepys, entitled *Everybody's Pepys, 1660-1669*, edited by O. F. Morshead and cleverly illustrated by E. H. Shephard, has been brought out by Harcourt Brace and Company. Great care has been taken to preserve a coherent, well-balanced picture of the daily life of Pepys, as representative of the life of his time. To do this it has been necessary to eliminate many of the references to and opinions on the public affairs of the period, which are most valuable to the historian. The introduction has been shortened to a few pages giving the bare facts of Pepys's ancestry, birth, and relations, and a large part of the foot-notes has been omitted. The spelling and punctuation of the Wheatley edition have been preserved, but there has been no attempt to indicate omissions.

As the publisher indicates, it is an edition for "everybody" who would be frightened away by the length of the complete Wheatley edition.

Dr. Norman Sykes of King's College, London, has just published a *Memoir of Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1669-1748: a Study in Politics and Religion in the Eighteenth Century* (Clarendon Press), based on the bishop's papers.

Students of social history will value *The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century: a Study in Social and Administrative History from 1662 to 1782* (London, Routledge), by Dr. Dorothy Marshall. Upon the studies published by Mrs. George, Miss Marshall, and Mr. Griffith follows an important volume by Miss M. C. Buer, *Health, Wealth, and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution* (London, Routledge), tracing the improvement of material conditions between 1760 and 1815 and studying the notable increase of British population.

The first of a series of *Benedictine Historical Monographs*, issued from St. Anselm's Priory at Washington, is a pamphlet of 40 pages, by Summerfield Baldwin, on *The Catholic Negotiation of 1717-1719*, meaning, the negotiations of the English Catholics as to the possibility of their taking oaths of allegiance to King George.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord's lecture, *Lord Shelburne and the Founding of British-American Goodwill* (British Academy: Raleigh Lecture on History), has been published by the Oxford University Press.

The Naval Record Society will issue, on the subscription for 1926, vol. I. of the *Letters of Admiral Viscount Keith*, and vol. II. of the *Letters of Lord St. Vincent*.

In *David Hartley, M. P., an Advocate of Conciliation, 1774-1783* (University of California, pp. 110), a young English scholar, George H. Guttridge, presents on the basis of Hartley papers in Washington and Cambridge an intelligent and useful account of Hartley's relations to American independence and the treaty of 1783.

The Gordon Riots, by J. Paul de Castro (Oxford University Press), gives a day-to-day account based on thorough study and establishing many new facts.

Dr. W. L. Mathieson's *British Slavery and its Abolition, 1823-1838* (Longmans), will be of much value to students of slavery in the United States as well as in the British West Indies. Meanwhile the Yale University Press has brought out *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England: a Study in English Humanitarianism*, by Professor Frank J. Klingberg of the University of California, Southern Branch.

The second volume of G. D. H. Cole's *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement* (London, Allen and Unwin), issued in November, carries the record from 1848 to 1900; the third volume will continue the narrative down to the present day.

The Rise and Decline of Socialism in Great Britain, 1884-1924 (London, Faber and Gwyer), by Joseph Clayton, is by one who took a part of some importance in the socialistic movement, but depicts the rise of the Labor Party as marking the decline of socialism.

The biography of an important figure in the social and political life of the latter part of the Victorian period is presented in *Henry Chaplin: a Memoir*, prepared by his daughter, the Marchioness of Londonderry (London, Macmillan). From 1889 to 1892 he was president of the Board of Agriculture, the first incumbent of that office.

A Bibliography of Sir Adolphus William Ward, 1837-1924 (pp. xxxiv, 99), by A. T. Bartholomew, is published by the Cambridge University Press, with a reprint of the short memoir by Professor T. F. Tout which was written for the *Proceedings* of the British Academy.

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's *The Life and Letters of Lord Bryce* (Macmillan), announced for the autumn, will be published early in the present year.

British War Budgets (Oxford University Press), by F. W. Hirst and J. E. Allen, describes the twelve budgets passed from 1914 to 1924, after the same method adopted by Sir Stafford Northcote in his *Twenty Years of Financial Policy*, with a discussion of criticisms made.

Soldiers and Statesmen, 1914-1918 (London, Cassell; New York, Scribner), by Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, is an important account of the relations between the ministry of that period and the chief of the Imperial General Staff during the period while that office was held by the author.

To the series of "Victoria Histories" the latest addition is vol. I. of the *Victoria History of the County of Huntingdon*, edited by William Page and Granville Proby (London, St. Catherine Press).

The *Scottish Historical Review* for October has articles by Sir J. Philip Hamilton-Grierson on Falsing the Doom, a procedure in Scots law for complaint of false judgment; on the mystery of Maitland, meaning his change of attitude with respect to Queen Mary, by Maurice Wilkinson; and on the Negotiation of a Commercial Treaty between England and Scotland in 1668, by Edward Hughes.

Documentary publications: *The Great Register of Lichfield Cathedral, known as Magnum Registrum Album*, ed. Very Rev. H. E. Savage, dean of Lichfield (William Salt Archaeological Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dom Basil Whelan, *The Maid of Kent* (Dublin Review, October); G. Constant, *La Suppression des Monastères Anglais, 1536-1540* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); L. Frati, *L'Inghilterra alla Fine del Seicento, secondo il Diario Inedito di un Contemporaneo Italiano* (Nuova Antologia, September 16); Capt. A. C. Dewar, R. N., *The Naval Administration of the Interregnum* (Mari-

ner's Mirror, October); Erich Brandenburg, *Die Memoiren Greys* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 2).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 424; for India, see p. 408)

Messrs. Longmans have brought out *The Reformation in Dublin, 1536-1558*, by Myles V. Ronan.

New light on the secret history of Ireland between 1916 and 1922 is presented in the official history of *Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland*, by Pierce Beasley (London, Harrap, 2 vols.).

Dr. Temistocle Zammit, formerly rector of the University of Malta, provides a careful history of his native island from the earliest times to 1884 in *Malta: the Islands and their History* (Valetta, Malta Herald Office, pp. viii, 456).

The Archives Commission of the Union of South Africa has undertaken to supplement the late Dr. Theal's *Records of Cape Colony*, which began with 1793, by printing archival documents for the early history of the colony. The first will be a series running from 1778 to 1793. Of this a volume of resolutions of the Political Council, official journal of transactions, incoming and outgoing letters, for the year 1778, all in Dutch, is now printed, *Kaapse Archiefstukken lopende over het Jaar 1778*, prepared by Miss Kathleen M. Jeffreys, with excellent indexes.

The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament has published vol. XXVI. of *Historical Records of Australia* (pp. xvii, 873), embracing governors' despatches to and from England from October, 1847, to December, 1848.

In the March number of the *Victorian Historical Magazine* Thomas O'Callaghan presents the first installment of a paper entitled Fictitious History, wherein he attacks some erroneous statements early perpetrated and long propagated with respect to Australian history.

FRANCE

General reviews: Louis Halphen, *Histoire de France; le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Valois* (Revue Historique, July); Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Histoire de France; Fin du Moyen Age, 1328-1498* (*ibid.*); Eduard Wechssler, *Zur Kenntniss des Jüngsten Frankreich* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 3).

An imposing official publication of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts is the *Tables Générales des Bulletins du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, II., *Bulletin Historique et Philologique, 1882-1915*, exhaustively compiled by the secretary of the committee, Gaston de Bar (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1925, pp. ix, 891).

The principal French societies having to do with colonial studies have formed a committee to organize an historical exposition of the French colonies in North America, to be opened in March, 1928, in the *salons* of the Hotel Bonaparte, the home of the Société de Géographie.

The New York Public Library has published, in a stout volume of 885 pages, a bibliographical list of what it contains for *Provençal Literature and Language*, including the local history of southern France, compiled by Daniel C. Haskell.

A life of *Le Cardinal François de la Rochefoucauld*, churchman and statesman of the early seventeenth century, has been written by Gabriel de la Rochefoucauld (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. 404).

Louis XIV. et la Cour d'après Trois Témoins Nouveaux, Bêlise, Beauvillier, Chamillart, is the title of a volume prepared by Marcel Langlois for the *Coll. Mémoires Historiques* (Paris, Michel, 1926, pp. 336).

Much new light on industrial activities in France during the period between 1780 and 1815, and especially on the securing of inventions and artisans from England, is to be found in *L'Introduction du Machinisme dans l'Industrie Française* (Paris, F. Rieder, pp. lvii, 575), by Charles Ballot, a young French scholar who was killed at Verdun in December, 1917.

Miss E. D. Bradby's *Short History of the French Revolution* (Oxford, Clarendon Press) represents a remarkable effort, on the part of a learned scholar, to compress a great story within a small compass.

Two volumes of interest to students of the Revolutionary period are *Marie-Antoinette et l'Énigme du Collier* by Frantz Funck-Brentano (Paris, Tallandier, 1926, pp. 296) and the *Correspondance de Maximilien et Augustin Robespierre*, edited by Georges Michon (Paris, Alcan, 1926, pp. 534).

The *Letters of Marie Antoinette, Fersen, and Barnave*, edited by O. G. de Heidenstam, have just been published, in English translation, by Messrs. John Lane of London.

Louis Barthou, the former premier, has described *Le Neuf Thermidor* in the series *Récits d'Autrefois* (Paris, Hachette, 1926).

Lewis Claflin Breed, of Boston, has prepared a volume of some 350 pages entitled *The Opinions and Reflections of Napoleon* (Boston, Four Seas Company), a comprehensive collection of Napoleon's opinions on twenty-three subjects of human interest, exclusive of military activities.

La France et les Grandes Puissances du Monde, 1830-1880, by G. Guenin and J. Nouaillac (Paris, Plon, 1925, pp. 477), is a source-book, containing extracts from the writings of the leading statesmen in the period involved.

Thiers and the French Monarchy, a documented history of France during the period from 1798 to 1848, by J. M. S. Allison of Yale University, is published in London by Constable, and in Boston and New York by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

To the *Récits d'Autrefois* is added a lively recital of *Les Conspirations de Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte: Strasbourg, Boulogne*, by Gabriel Perreux (Paris, Hachette, 1926, pp. 124).

The admirable *Bibliographie Lorraine*, commenced in 1910 by the Faculty of Letters of the University of Nancy, has received its sixth volume, including publications of 1922 and 1923 (Nancy, Berger, 1925, pp. xii, 415). The Faculty of Letters of Strasbourg, following its example, have produced the *Bibliographie Alsacienne*, vol. II., works of 1921-1924 (Paris, Belles-Lettres, 1926, pp. xii, 460).

Whoever wishes to study thoroughly, by the example of one department, the history of French administration during the Napoleonic period, will be well advised to read the two volumes of *Le Département des Côtes-du-Nord sous le Consulat et l'Empire*, by René Durand (Paris, Alcan, pp. lxxx, 606, 568).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. L. Bourrilly, *Duguesclin et le Duc d'Anjou en Provence, 1368* (Revue Historique, July); Dom Paul Serrant, *Seignelay et Bonrepaus*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Henri Sée, *Que Faut-il Penser de l'Oeuvre Économique de Colbert?* (Revue Historique, July); G. Lacour-Gayet, *L'Enfance de Talleyrand* (Revue de Paris, August 15); L. Gueneau, *Paris, les Industries et le Commerce de la Soie et des Soieries à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, August); M. B. Garrett, *The Controversy over the Composition of the States General, November 6-28, 1788* (Howard College Bulletin, October, 1926); A. Aulard, *Les Noms Révolutionnaires des Communes* (Revue de Paris, October 1); G. Lenotre, *La Proscription des Girondins* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); Albert Mathiez, *Études sur la Terreur: les Indulgents* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, September); *id.*, *Études sur la Terreur: les Citra et les Ultra* (*ibid.*, November); Gabriel Hanotaux, *Grandes Années Napoléoniennes, l'Empire de Recrutement, la Terre contre la Mer, 1806-1810* (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 15); *Mémoires de la Reine Hortense*, V.-VIII. (*ibid.*, September 1-November 15); Jean-Marie Carré, *Lamartine et Michelet, d'après leur Correspondance Inédite* (*ibid.*, September 1); Auguste Laugel, *L'Expulsion des Princes* [1886] (Revue de Paris, September 15).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: Cizam, *Courrier Italien* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

The trading companies or banking houses of the Bardi and the Peruzzi had such important relations to Edward III. that Signor A. Saporì's *Delle*

Compagnie Mercantili dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi (Florence, Olschki, 1926, pp. xvi, 308) is an important contribution to English as well as to Florentine history. It rests on materials in the London Public Record Office (Patent Rolls and Close Rolls) as well as in Florentine archives.

The Harvard University Press has published for Mr. Kenneth J. Conant a carefully made and beautifully illustrated quarto on *The Early Architectural History of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela* (pp. xii, 65, 33 photographic illustrations, and 8 plates of architectural drawings). It is a scholarly treatise upon the Romanesque or twelfth-century cathedral; it reprints from Canon Ferreiro's *Historia* the twelfth-century description in the Pilgrims' Guide contained in the so-called Codex of Calixtus II.

No one has had greater influence on Catholic historiography than Professor Heinrich Finke, who has drawn much of his material from the Spanish archives. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday a volume of monographs has been issued in his honor by 31 of his students and admirers, many of whom are Spanish scholars. It bears the title *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1925, pp. xi, 517).

The Jewish Historical Society of England has published *Jews in the Canary Islands*, a calendar of Jewish cases extracted from the records of the Canariote Inquisition in the collection of the Marquess of Bute, translated from the Spanish and edited with an introduction and notes by Lucien Wolf.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Francesco Landogna, *L'Unità del Regno Italico nell' alto Medio Evo*, concl. (Nuova Rivista Storica, July-October); Luigi Ravà, *La Repubblica Bresciana* (Nuova Antologia, September 1); Paul Matter, *Les Origines du Risorgimento*, I., *Les Traditions du XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July-September); Nerio Malvezzi, *Pellegrino Rossi, Marco Minghetti, e Carlo de Mazade* (Nuova Antologia, October 16); anon., *L'Italie et l'Agonie de la Paix en 1914* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1); Th. von Sosnosky, *Die Kriegsschuld Italiens* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, October); P. Kehr, *Das Papsttum und der Katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon* (Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1926, I.).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: G. Allemang, *Courrier Allemand* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

The important collection, *Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*, n.f., III. *Briefe und Denkwürdigkeiten*, has reached the end of vol. VI., *Korrespondenzen und Akten zur Geschichte des Kardinals Matth. Schiner*, whose second part, covering the years 1516-1527, has been published by Albert Büchi (Basel, 1925, pp. xxvii, 677).

The second volume of Louise Sommer's *Die Oesterreichischen Kameralisten in Dogmengeschichtlicher Darstellung* has been published (Vienna, Konegen, 1925, pp. xiv, 491); vol. I. appeared in 1920.

The deposed German emperor has recounted in a vivid and interesting manner the history of his first thirty years in a book which was published in Germany, England, and the United States simultaneously on November 4, the American edition bearing the title *My Early Life* (Harper).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Erwin Kleinstück, *Vom Wesen des Deutschen Beamtentums; ein Gesellschaftswissenschaftlicher und Politischer Versuch auf Geschichtlicher Grundlage* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 7-8); F. Engel-Janosi, *Zur Geschichte der Wiener Kaufmannschaft von der Mitte des 15. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, VI.); Eugen v. Gyalókay, *Die Schlacht bei Mohács, 29 August 1526* (Ungarische Jahrbücher, August); Th. Mayer, *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft vor dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 1, 2); V. Heydemann, *Friedrichs des Grossen Prosaische und Dichterische Schriften während des Siebenjährigen Krieges* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); Wilhelm Mommsen, *Bayern und die Reichsgründung* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 7-8); Karl Schünemann, *Die Stellung Oesterreich-Ungarns in Bismarcks Bündnispolitik* (*ibid.*); Eugen Horváth, *Die Kriegsschuldfrage in der Ungarischen Politik* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, October).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Deel XLVII. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the Historisch Genootschap of Utrecht contains a hitherto unprinted journal of the siege of Haarlem, 1572-1573, by an eye-witness, the manuscript of which was found in Copenhagen; an unprinted biography of Admiral Witte Corneliszoon de With, by his son-in-law; a group of thirteenth-century Latin documents of Zeeland, relating to the abbeys of Duins and Ter Does; a group of documents of 1664 respecting the northeast passage to China; and a body of accounts of Dirk van Kessel for services rendered to William of Orange, 1571-1574, in connection with the forwarding of correspondence. The society has also published two volumes of *Rekeningen van het Bisdom Utrecht, 1378-1573*, ed. K. Heeringa.

The Clarendon Press has published the first of two volumes of *The Jurisprudence of Holland*, translated with notes and commentary by R. W. Lee, professor of Roman-Dutch law at Oxford, from the Latin of Hugo Grotius's *Introductio*. The present volume presents the text of that famous book. The commentary will follow in vol. II.

R. Murris has written an interesting study in the field of intellectual history on *La Hollande et les Hollandais au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècle vus par les Français* (Paris, Champion, 1925, pp. 294).

Professor G. Brom of Nijmegen makes an important contribution to the cultural history of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century by his two volumes on *Romantiek en Katholicisme in Nederland* (Groningen and the Hague, Wolters, 1926, pp. 430, 400). In conjunction with Professor A. Boon of Louvain he is projecting a history of the literary relations between the Netherlands and Flanders.

In a quarto volume, *Correspondance de Barthélemy-Joseph Dotrengé, 1781-1794* (Brussels, Imbreghts, 1926, pp. xix, 471), the Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire has published texts or abstracts of 395 despatches addressed to his prince or government by Dotrengé, diplomatic agent of the Prince-Bishop of Liège at the court of Brussels. Dotrengé was an honest man of considerable abilities, a keen observer, and a man of sense; his reports and remarks, during a critical period of Belgian history, are of real value.

Lieutenant-General Baron de Wautier (1777-1872), having served successively under all the governments that ruled Belgium during his long life—those of Austria, Westphalia, the French Empire, the kingdoms of the Netherlands and Belgium, wrote in his green old age the memoirs of his life and military services. They are printed (pp. 116) in the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, XC. 1.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. G. Van Dillen, *Amsterdam, Marché Mondial des Métaux Précieux au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, July).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: Jean Porcher, *Courrier Slave, Russie* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

Denmark has in preparation an extensive general history, illustrated with great care and emphasizing social history, *Det Danske Folks Historie* (Copenhagen, Chr. Erichsen). There will be eight volumes, written by expert hands, under the general editorship of Professor Aage Friis of the University, Dr. Axel Linvald, archivist of the city, and Dr. M. Mackeprang, director of the National Museum. The work will be published in fortnightly parts, seventy or eighty in number, of 48 pages each, at one krone a part. Vol. VII., presenting the history of the period 1848-1864 and some chapters relating to later years, is now in course of publication. Vol. II., for the earlier Middle Ages, by Professor Johannes Steenstrup and Jørgen Olrik, museum inspector, will come next.

The greater portion of the 1925 volume of the *Skrifter* of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences, hist.-fil. Kl. (Oslo, Dybwad), consists of an elaborate treatise by Sigurd Grieg, marked by the highest scientific methods, on the archaeological remains illustrative of early occupation—stone age, Roman iron age, early medieval and Viking periods—in the

district of Hadeland, some thirty miles north of Oslo, with excellent plans and illustrations.

Vol. XVII. of *Islandica* (Cornell University Library), prepared like its predecessors by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, is devoted to two cartographers, to wit, Bishop Guðbrandur Thorláksson of Hólar (bishop 1570–1627) and his great-grandson Bishop Thórður Thorláksson of Skálholt (bishop 1671–1697), whose cartographical work, and the relation of their maps to others maps of Iceland, are fully described, with eleven plates of facsimiles.

A Gothenburg dissertation by Sven Grauers, *Bidrag till Kännedomen om det Karolinska Enväldets Uppkomst* (Gothenburg, Elander), treats of the movements in the earlier part of the reign of Charles XI., and especially of the influences from the court of Louis XIV., which led to the establishment of a semi-absolute monarchy in Sweden.

The Communist Academy of Moscow has begun the publication of an historical journal, *Istorič Marksist*, of which the second number has come to us. Of its contents, which are entirely in Russian, the chief items are an article by V. Polonsky on Bakunin and the First International, one by I. M. Steklov on Bakunin and the Nechaev affair, and one by A. V. Chestakov on affairs in Central Asia in 1916. The Academy's address is Volkhonka 14, Moscow.

Professor Karl Stählin of Berlin has for some years been editing a useful collection of source-material on Russian social history, under the title *Quellen und Aufsätze zur Russischen Geschichte*. The sources are given in German translation. Thus far have appeared *Jacob von Stählin; ein Biographischer Beitrag zur Deutsch-Russischen Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (ed. K. Stählin); *Die Fahrt des Athanasius Nikitin über die Drei Meere, Reise eines Russischen Kaufmannes nach Ostindien 1466–1472* (ed. K. H. Meyer); *Der Briefwechsel Iwans des Schrecklichen mit dem Fürsten Kurbskij, 1564–1579* (edd. K. Stählin and K. Meyer); *Reise von Petersburg nach Moskau, 1790*, by A. N. Radishchev (ed. A. Luther); *Ueber die Sittenverderbnis in Russland*, by Prince M. Shcherbatov [period of Catharine II.] (edd. Ina Friedlander and S. Jacobsohn). The first four were published by Schraepler, Leipzig, 1920–1922, the fifth by the Newa-Verlag, Berlin, 1925. *Aus den Papieren Jacob von Stählins* is announced by the Osteuropa-Verlag, Königsberg, for the fall of 1926.

An important account of the latest years of Russian party history, by an American socialist, is *Since Lenin Died* (New York, Boni and Liveright, 1925), by Max Eastman.

Three lectures on *Poland, Old and New*, delivered at Geneva in the summer of 1925, by Professor Roman Dyboski of Cracow, have been published by the Oxford University Press.

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The fifth and last volume of Driault and Lhéritier's *Histoire Diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à nos Jours* deals with *La Grèce et la Grande Guerre, de la Révolution Turque au Traité de Lausanne, 1908-1923*, and is by Édouard Driault (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1926, pp. xvi, 568).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Boghitschewitsch, *The Serbian Society "Union or Death", alias "The Black Hand"* (*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, September).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole's chronological, genealogical, and historical handbook of *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (London, 1895) having long been out of print, a photographic reproduction of it, without alterations, has been made, and is published by Paul Geuthner of Paris.

An interesting phase in the cultural interrelations of Europe and Asia is discussed by Count Goblet d'Alviella's *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce: des Influences Classiques dans la Civilisation de l'Inde* (Paris, Geuthner, 1926, pp. vi, 155).

In the *Rulers of India* series the Oxford University Press publishes a small volume on *Harsha*, by Professor R. Mookerji of Lucknow, the life of that seventh-century emperor being described mainly from the biography by his court poet Bāna and the memoirs of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang (Hiouen Tshang).

Sir William Foster has revised and enlarged his book on *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (1614), originally issued for the Hakluyt Society in 1899, and the new edition is now published by the Oxford University Press.

A comprehensive history of *John Company*, by Sir William Foster, historiographer of the Indian Office, has just been published in London by Messrs. John Lane.

The conditions and movements culminating in the Permanent Settlement of 1793 are treated with some fulness in *Studies of the Land Revenue History of Bengal, 1769-1787* (Oxford University Press), by R. B. Ramsbotham of the Indian Educational Service.

The history of the kingdom of Siam is for the first time narrated by W. A. R. Wood, who has been a member of the British consular service in Siam for thirty years, and whose *History of Siam* (London, Fisher Unwin), running to the establishment of the present dynasty in 1781, is based on native materials.

Katsourô Hara, professor in the Imperial University of Kyoto, has written a *Histoire du Japon* for the *Bibliothèque Historique* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 320).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Adm. G. A. Ballard, *The General Situation in the Indian Ocean during the Early Georgian Period* (Mariner's Mirror, October); G. M. Steiger, *China's Attempt to Absorb Christianity: the Decree of March 15, 1899* (T'Oung Pao, XXIV.).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Edgar Pröbster, *Tunisiaca* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); J. Ladreit de Lacharrière, *La Tache de Taza et l'Action Militaire de la France au Maroc*, I. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July–September); Fritz Hartung, *Die Marokkokrise des Jahres 1911* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 7–8).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has issued vol. II. (pp. xi, 497) of *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and the Approaches thereto* (Bandelier documents), edited by Professor Charles W. Hackett, under the general supervision of its Department of Historical Research. This volume relates to Nueva Vizcaya (northern Mexico) in the seventeenth century. The Institution has also published the second volume of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (pp. xxx, 449), edited by Professor Bassett, extending from May 1, 1814, to the end of 1819. The Department has brought out, as a book "privately printed" (though in fact reproduced by the planograph rather than by type), vol. I., extending to the end of 1739, of the *Calendar of Documents relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley preserved in Paris Archives and Libraries*, prepared by Mrs. N. M. Miller Surrey. The edition is small; copies have been sent gratuitously to the libraries in which such a manual is most likely to be of use. Vol. II., completing the work, will follow later. The Department's *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* is nearly completed in manuscript; the work of photolithographic reproduction is expected to be undertaken soon.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office has transferred to the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress miscellaneous records relating to West Florida lands, 1770–1775, with petitions, warrants, and grants to officers of the army and navy, and the account books of the secretary's office. Among other recent accessions of the Division are the journal of the proceedings of the First Chamber of the Washington City Council, 1803–1804, and a body of letters to and from Joshua R. Giddings. The Division has also provided itself with photostat copies of the ledger kept by James Madison, father of the President, 1744–1760, Orange County, Va., and of the account book of Rev. Alexander Balmain, rector at Winchester in the eighteenth century, containing, besides registers of marriages, baptisms, and funerals, various letters relating to the establishment of Washington College at Chestertown, Md., and legal papers concerning the Fairfax lands.

The Twenty-second International Congress of Americanists was held at Rome in the latter part of September. The most notable historical papers seem to have been those of Professors A. Magnaghi (Palermo) on Vespucci, G. Caraci on the American travels of General Collot, and J. Cortesão (Lisbon) on the treaty of Tordesillas.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its thirty-fourth annual meeting in Philadelphia on October 23 and 24. Especial attention was given to the history of Jewish activity and influence in the American Revolution.

Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker of Princeton has brought out through the firm of Scribner *The American People: a History*.

Mr. Bernard Parrington, professor of English in the University of Washington, will shortly bring out two volumes entitled *Democracy in American Thought* (Harcourt, Brace and Company), in which the literary, religious, political, and sociological thought expressed in American literature will be comprehensively treated.

Professor James Q. Dealey of Brown University has brought out through Ginn and Company a volume on the *Foreign Policies of the United States: their Bases and Development*.

Professors Emerson D. Fite of Vassar College and Archibald Freeman of Phillips Academy, Andover, have produced *A Book of Old Maps* (Harvard University Press), an elaborate and handsome volume reproducing 74 examples from the great libraries of America, the Vatican, the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Under the care of Professor Louis C. Karpinski, of the University of Michigan, the William L. Clements Library is having photographic reproductions made of all the manuscript maps illustrative of the American Revolution which are to be found in Paris archives and libraries, some five hundred in number; many of them are important works of French engineers and artists.

William M. Clemens, genealogist, has published *American Marriage Records up to 1699* (Pompton Lakes, N. J., Biblio Company) containing records of 12,000 marriages. He proposes later to publish the marriage records of North and South Carolina, extending to 1865.

The Negro in American Life, by Jerome Dowd, is published by the Century Company.

The *Recorder* (bulletin of the American Irish Historical Society) has in the September number some account of the Irish in Argentina, a sketch, by Thomas Z. Lee, of Dr. John Richardson Young (1782-1804), American Irish chemist, and one (extracted from the New York *Evening Post*) of Hercules Mulligan (1740-1825), agent of Washington on certain occasions. There are also some lists of Irish arrivals in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore in 1811.

The Columbia University Press has brought out *America in Imaginative German Literature in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, by Paul C. Weber.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Boston Athenaeum has issued volume III. of *The Founders: Portraits of Persons born Abroad who came to the Colonies before the Year 1701*, with biographical outlines, etc., by Charles K. Bolton.

Benjamin Franklin, the First Civilized American, is the title given by Phillips Russell to his biography of Franklin, in the preparation of which much new material is said to have been used (Brentano's).

The Columbia University Press has brought out *The Preliminaries of the American Revolution as seen in the English Press*, by Fred J. Hinkhouse.

The Harvard University Press is publishing *A British Fusilier in Revolutionary Boston*, being a transcript from the diary, January 1-April 30, 1775, of Lieut. Frederick Mackenzie of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, edited with notes and an introduction by Allen French, and casting light on conditions in Boston, and on the affairs at Lexington and Concord.

The British Navy in Adversity: a Study of the War of American Independence, is the title of a work by Captain W. M. James, R. N. (Longmans).

The Yale University Press has brought out a volume by John Hill Morgan entitled *Paintings by John Trumbull at Yale University of Historic Scenes and Personages prominent in the American Revolution*.

The Virginia State Library has made for Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, of Lexington, Ky., some 3500 photostat prints of the George Rogers Clark papers in the possession of the Library. It is understood that the prints will be presented by Mr. Thruston to the Kentucky Historical Society. Prints at the same time have been made for the Virginia State Library.

Burgoyne and his Officers in Cambridge, 1777-1778, by Samuel F. Batchelder, which has been reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Cambridge Historical Society, is primarily an examination into that phase of the sequel to the Saratoga Convention which relates to the quartering of Burgoyne and his officers in Cambridge, but makes some excursions into other aspects of the convention and its sequelae. There are numerous documents, printed in whole or in part.

The United States and France: Some Opinions on International Gratitude, selected by Dr. James Brown Scott (Oxford University Press, pp. lxxii, 175), presents the texts of the treaties of 1778 and subsequent contracts with France, Jared Sparks's article on the early diplomatic history of the United States in the *North American Review* of 1830, two

letters of George Sumner to Lamartine, from the *National Intelligencer* of 1847, and Sparks's comments upon them reprinted from the same journal.

Professor Dumas Malone's *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper* has been published by the Yale University Press.

Mr. George S. Selfridge of Boston has presented to the Naval Historical Foundation a large and valuable collection of historical materials relating chiefly to the naval services of Rear-Admirals J. O. Selfridge, sr., and J. O. Selfridge, jr., covering the years 1816-1883. The collection contains journals of cruises, letter-books, professional rate-books, data-books, station bills, letters, reports, maps, drawings, plans of ships, models, pictures, pamphlets, printed books, etc.

The Indiana Historical Society has obtained a transcription of the German narrative of Ludwig D. von Schweinitz containing his account of a trip from Bethlehem, Pa., to the interior of Indiana and return in 1831. This is to be published soon by the Society.

The Marine Research Society of Salem puts forth as its thirteenth publication the first of two volumes on *American Clipper Ships, 1833-1858*, by Dr. Octavius Howe and Frederick Matthews.

Mr. Amos A. Ettinger, whose address is Brasenose College, Oxford, is preparing a biography of Pierre Soulé, and will be grateful to any readers of this journal who will lend him manuscript or other material for the purpose, or send him information respecting such material.

The Lincoln Centennial Association of Springfield, Ill., has brought out a pamphlet entitled *Lincoln in the Year 1858: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln during that Year*, prepared by Paul M. Angle, in collaboration with Logan Hay and George W. Bunn, jr. The pamphlet represents the beginning of an effort to make a day-by-day record covering the whole of Lincoln's adult life. For this year, 1858, chosen because of its special significance, there are entries for 196 days; the author requests from students of Lincoln's life information that may supply entries for other days. Similar records for the years 1859 and 1860 are next to follow.

Professor James G. Randall, of the University of Illinois, is the author of a volume on *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln*, which Messrs. Appleton have published.

Provided 500 subscriptions are obtained the Arthur H. Clark Company, of Cleveland, will issue *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865* (2 vols., \$15), by Professor Fred A. Shannon of the Kansas State Agricultural College. The story of the problems of recruiting, conscription, training, arming and equipping, and feeding and supplying the Union army is of so great historical importance, and has been so little treated—nowhere we think in one systematic work

of this scope—that such a publication, known to be prepared with careful research and clear and intelligent exposition, certainly should not fail of issue in a generation lately confronted, in the World War, by problems so similar.

Campaigns of the Civil War, by Walter Geer, is a study of the important campaigns of that war from the point of view of their relation to the strategy of the World War (Brentano's).

Highways and Byways of the Civil War, by Clarence E. Macartney, is a collection of stories of the great battles of the war, illustrated with official photographs from the War Department (Philadelphia, Dorrance).

Rear-Admiral Samuel Francis Du Pont, United States Navy: a Biography, by Colonel H. A. Du Pont, is published by the National Americana Society, 44 East 23d Street, New York.

Mr. M. M. Quaife has brought out through the Yale University Press *Absalom Grimes, Confederate Mail Runner*, edited from Captain Grimes's own story.

Edward H. Cotton is the author of a *Life of Charles W. Eliot*, which Small, Maynard, and Company have published. Meanwhile Harper and Brothers have brought out a collection of President Eliot's speeches and addresses, in two volumes, with a biographical study by President William A. Neilson, of Smith College, having the title *Charles W. Eliot, the Man and his Beliefs*.

That Mr. Thomas Beer's *The Mauve Decade* (New York, Knopf), treating the artistic, political, and social history of the United States in the '90's of the last century, is witty and full of gibes, and not always fair, is no reason why the students of that period should not derive a great deal of benefit from reading his well-informed, acute, and stimulating pages.

Herbert Adams Gibbons has written a life of *John Wanamaker*, in two volumes, which Harper and Brothers have published.

Professor Charles Downer Hazen has edited a volume of *The Letters of William Roscoe Thayer*, which Houghton Mifflin Company has published.

The principal article in the June number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society is a Record of the Labors of the Catholic Sisterhoods in the Spanish-American War, contributed by George Barton.

Secretary David F. Houston's recollections of the Wilson administration, which appeared serially in the *World's Work*, are published by Doubleday, Page, and Company in two volumes. The title is *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet, 1913-1920*.

About the time of publication of this number, or in the month of January, the Government Printing Office brings out for the Department

of State the volume of *Foreign Relations* for 1917, edited by Dr. Tyler Dennett, editor of publications in the Department. Of the *Supplement*, edited by Dr. Joseph V. Fuller, and containing American diplomatic correspondence concerning the World War, the volume for 1914 is all in galley-proof.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Wayside Press, Topsfield, Mass., has lately brought out a reprint (from a copy of the third edition, in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society) of *Captain Lightfoot, the Last of the New England Highwaymen: a Narrative of his Life and Adventures, with some Account of the Notorious Captain Thunderbolt*.

Maine Railroads: a History of the Development of the Maine Railroad System, by Edward E. Chase, is published in Portland by A. J. Huston.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has five volumes in an advanced state of preparation for publication: *Massachusetts Privateer Bonds of the Revolution* (Collections, vol. 77); *Winthrop Papers*, vol. II.; *Journals of the House of Representatives*, vol. VIII.; *Correspondence of John Chipman Gray and John Codman Ropes during the Civil War*; and *Letters of Edmund Quincy, 1775-1780*. It has during the past year, or somewhat more, received important collections of the papers of Artemas Ward, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, Edward Everett, and Rear-Admiral George H. Preble.

The Boston Athenaeum announces for early publication *Echoes from the Past: Reminiscences of the Boston Athenaeum*, by Mary Jane Regan.

Vol. II., no. 3, of *Contributions* of the Lowell Historical Society contains the Journal of George Brownell, superintendent of machine shops at Lowell, on a voyage to England in 1839, in which the observations bear chiefly on industrial and social life in that country. There is also an interesting paper on Lumbering on the Merrimack River, by Nicholas W. Norcross, and a survey of Early Manufacturing in Lowell, by Edward W. Thomas.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* has in the October number some correspondence of Samuel Cranston, governor of Rhode Island 1698-1727, communicated by William Jones. The letters (to and from Cranston) are of the years 1704-1724.

The Connecticut Historical Society received some thirty years ago, as a gift from the family of the late John Cotton Smith, his manuscript papers and correspondence, some 1500 pieces in all. His granddaughter, the late Helen E. Smith, has recently presented to this Society about 250 additional letters of Mr. Smith. This correspondence is particularly

valuable as it covers the full period of the War of 1812, Mr. Smith having been governor of Connecticut from 1812 to 1817. The papers are arranged and available to students of the history of that time.

Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, treasurer of the American Historical Association from its foundation in 1884 until the end of the year 1917, has prepared with great care *A History of Woodstock, Connecticut*, which the Plimpton Press of Norwood, Mass., has issued for subscribers and others in a limited edition of 450 copies. The book (pp. 728) has an introduction by the late Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and has chapters covering the general history of the town, founded in 1688, and various aspects of its social history—churches, libraries, farming, manufactures, slavery, sports, and pageants.

Westport, Connecticut: the Making of a Yankee Township, by Edward C. Birge, is from the press of the Writers Publishing Company.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

In the July number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association Charles Maar discourses upon the Origin of the Classical Place Names of Central New York, while Jeannette B. Sherwood relates the story of the Military Tract wherein these classical names were so abundantly sprinkled. There is also an appreciative biographical sketch of John Jay, by the hand of Charles B. Wheeler.

The September and October *Bulletins* of the New York Public Library contain an interesting tercentenary exhibit of materials for the history of New Netherland, arranged and described by Victor H. Paltsits.

The Story of New Amsterdam, by William R. Shepherd, is written primarily to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Dutch trading-post which has become the city of New York (New York, Knopf).

The Buffalo Historical Society has in press vol. XXIX. of its series of *Publications*. The leading feature of the volume will be a review of the War of 1812 on the Niagara frontier by Louis L. Babcock.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society for October includes a continuation of the contributions of E. Alfred Jones on the Loyalists of New Jersey in the Revolution; an article on John Fenwick, the Founder of Salem, by Dr. Arthur Adams; one on the Aborigines of Hunterdon County, by Professor Charles A. Philhower; and the conclusion of William H. Richardson's papers on the Argonauts of Jersey City.

The October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* includes the address of Hon. Albert J. Beveridge on the Sources of the Declaration of Independence, delivered in Philadelphia in June last; an article by Edward Robbins on Some Philadelphia Men of Letters; and one by Charles R. Barker on the Stony Part of Schuylkill.

A History of the Tohickon Union Church, 1745-1854, by Rev. William J. Hinke, of Auburn Theological Seminary, is offered by the author (156 North Street, Auburn, N. Y.). The church is of Bedminster Township, Bucks County, Pa., and the volume includes the records of the Reformed Congregation, 1745-1869, and of the Lutheran Congregation, 1749-1840.

The *Proceedings and Collections* of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society for the years 1923-1924 includes a monograph, *Aboriginal Rock Shelters and other Archaeological Notes of Wyoming Valley and Vicinity*, by Max Schrabisch, and the *Diary of Obadiah Gore in the Sullivan Expedition, 1779*, with an introduction by Asa E. Martin.

Among the contents of the October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are an article by Professor Alfred P. James on the Study of History in the University of Pittsburgh, and a continuation of Percy B. Caley's study of Child Life in Colonial Western Pennsylvania.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* the letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman are continued, as are also the extracts from the account and letter-books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Louis D. Scisco contributes some Colonial Records of Charles County, and there are some notes, by the late Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, on the beginnings of that county. The number also contains a letter from Benedict Calvert to the fifth Lord Baltimore, 1746, and three letters to Dr. Elijah Davis, two from Stephen Archer, member of Congress, 1811, 1814, and one from Governor Edward Lloyd, 1814.

Vol. 28 of the *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society (pp. 284) has an interesting paper by Dr. Charles O. Paullin on Alexandria County in 1861, and one by James F. Duhamel on Tiber Creek, whose name, which Thomas Moore ridiculed as a fine example of Americans' boastfulness about their infant (and therefore contemptible) capital, really goes back to the seventeenth century. Frank J. Metcalf presents a not very impressive History of Sacred Music in the District of Columbia, and there are biographical sketches of two mayors of Washington and a conspicuous Washington lawyer, the late J. J. Darlington.

The October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains a brief article by David I. Bushnell, jr., on the Indian Inhabitants of the Valley of Virginia, continuations of the Diary of Bishop Early, the Virginia Quit Rent Rolls, 1704, the Kennon Letters, etc.

In the October number of *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* are Some Personal Memories of General Robert E. Lee, contributed by W. W. Scott, and an article on Slave Labor in the Virginia Iron Industry, by Kathleen Bruce, professor in William and Mary

College. Among the other contents are some letters of John Clayton, John Bartram, Peter Collinson, William Byrd, and Isham Randolph, reprinted from William Darlington's *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall* (1849), some letters from the Jefferson Papers (one of Jefferson, one of Dr. James McClurg, and one of George Wythe), and a letter from Archibald Stuart to William Wirt, 1816.

In the October number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Charles A. Hoppin discusses the question of the house in which George Washington was born, producing much documentary evidence that it can not have resembled the familiar picture so often copied from Lossing. Mr. Hoppin makes various other contributions respecting the Washingtons, and furnishes one from T. Pape, F. S. A., concerning Amphillis Twigden, the mother of the emigrant Washingtons.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has within the past two years secured extensive collections from the archives of England and Spain that are of more than local interest. From England it has 4491 pages of transcripts and 1133 of photostats of material relating to American Loyalists; from Spain some 14,000 pages, mostly of photostats from the Archivo General de Indias at Simancas, and mostly of the eighteenth century.

The October number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* contains an article by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler on the Preservation of Virginia History; one by W. Neil Franklin on Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina; and one by Isaac S. Harrell on North Carolina Loyalists. In the section devoted to Eighteenth-Century Tracts is reprinted the pamphlet of "Scotus Americanus", *Informations concerning the Province of North Carolina* (Glasgow, 1773).

The Florida State Historical Society is about to issue Professor James O. Knauss's volume on *Florida Territorial Journalism*, containing bibliographical lists of existing files, complete or incomplete, of Florida newspapers of the period indicated. Professor Herbert I. Priestley's translation and edition of Luna y Arellano is also about to appear. Other volumes in preparation are one of documents exhibiting Spanish trade policy in Florida, by Professor A. P. Whitaker; a volume of papers of the firm of Panton, Leslie, and Company, edited by Miss Elizabeth H. West; and a bibliography of Florida, by Dr. J. A. Robertson. Through the generosity of Mr. John B. Stetson, jr., the society has received from the Archives of the Indies in Seville some 75,000 photostat sheets of Florida documents.

In the October number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is found the address of John C. McGeehee before the Southern Rights Association of Madison County, June 7, 1851. McGeehee's address ten years later before the convention which passed the ordinance of secession, of which he was president, appeared in the April number of the *Quarterly*. Other

articles in this number are: John Quincy Adams and Florida, by Frederick Cubberly; Francis Eppes (1801-1881), Pioneer of Florida, by Mrs. Nicholas W. Eppes; and the Second Spanish-American War (Jackson's raid in 1818), by A. H. Phinney.

Among the contents of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for July, 1925, are: an article by John S. Kendall on Piracy in the Gulf of Mexico, 1816-1823; an account of the Trial of Pablo Rocheblave before Governor Unzaga, 1771, summarized from the original record at the Cabildo, by Laura L. Porteous; one of a Judicial Auction Sale in Louisiana, 1739, by Henry P. Dart, accompanied by a French text, with translation; an article on the Concession at Natchez, principally a report of 1731 or 1732 giving the history of the founding of the colony and its destruction by the Natchez Indians (French text, with translation); a paper by André Lafargue on Laussat's brief rule; and translations of some wills of the French colonial period in Louisiana.

WESTERN STATES

The December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* opens with an article by James B. Hedges, of Clark University, on the Colonization Work of the Northern Pacific Railroad. This is followed by a trenchant article by Donald L. McMurtry, of Lafayette College, on the Bureau of Pensions during the Administration of President Harrison; an account by A. P. Whitaker of the Muscle Shoals Speculation of 1783-1789; and one by Hallie Farmer of the Railroads and Frontier Populism.

A history of steamboating on the Mississippi and its tributaries, with some account of the people and the times, by Herbert and Edward Quick, has been published by Holt, with the title *Mississippi Steamboatin'*.

The first seventy pages of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, XIV. 3, are occupied by a paper on "Les Premières Explorations en Louisiane" (chiefly La Salle's) by M. Émile Lauvrière, written apparently without any knowledge of any of the American work on the subject printed since 1900.

The Indiana Historical Bureau is preparing for publication, in connection with the 150th anniversary of George Rogers Clark's capture of Vincennes, the parish record of Vincennes from the first notes, which have been preserved through the incumbency of Father Gibault. The Bureau, co-operating with the Historical Society, began archaeological work last summer in the excavation of a prehistoric mound in Sullivan County. The results of this work are to be published as an extra number of the *Indiana History Bulletin*. Vol. VIII., no. 3 (pp. 36), of the *Publications* of the society is an Account of the Environment of Abraham Lincoln in Indiana, by John E. Iglehart.

Articles in the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: Development of the Common Schools of Indiana, by Otho L. New-

man; the Lanier Family and Home, by Blanche G. Garber; Some Interesting Crawfordsville People and their Homes, by Julia L. Knox; and Indiana Newspapers, 1829-1860, by James H. Butler.

An Indiana Catholic Historical Society was organized in October, to promote interest in the Catholic history of Indiana by original research and writing.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1925 includes, among other things, the following papers: the Imperial Indian Department and the Occupation of the Great West, 1758-1766, by A. T. Volwiler; the Last Years of the Whig Party in Illinois, 1847-1856, by Ameda R. King; the Convergence of Lincoln and Douglas, by William O. Lynch; the Diary of the Overland Trail, 1849, and Letters, 1849-1850, of Captain David De Wolf, contributed, with an introduction and notes, by Edwin E. Cox, grandson of Captain De Wolf; and the Expansion of Higher Education in Illinois from 1865 to 1925 (annual address), by Dr. Kendric C. Babcock.

In the October number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* Rev. Henry S. Spalding continues his studies in the Life of James Marquette, J. J. Ryan has a paper on the Franciscan Missions of California, and Rev. John Rothensteiner presents some Facts concerning Chicago's First Four Bishops, while Rev. Paul J. Foik, using the title *In the Clutches of the Barbary Corsairs*, tells the story of conditions in the Mediterranean in the period 1784-1789, with large extracts from documentary materials.

Luther E. Robinson and Irving Moore have produced a *History of Illinois* which the American Book Company has published.

Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, of Louisville, has offered to the Filson Club of that city his library and collections, and a fund of \$50,000, if before Jan. 1, 1928, the Club can secure a home of its own with at least one fire-proof room. No one who has appreciated the value of the publications of the Filson Club can fail to wish that it may succeed in meeting the conditions of the offer. The Filson Club and the University of Louisville have begun, with a number for October, 1926, the issue of a periodical which bears the name of *The History Quarterly*, without further designation, in the title, of its *locus* or origin. It will contain papers read before the Filson Club and historical studies prepared by members of the university faculty, with other material. Most of the contributions are expected to relate to the history of the Ohio Valley, Kentucky, and the ante-bellum South. In this first number is a brief paper on the Signing of the Declaration of Independence, by R. C. Ballard Thruston, one on Revolutionary Analogies (American, French, and Russian), by Louis R. Gottschalk, and one on Kentucky in 1774, by R. S. Cotterill.

No. 34 of the Filson Club *Publications* is *Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds* (Louisville, Standard Printing Company), by Dr. Willard R. Jillson. The volume is described on the title-page as "a complete

index to all of the earliest land entries, military warrants, deeds, and wills of the Commonwealth of Kentucky", and is logically a companion volume to the author's *Kentucky Land Grants*, issued in 1925 (Filson Club *Publications*, no. 33). In 1780 the Kentucky region was organized into three counties, accordingly it is the entries for these three counties, Lincoln (1779-1787), Fayette (1782-1794), and Jefferson (1779-1785), that constitute the primary body of early land records. Other important records here indexed are military warrants (1782-1793), military entries (1784-1797), and deeds having their origin in the court of appeals, through wills, powers of attorney, etc. These are brought down approximately to 1850.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society is publishing a series called "Gleanings from State Archives", thus making serviceable much material of value for the early history of the state. In the May number the series consists of depositions (1796-1822) respecting lands of non-residents and of infant heirs of deceased tax-payers; in the September number are letters, etc. (1796-1811), pertaining chiefly to lands and taxes. The *Register* also continues the publication of early tax-lists, the May number containing those of Franklin County, 1795, the September number those of Christian County for 1799 and 1800. There is also in the September number the beginning of an index (A to G) of the marriage records of the latter county, 1797-1825. Of more general interest are two articles, Carter Henry Harrison, Kentuckian, by John W. Townsend, and the Louisville and Nashville Turnpike, by S. G. Boyd (May), and a group of letters from General James Wilkinson to Dr. Hugh Shiell, 1784-1791 (September).

Ohio County, Kentucky, in the Olden Days: a Series of Old Newspaper Sketches of Fragmentary History, by Harrison D. Taylor, prepared for publication in book form by his granddaughter, Mary Taylor Logan, is from the press of John P. Morton and Company, Louisville. Harrison D. Taylor (1802-1889) came to Ohio County in his infancy and lived there, a lawyer, until his death. In 1857 he published a series of sketches in the *Owensboro Shield*, and twenty years later republished them, with additions, in the *Hartford Herald*. Selections from these sketches constitute the principal part of the present volume. There is, in addition, an appendix of materials relating to Ohio County, including the marriage records from 1799 to 1840, and a biographical sketch of Taylor himself.

Lieut. Henry Timberlake's *Memoirs* (London, 1765), chiefly concerning the Cherokees, is soon to be issued by the Watauga Press of Johnson City, Tenn., in a reprint, with introduction and exhaustive annotations by Judge Samuel C. Williams.

Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee* has been reprinted in Chattanooga (Judge David Campbell Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution), with the addition of an index.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for April, 1925, contains an article by Charles L. Lewis on Robert Thomas Quarles and the Archives of Tennessee; one by Gabriel H. Golden on Governor William Carroll and his Administration (1821-1827, 1829-1835); the second installment of Dr. Erik M. Eriksson's study of Official Newspaper Organs and Jackson's Re-election, 1832; the Marriage Records of Washington County, 1805-1820; and three political "circular letters", one of William C. C. Claiborne (1799), one of Samuel Houston (1825), and one of John Bell (1826).

In the October number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are two biographical articles, one of Miss Ruth Hoppin, Educator, by Sue I. Silliman, and one of Governor John T. Rich, by Joseph B. Moore; an account of the Coalition Legislature of 1891, by Arthur S. White; an article by William Stocking entitled Fifty Years of Industrial Progress in Detroit; one by George W. Brown on the First St. Lawrence Deepening Scheme; a further contribution of Henry A. Haigh concerning the Ford Historical Collections; and other continuations.

The Michigan Historical Commission has brought out *The Development of State Control of Public Instruction in Michigan*, by George L. Jackson, professor in the University of Michigan. After surveying briefly educational conditions and methods in the territory and setting forth succinctly the powers and duties of the first superintendent of public instruction, the author traces the centralizing development of the state department of education, in its administrative, supervisory, and judicial functions.

The *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* of September contains a biography, by M. M. Quaife, of John Whistler, an early comer to Detroit and ancestor of the famous artist. In the November number Mr. Quaife describes Detroit's first election.

The contents of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, September issue, include Wisconsin at the Centennial, by Louise P. Kellogg; Early Day Architects in Milwaukee, by Alexander C. Guth; the Shopiere Shrine, being an account of Governor Louis Harvey, by May L. Bauchle; the Invention of the Twine Binder, by F. B. Swingle; and the Letters of the Rt. Rev. John Martin Henni and the Rev. Anthony Urbanek, written from Milwaukee, 1845-1852.

Minnesota History has in the September number an article by Frank E. Balmer on the Farmer and Minnesota History; one by Mildred Hartsough on Transportation in the Development of the Twin Cities; one by William E. Culkin entitled Getting a County Historical Society Started; an account, by several hands, of the Columbia River Historical Expedition of last summer; one of the State Historical Convention at Mankato; and, under the heading "Minnesota as seen by Travellers", are found some letters of Bishop Jackson Kemper in 1843.

The Minnesota Historical Society has issued the third volume of Professor W. W. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*.

The pages of the October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are chiefly occupied by a paper of Kirk H. Porter entitled Making a Campaign: an Account of the Good Roads Campaign in Johnson County, Iowa.

In the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* Professor F. I. Herriott's papers on James W. Grimes versus the Southrons are continued, as is also the Civil War Diary of Benjamin F. Pearson.

In the October number of the *Palimpsest* Louis Pelzer has an article on Seward and Douglas in Iowa, and J. A. Swisher one on the Campaign of 1883. The November number contains a group of extracts from George Catlin's *North American Indians*, descriptive of the country in the 'thirties, recounting his experiences among the Indians, and relating episodes of his travels.

The State Historical Society has issued three additional volumes (VII., VIII., and IX.) of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*. These volumes, which are compiled and edited by Sarah Guitar and Floyd C. Shoemaker, cover the administrations of Governors Marmaduke, Morehouse, Francis, Stone, Stephens, Dockery, and Folk, which extended over the period from 1885 to 1909. There are, as hitherto, biographical sketches of the governors, written by hands other than those of the editors.

Among the articles in the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: Some Historic Facts about Canton, by James T. Lloyd; the Location of the Permanent Seat of Government, by Perry S. Rader; Missouri Valley Settlement, St. Louis to Independence, by Raymond D. Thomas; and a continuation of Thomas S. Barclay's studies of the Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri.

A dissertation entitled *Four Decades of Catholicism in Texas*, presented to the Catholic University of America by Sister Mary Angela Fitzmorris, treats in about a hundred pages the history of the Catholic Church in Texas from 1820 to the beginning of the Civil War.

The Arthur H. Clark Company has brought out a volume by Le Roy Hafen entitled *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads*.

Doane Robinson, for many years secretary of the state historical society, is the author of *A Brief History of South Dakota* (American Book Company).

Memories of the Old Emigrant Days in Kansas, 1862-1865 (London, Blackwood), is a vivacious chronicle by Mrs. Adela E. R. Orpen.

Will E. Stoke is the author of a work entitled *Episodes of Early Days in Central and Western Kansas*, of which vol. I. has been issued (Great Bend, Kan., the author).

The Nebraska Historical Society has received from Mrs. Bryan, for the William Jennings Bryan collection which it is making, several boxes of newspaper clippings, cartoons, and photographs depicting Mr. Bryan's political life in Nebraska, his world-tour, and his dry campaign in Canada during the war. A collection of books, pamphlets, photographs, and over 40,000 manuscript pages of personal interviews bearing on the Plains Indians, made by Judge E. S. Ricker, long a student of the subject and for ten years archive clerk in the Indian Bureau, has been given to the society by his heirs.

Among the contents of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, September issue, are some notes concerning the early operations of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in the Indian Territory, contributed by J. Y. Bryce; an address by Colonel William Penn Adair in 1878, relating to conditions in the territory at that time; an account, by W. B. Morrison, of Fort McCulloch; and other brief articles.

The articles in the August number of the *Colorado Magazine* are all retrospective of Colorado's half-century of statehood. Henry J. Hersey discusses the Colorado Constitution, its Historical Antecedents and Formation; former Governor Oliver H. Shoup discourses upon the Fifty Years of Colorado's Development; Albert B. Sanford presents a biographical sketch of John L. Routt, First State Governor of Colorado; Theodore F. Van Wagenen offers some Views on the Admission of Colorado in 1876; Edward D. Foster writes concerning what he calls the Miracle of a Half-Century, treating chiefly of the economic development of the state; and L. R. Hafen gives a history of the Steps to Statehood. In the October number Henry A. Dubbs discourses upon the Unfolding of Law in the Mountain Region; A. J. Fynn discusses the Custer Battle; and J. A. Jeancon writes on an archaeological subject, a Rectangular Ceremonial Room.

The October number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains, besides continuations, an article by F. T. Cheetham on Kit Carson; one by Fred S. Perrine on Uncle Sam's Camel Corps; and one by F. W. Hodge on the Six Cities of Cibola.

A striking and significant episode of New Mexico history, in the years immediately following 1867, is recounted by Walter N. Burns in *Billy the Kid: a History of Fighting in Lincoln County* (Garden City, Doubleday, Page).

Spanish Missions of the Old Southwest, by Cleve Hallenbeck, is intended for the general reader (Doubleday).

Charles Scribner's Sons have published a *History of the State of Idaho*, by Cornelius J. Brosnan.

The articles in the October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are chiefly devoted to the subject of libraries in the Northwest, beginning with a brief introductory discourse by Professor Edmond S.

Meany. The subject of Early Library Development in Washington is treated by Charles W. Smith; some Early Libraries of Oregon are described by Mirpah G. Blair; and the Library Movement in British Columbia by J. Forsyth. There is also an Early Account (from Boston newspapers) of the Loss of the *Boston* in 1803, contributed, with an introduction, by Judge F. W. Howay. In the section of Documents is the report of W. B. Gosnell, special Indian agent, Dec. 31, 1856, respecting Indian hostilities in Washington Territory.

In the September number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* F. G. Young writes somewhat briefly but enthusiastically of the Columbia River Historical Expedition of last summer, the Achievement and its Promise. Two addresses delivered before the expedition are found in the *Quarterly*, the one being the presidential address of Frederick V. Holman, the Lewis and Clark Expedition at Fort Clatsop, the other an address of T. C. Elliott at the dedication of a monument at Bonner's Ferry, Idaho, "In the Land of the Kootenai". This number contains also the fourth of Lewis A. McArthur's studies of Oregon Geographic Names.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, has recently completed his work on an edition in English, in four volumes, of Father Francisco Palou's *Noticias de California*.

The Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii has published, in a pamphlet of 56 pages, a detailed account of the *Hawaiian Diplomatic Correspondence* preserved in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives in the Department of State at Washington, accompanied by full texts of several interesting documents, selected by Dr. Ralph S. Kuykendall, executive secretary of the commission. A brief illustrated *History of Hawaii*, prepared by him under the direction of the commission, is published by Macmillan. The commission is now at work upon a history of Hawaii's part in the World War, and expects to publish it within the next twelve months.

CANADA

In the *Canadian Historical Review* for September the editor, Professor W. S. Wallace, in a brief article entitled Some Vices of Clio, argues forcibly for more attractive writing of history; Justice Riddell brings forward a remonstrance against "taxation without representation", presented in 1795, when Detroit was still in British hands, by the grand jury of that district; Miss Alison Ewart and Miss Julia Jarvis set forth the Personnel of the "Family Compact", presenting lists of members of the executive and legislative councils of Upper Canada from 1791 to 1841. The last letter of Capt. James Cook, Oct. 30, 1778, is printed for the first time.

The September *Bulletin* of the departments of history and political and economic science in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, is a short monograph on the Bison and the Fur Trade, by R. O. Merriman.

Vol. XXIII. of the *Papers and Records* of the Ontario Historical Society (Toronto, pp. 562) contains, among many papers interesting to citizens of Ontario, several which are also of interest to students of the relations between Upper Canada and the United States. Among these are Brigadier-General Cruikshank's papers on Ship-building and Navigation on Lake Ontario, to 1816, on the Government of Upper Canada and Robert Gourlay, active in agitation against the land policy of the government in 1816-1818, and on the Insurrection in the Short Hills in 1838; Ernest Green's paper on the Niagara Portage Road; and those of Justice Riddell on the Prerogative Court in Upper Canada, and on its First Attorney General, John White. There is also a diary of a voyage from London to Upper Canada in 1833 in the form of letters by two young ladies, sisters of the late Sir Samuel Steele. The volume has excellent illustrations.

The whole of the August number of the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* is devoted to the history of Ottawa, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of its foundation as Bytown.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima is about to publish a bibliography of selected portions of the books in the Ibero-American Library which he has presented to the Catholic University of America.

The University of North Carolina Press brings out, in a substantial volume of 169 pages, *Hispanic-American History: a Syllabus*, by Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., with many useful references.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has resolved to continue the work done by Dr. William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of Latin-American Nations*, by adding to his three volumes a further publication covering the additional years 1831-1860.

The extraordinary rights of patronage which the Spanish monarchs claimed with regard to the Church in the New World created a special crisis when by reason of revolutions independent republican governments took the place of the monarchy in other matters. An important portion of the history of this crisis is studied by Father Pedro Leturia, S.J., in *El Ocaso del Patronato Real en la América Española: la Acción Diplomática de Bolívar ante Pío VII., 1820-1823, á la Luz del Archivo Vaticano* (Madrid, Razon y Fe, 1925, pp. xii, 320). Father Leturia has also a long article (100 pp.) on "Die Amerika-Encyclika Leos XII. vom 24. September 1824" in the *Historisches Jahrbuch*, t. XLVI.

No. 19 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*, edited by Señor Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, has a body of documents on *El Congreso de Panamá* of 1826 and subsequent plans of Hispanic-American union, the documents being such as especially illustrate the relation of Mexico to the various schemes.

The Cuban Academia de la Historia publishes in a handsome quarto of 208 pages the *Discursos leídos en la Recepción Pública del Sr. Carlos M. Trelles y Govín*, under which title the reader will find an elaborate biography of José Álvarez de Toledo, who had a part, as Professor Cox has shown, in the Texan and Mexican troubles in 1812-1816, but is here treated as a precursor of Cuban independence. Señor Trelles supports his monograph with many documents.

Professor Charles E. Chapman, of the University of California, is about to publish a book entitled *A History of the Cuban Republic: a Study in the History of Hispanic-American Politics*.

R. B. Cunningham Graham adds to his previous volumes on the conquest of South America *Pedro de Valdivia: Conqueror of Chile* (London), including besides his narrative a series of letters from Valdivia to Charles V.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. M. Holzman, *Lawlessness as the American Tradition* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); A. S. Aiton, *Early American Price-Fixing Legislation* (Michigan Law Review, November); Albert Mathiez, *Lafayette et le Commerce Franco-Américain à la Veille de la Révolution* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, September); Marie G. Kimball, *William Short, Jefferson's only "Son"* (North American Review, September-October-November); G. J. Garraghan, S.J., *The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History* (Thought, September); R. M. McElroy, *British-American Diplomacy* (Quarterly Review, October); W. C. Saylor, *The Effect of the Cotton-Gin upon the Politics of the United States from 1787 to 1857* [prize essay] (Mechanical Engineering, December); S. F. Bemis, *The Background of Washington's Foreign Policy* (Yale Review, January); A. H. Cole, *Agricultural Crises, a Neglected Chapter in American Economic History* (American Economic Review, December); E. P. Hohman, *Wages, Risk, and Profits in the Whaling Industry* (*ibid.*); W. J. Carnathan, *The Proposal to Reopen the African Slave Trade in the South, 1854-1860* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Caroline E. Vose, *Jefferson Davis in New England* (Virginia Quarterly Review, October); Louis A. Warren, *Lincoln's Honorable Parentage* (Century Magazine, September); J. H. Park, *Lincoln and Contemporary English Periodicals* (Dalhousie Review, October); Richard Fester, *Verantwortlichkeiten, VIII. Wilson und House* (Deutsche Rundschau, September); F. W. v. Oertzen, *Die Amerikanische Erdölpolitik nach dem Kriege* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 7-8); Marjorie McKenzie, *Canadian History in the French-Canadian Novel* (Queen's Quarterly, July-August-September); Father Albert David, *Les Missionnaires du Saint-Esprit à Québec et en Acadie au XVII^e Siècle* (Nova Francia, I. 1-5); E. L. Harvey, *New Brunswick a Century Ago* (Dalhousie Review, October); R. C. Watt, *The Political Prisoners in Upper Canada, 1837-1838* (English

Historical Review, October); Byron Cummings, *Cuicuilco and the Archaic Culture of Mexico* (Scientific Monthly, October); Gregory Mason, *The Shrines of a Vanished Race* (World's Work, November); La Roncière Le Noury, *Lettres sur la Retraite du Mexique, 1867* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1); J. Rennard, *Le P. Labat, O. P., aux Antilles* (Revue d'Histoire des Missions, June 1); A. Guimaraes, *Bolívar and Brazil* (Inter-America, June); A. Cruchaga Ossa, *Don Joaquin Campino, First Chilean Minister to the United States* (Pan-American Magazine, May); *id.*, *Impressions of the First Chilean Minister in Washington* [Don Joaquin Campino] (*ibid.*, September-October); E. Ravignani, *La Constitución de 1819*, II. (Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, April-June).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. Dana C. Munro, president of the American Historical Association, is Dodge professor of medieval history in Princeton University.

Dr. Tenney Frank is professor of Latin in Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. Einar Joranson is an assistant professor of history in the University of Chicago.

Dr. A. Sellew Roberts is an associate in history in the University of Illinois.

Dr. Elmer A. Beller is an instructor in history in Princeton University.

Mr. George H. Thacher is president of the City Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y.

The American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT ROCHESTER

THE first meeting of the American Historical Association was held at Saratoga in September, 1884. The intervals between meetings not having always been precisely a twelvemonth, the meeting of December 28-30, 1926, was the forty-first annual meeting. It was the first meeting ever held at Rochester, but was so abundantly successful that it surely will never be difficult to persuade the Association to come there again. The attendance was large, registration amounting to 507. The headquarters, the Hotel Seneca, were comfortable, and gave opportunity for the holding of most of the sessions under that one roof. The arrangements for the sessions worked smoothly in every particular but one—and in that one (of which more later) no fault could be attributed to the local Committee on Arrangements—and reflected great credit upon the secretary of that committee, Professor Dexter Perkins, of the University of Rochester, whose efficiency won universal gratitude. Much gratitude was also due to the University of Rochester, whose cordial hospitality included a reception by President and Mrs. Rhees in the Memorial Art Gallery, and an enjoyable luncheon in the hotel. Further hospitalities were provided by the Rochester Club and the Rochester Historical Society and by the Eastman School of Music. The latter afforded a great pleasure, of a sort unusual to the meetings of the Association, by providing for the members a brief but delightful concert of chamber music by the Kilbourn Quartet and Mr. Richard Halliley.

Two other societies, according to their custom, united with the American Historical Association in the occasion. The Agricultural History Society held one joint session with the older body, devoting it to studies of personalities prominent in the history of agricultural progress, suggestions for an Agricultural Who's Who of

the period before the Civil War. It also had a dinner at which Mr. L. C. Gray, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, read a paper on the Problem of the Market Surplus in Colonial Tobacco. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association also had one joint meeting with the older body, with papers that may better be described at a later point, and a dinner, marked by much jovial enjoyment, by entertaining talk from Mr. Hamlin Garland, by three-minute speeches (historians can be brief if Professor Shambaugh presides), and even—if historians will believe it—by singing.

As usual, the pressure for specialized sessions which the zeal of specialists always exercises upon the chairman of the Programme Committee was relieved by devoting even luncheon-time and dinner-time to paper-reading and discussion. There was a Luncheon Conference of those who pursue the history of the Far East, another of those devoted to modern European history, while after another there was discussion of a practical report made by Professor M. W. Jernegan of Chicago, which may be described later. There was also a dinner for medievalists, at which Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, sounded a note of caution as to general attitudes toward the Middle Ages, and a dinner for students of Hispanic-American history, at which there was discussion of means and methods for widening among colleges and universities an interest in the study of Hispanic-American history, with congratulations over the successful resumption of publication of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, under the auspices of Duke University.

It has been said, at an earlier passage of this narrative, that all arrangements for the meeting worked prosperously except one. That one was the arrangement, made year after year by successive programme committees for forty years past, that papers read before the Association shall, unless some other duration is promised to the reader, be confined within the limits of twenty minutes. The reasons for the rule are obvious. If a speaker exceeds his time, he pushes the programme of the session along, with grave disadvantage to the last speaker, and in most cases until the session conflicts with the next engagement in the programme carefully constructed by the committee, so that perhaps it becomes impossible for the members to attend, as courtesy requires and inclination leads, a reception or other entertainment hospitably arranged by the hosts of the occasion. Yet often, from the beginning of the Association's history, the rule has been disregarded. The writer remembers, from the meeting of 1886, a diverting scene in which the venerable president George

Bancroft, then eighty-five years old, was compelled even to pull the coat-tail of a determined perpetrator of a dull paper before he could bring him to a stop, at the end of forty-five minutes instead of twenty. From year to year the evil is accustomed to grow until some president less patient than his predecessors sends notice almost truculent to all participants, that this time the rule will be enforced. The writer remembers such a president, of the year 1907, and the vice-presidents who were to succeed him in 1908 and 1909 joined with him in a triple alliance that for three years assured clock-like regularity to the proceedings. But readers of papers have again waxed stout upon indulgence, and few at Rochester failed to run beyond their appointed time. Doubtless professors are more accustomed to talk than to listen, and in their ordinary practice are geared to talk fifty-five minutes on end, to audiences that can neither resist nor escape, and one who has a vital message of tremendous import to convey, respecting, say, the diplomacy of the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg in 1426, finds twenty minutes all too short. But if intimations from within are lacking they should be supplied from without, and our belief is that the next president of the Association will have the audiences with him if, like Mr. Speaker, he brings down the gavel when "the gentleman's time has expired".

Much praise should be bestowed upon the programme, which reflected great credit upon the chairman of the Programme Committee, Professor Laurence B. Packard, of Amherst College. One great merit lay in the simplification of the programme, which included fewer papers than any other programme of recent years, and more papers which drew audiences of five or six hundred than the present writer can remember from any previous occasion. Another merit lay in the attention given to practical questions or to papers leading to a practical result. Among such were the "Word of Caution" which Professor Burr addressed to the dinner of medievalists, warning them from false estimates of the Middle Ages based on sentimental considerations of recent origin. Another was that which Professor W. E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, laid before the students of modern European history at their luncheon, in which he discussed modern diplomatic documents, the need of applying scrupulously to them the most rigorous tests of historical criticism, and the necessity of knowing all that is possible as to how and why they were made, rather than to take them at their face value. On the same occasion, Professor Henry E. Bourne, of Western Reserve University, read a paper on Problems of Research in the Economic and Social History of France during

the Revolution, of which we expect to have the pleasure of printing in a later issue the part making suggestions for future work.

Similarly practical was the discussion by Professor Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University, on Prevalent Legends in the Modern History of the Far East, in which he attempted to account for the origin and vitality of some of the errors which have crept into recent historical writings in that field. A very recent example was found in the allegation that the United States urged China to enter the World War. Other examples were selected from the period of the Sino-Japanese war. The statements that China failed to warn Japan of her intention to send troops to Korea and that Japan later notified China that the dispatch of additional troops would be regarded as an unfriendly act, were traced to their probable sources. A more difficult problem, which was also considered, was presented by the assertion that the Japanese ministry forced a war upon China in order to gain a respite from the political agitation at home.

In this same session Professor Mikhail Rostovtzeff, of Yale University, discussed some aspects of the Chinese art of the Han Dynasty, first dwelling upon the new information which has been acquired from dated graves of the Han period and the artistic objects obtained from their excavation, and then considering the new problems of chronology and of style which have been raised. The question of the origin of the new elements discerned in the Han period has been greatly affected by the closer study of the art of southern Russia and Siberia, Iranian but not Persian in its main aspects, and by the evidences of Iranian landscape in sculpture, painting, and the minor arts, of other Iranian, Indo-Scythian, and Sarmatian art, and of the animal style.

In the joint session which the Association held with the Agricultural History Society the three papers read were biographical in character, relating to the ante-bellum period, Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, speaking of men who in that period promoted the advancement of agriculture in the North, Professor A. O. Craven, of the University of Illinois, of those who fulfilled that function in the South, and Dr. Herbert A. Kellar, of the McCormick Agricultural Library in Chicago, of those of the West. Dr. Schafer discussed especially John P. Norton (1828-1852), professor of agricultural chemistry in Yale University, lecturer and writer, and Andrew Jackson Downing (1850-1852), author of *College Residences* and *Downing's Rural Essays* and editor of the *Horticulturalist* of Albany. Professor Craven concerned himself with the Virginians John Tyler and Ed-

mund Ruffin, but treated also of many other Southern "improvers in agriculture". Mr. Kellar gave appreciations of Solon Robinson of Indiana, a describer of the American scene easily comparable to Olmsted, and of Martin W. Philips of Mississippi, diarist and fluent publicist upon all plantation topics. The men chiefly treated were men of real significance; it is gratifying to say that as a fruit of the session, there will probably be printed a collection of Solon Robinson's many fugitive travel-sketches.

At the dinner of the Agricultural History Society Dr. L. C. Gray discussed in detail the problem of the market surplus of colonial tobacco. A review of the history of the prices of colonial tobacco reveals a series of depressions which grew out of the inelastic adjustment of volume of production to the changes in market demand as affected by wars and other interruptions of the course of trade. This inelasticity, in turn, may be attributed partly to those general characteristics of agricultural production which make it peculiarly inelastic, but also to certain special characteristics of tobacco production and marketing. Among these, were the large proportion of consumers' price represented by market and transport charges and customs duties; the prevalence of the consignment system until it was largely replaced in the last half-century of the period by the system of direct purchase inaugurated by the aggressive outport merchants; the influence of fixed charges connected with the indebtedness of commercial planters; and the economic inertia of the frontier producers, largely self-sufficing. Throughout the colonial period numerous and varied attempts were made to cope with the market surplus problem. These included legislative price-fixing; public monopolies; the monopolistic combination of British tobacco merchants, at times in co-operation with colonial planters; different forms of restriction of production attempted by legislative enactments; and attempts to improve and standardize quality by legislative regulation.

Of all papers of practical import that have been presented to the Association, perhaps none since the Report of the Committee of Seven, laid before it at the meeting of 1898, has aroused stronger or more extensive interest among the members than that which was read at Rochester by Professor Jernegan of Chicago, on Productivity on the part of Doctors of Philosophy in History. As an incident to the endowment campaign and in order to a wise expenditure of eventual income, a committee had been appointed, some months before, to prepare a programme for research and publication, the two chief activities for which additional endowment is sought. Believ-

ing that the Association ought to assume a more positive leadership in stimulating and guiding research and in publishing its results, the committee agreed that it might profitably take up as one of its tasks the inquiry why there is not a greater amount of productive research on the part of the holders of Ph.D. degrees in history. This inquiry was assigned by the committee to Professor Jernegan, one of its members, who framed an appropriate questionnaire and sent it to some five hundred doctors of philosophy in history, with a request for frank and full answers. Inquiries were also sent to some other persons, whose positions gave them opportunities of observation, from a more external point of view, over the academic field. Replies, many of them interesting and thoughtful, were received from fully half of those addressed. On the basis of these replies, classified and analyzed and to a good extent quoted, Dr. Jernegan made his report. We are to have the pleasure of printing it, as a survey of the status of American historical work in one important aspect, in our next number.

Without anticipating the paper, it may be permissible for an "old hand" to point out how great a change in the position of historical research within the last forty years is indicated by the assumptions which underlay both the inquiry and most of the replies. Forty years ago, outside the immediate circle of the Johns Hopkins University no professor felt obliged, by reason of occupying a professorial chair, to engage in any researches that would result in print. Nowadays the obligation is so taken for granted that nearly every historical professor who is not thus engaged feels either delinquent or uncomfortable.¹ The change has arisen out of two considerations. First, there has been an increasing perception of the public need for more historical knowledge, the fruit of research; and since there are few independent foundations for such investigations and, alas, few young Americans of independent means devote themselves to historical researches, how shall they be advanced unless they are made a duty of universities, that is, of professors? Yet how little effort is expended in directing research into channels that will surely be profitable to the science or to society! Thousands of dollars are now annually spent in subventions or "encouragements" to researchers (the writer remembers many who never received or asked such encouragements but whom no power could have kept from investigating) where ten are spent in indicating what subjects or

¹ And many men engage in research or talk about it who have not even learned to pronounce the word rightly. Is there not some committee of the Association which could fine (for the benefit of the endowment fund) or otherwise discipline members who say re'search instead of research'?

questions are most worth investigating. Granting all that is said as to the public utility which may attend the results of research, our means of securing that they do have such utility are very imperfect.²

Secondly, it is accepted doctrine that the college or university instructor teaches better if he is engaged in some investigation "on the side". Quite right. Surely the main business of a teacher is to teach. Nearly all our colleges and universities were founded for that purpose alone. Those presidents whose indifference to research so many of Mr. Jernegan's correspondents accuse ought to encourage with liberality whatever will make their teachers vivid forces in the class-room. It is, however, not superfluous to point out that there are other ways besides research for achieving this end. Wide reading and careful thought, feeding the imagination and clarifying the judgment and energizing the powers of expression, may give the teacher all that his classes need, without his resorting to print at all.

Yet, with whatever cautions, it remains true that historical research, at any rate historical research on the part of men of talent, needs greater stimulation among us, and Professor Jernegan's systematic effort to find out what are the obstacles will surely aid toward their removal in the case of those gifted investigators from whose pathway they ought to be cleared.

The discussion of Professor Jernegan's paper took place at one of the luncheons, but the paper itself was read in the forenoon preceding, at the end of a session managed by the Committee on Research in Colleges, and in which two or three other papers were read that deserve brief mention. Professor C. P. Higby, of the University of North Carolina, had circulated a questionnaire to students of modern European history, in the endeavor to obtain statistical data as to the present status of that subject. He presented an interesting exhibit of the facts respecting their training, their experience in research abroad (almost solely in London and Paris), their respective amounts and character of publication, and

² Research in the physical sciences is perhaps more certain to be directed toward useful ends than research in humanistic fields, because the former is most commonly carried on in organized laboratories, where consultation is almost inevitable and a consensus of opinion as to what is worth while is easily formed, and has its effect on the investigator, whereas in most humanistic subjects the researcher can work in comparative isolation. He is therefore apt to take up with a subject merely because it interests him, without much thought of its value to his profession or to the world. A large proportion of the subjects of research which come to the notice of the present writer seem to him to be too unimportant, or to have been too well treated already, to deserve prolonged attention on the part of good scholars.

the fields of their chief interest. Professor A. E. Martin, of Pennsylvania State College, sketched the possibilities for exploitation of state history, on which, as he rightly indicated, there has been a great dearth of first-class work. What with the accessibility of the materials and the possibilities of co-operation with state and county historical societies, state history offers exceptional fields for teachers isolated otherwise from libraries and historical archives. Professor M. B. Garrett, of Howard College, Alabama, in a paper on the College Administration and Research, discussed the possibilities for encouragement of research by sympathetic presidents of colleges neither large nor opulent.

Another practical session was formed by combining the usual session given to the consideration of the public archives with the usual conference of state and local historical societies. Dr. A. C. Flick, state historian of New York, described what is being done in that state for the preservation of local records. The public record law of 1911, passed after the great fire in the State Capitol at Albany, created a state supervisor of records and charged him with the duty of preserving and protecting local public records. A public record was defined by law, and local officials were required to provide fire-proof vaults for their records. During the past fifteen years the supervisor of public records has devoted all his time to persuading local officials and communities to appreciate the legal, financial, economic, and social value of their records, to provide adequate protection for them against loss by fire, water, theft, and vermin, and to encourage local historians to print the earliest records so that their preservation is assured. As a result of these endeavors hundreds of safes have been purchased, many vaults provided, lost records recovered, neglected records repaired and rebound, and the public educated to better appreciation of the value of their records. A "local historian" has been designated in each of 1200 communities, required under the law to make inventories of the local records, to report to the state historian, and to induce local officials to give adequate protection to the records.

Mr. George S. Godard, librarian of the Connecticut State Library, gave in this same session a brief summary of the legislation of the states in 1926 relating to the care of archives, to vital records, to the transfer of old records for safe keeping to state libraries or historical societies, to processes of recording and indexing, to archive organization, and to similar topics. Mr. A. P. Hoard, of the Emory Record Preserving Company of Taunton, Massachusetts, gave an interesting account of the work which has been done by

that company since the 1890's in the preserving, repairing, and binding of public records. Mr. J. F. Jameson informed those present of the latest steps of progress toward the erection of the National Archive Building in Washington.

The chief matter in the Conference of Historical Societies was the discussion of a paper by Dr. Joseph Schafer on the possible use of Church Records in Studies of Migration. Although the United States censuses, from 1850 on, take account of the state or country of birth of each individual, they cast no light on the question, often important, of the county or other local unit, within the state, from which the person migrated or in which he was born. Since some churches, notably the Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, and Lutheran, admit to membership on letters or certificates issued by churches elsewhere, the records of these bodies, it was urged, may often be made helpful in showing where members came from, or where they went on leaving a given church. A collection of such data as to natives of New York found in Wisconsin during the pioneer age shows, for instance, that they did not all come from western New York as has been frequently assumed, but largely from southern New York also. Mrs. Charles M. Morris, of Milwaukee, speaking as one of the Colonial Dames in the State of Wisconsin, who had co-operated in Dr. Schafer's survey, emphasized the value of the support and co-operation, moral and material, which might be obtained from the hereditary-patriotic societies in the collection of historical records as to the diverse national and racial groups of migrants, and as to the arts which these groups have brought and contributed. Professor W. H. Allison, of Colgate University, reported upon the results of an examination of the records of the First Baptist Church of Hamilton, New York, which however seemed not to be illuminating on general problems. Professor S. E. Morison gave an entertaining description of the historical expedition conducted last summer, with great skill, by the Great Northern Railroad, on occasion of the Oregon Historical Society's celebration at Astoria and the dedication of the monument to the memory of the Astorians.

Of the contributions to the substance of history laid before the Association, the first place belongs of right to the annual address of its president, Professor Dana C. Munro, on "War and History". Its publication in our last issue makes analysis or description of it superfluous, but its delivery was accompanied by an incident which deserves record, if only for the pleasure it gave to the many friends of a president who has signalized his term of office by unprecedented assiduity in work for the Association. At the conclusion of the

address Professor L. J. Paetow, of California, speaking on behalf of a notable group of former students of Dr. Munro, made graceful presentation of a volume of historical studies, prepared for the occasion and in his honor. Publication of the volume will take place during the year. Most of the essays relate to the field which Dr. Munro has made especially his own, that of the history of the Crusades.

In the general session of the first afternoon the chairman, President D. R. Anderson, of Randolph-Macon Woman's College, introduced the discussion of the historian's data and method by mention of definitions of history subject to much dispute, reminding the hearers that in any case they could agree with the dictum of Cicero: History should not say anything that is false or hesitate to say anything that is true. The discussion was opened by Professor Carl Becker, of Cornell University, with the question: What is Historical Fact? While professing to determine and state the simple and solid historical fact, we find that this, like many another concept, is a term without exact meaning. The simplicity belongs to the statement rather than to the event. That Caesar crossed the Rubicon was historical fact only as related to the multiple fact of other men's acts, thoughts, and words, and it has meaning only by its value as a symbol of Caesar's relation to the Roman state and its fortunes. Solid fact sometimes proves to be a fluid complex, not of event but of idea, as in the case of a theory about antecedent ages which as idea exercises historical effect though later found to be an illusion without basis in actual happenings. A third type of "fact"—neither an act nor an idea—is found in emotion. But that Washington experienced anger at the battle of Monmouth becomes historical fact only in relation to battle plans and the failure to execute them. In general the fact is historical only by complex relations to attendant circumstances and to this complexity is due the historian's difficulty in satisfying critics by his statement. That the historical fact is not a hard, changeless entity is shown by its relation to the historian's purpose in giving it imaginative representation. Its form depends on the use made of it, and the historian, laboring to express its meaning in words, proves to be an artist, an artist successful only by the perfect joining of word and matter. An event "was", but its dependence on the historian's present interest raises the query whether it is *now* the historical fact. So many affirmations gather about any past event that the fact becomes plastic to the historian's judgment. We end with the question whether the historical fact is not to be found in the image or concept aroused in the reader of these affirmations.

Professor F. M. Fling, of the University of Nebraska, began a discussion of the Logic of Historical Synthesis with the questions: How select facts as historical, and how put them together? Only in recent years have Americans begun to discuss this matter and then in answer to sociologists. The historian of society and the scientist dealing with society differ in the form given by each to the facts used. Past social events are but raw material until they are selected and used for the purpose of a synthesis, whether this be sociological or historical. Each may use social events, but for different ends. One type reaches its ideal organization of reality by treating objects as mathematical and mechanical. The other views the reality of life as not static but changing, *i.e.*, historical. Only in our own day have the two methods come into collision. In contrast to the scientist the historian is concerned with values and with the individual event. He seeks not the scientist's "causality" but the cause of the individual happening and his synthesis consists in arranging certain past social facts in logical order, not in the form of law, but as making a unique, complex, individual whole. Since historical writing thus began with Herodotus there have been only improvements in this method, greater objectivity, and the inclusion of more of our human interests in a more complex synthesis. While only a genius can accomplish the adequate synthesis, we are forced to undertake the task of showing the complete world movement of history.

Dealing with the Essentials and Non-Essentials of the New History, Professor H. E. Barnes, of Smith College, distinguished the New History as involving a new notion of the scope of history, new methods of teaching it, and new procedures in writing it. Its programme is to be all-inclusive; nothing that took place in the past is to be excluded, though we are not all equally interested in all the facts. Their relative importance is to be determined by the relation to the whole of which they are parts and by their relation to present-day life; in any case to the purpose of the writer. At present we discover a great shift of interest, as appears in the genetic historian's relating of things to the culture of our time, dropping the former stress on military and political history. Culture is explicable by the two factors of man's original nature and the environment which stimulates it. Hence the new history excludes national history and lets the famous divisions of ancient, medieval, and modern be supplanted by palaeolithic, neolithic, and subsequent cultural stages. Such history is science, not art, and obviously the historian's preparatory training must undergo great changes. The study of the

responses of a biochemical entity to a terrestrial environment imposes the need of biological science, behavioristic and psychoanalytic psychology, anthropogeography, and the social sciences other than history, and a greater technical knowledge of the processes of business, industry, transportation, or other previously neglected factors in cultural development.

Of papers whose themes lend themselves to a chronological order, we may mention first that of Professor M. L. W. Laistner, of Cornell University, on Christian of Stavelot's ninth-century commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew. He described Christian's sources—the preceding commentaries of St. Jerome and Hrabanus, the *Etymologies* of Isidore, etc.—the indications which may be drawn from his citations of St. Jerome's Latin version of the Bible, the possibility of Irish influences upon his mind, and the extent of his knowledge of Greek.

Professor L. J. Paetow, of California, spoke on John of Garland, professor in the University of Toulouse from 1229 to 1232 and then, for the next twenty years of his life, in the University of Paris, and, from the pages of his poem *De Triumphis Ecclesiae* celebrating the triumphs of the Church over the Mohammedans and the Albigensian heretics, exhibited the ardor with which he sustained the Crusade of Louis IX. as the one war which would permanently end war and usher in peace and felicity here on earth.

Professor Lynn Thorndike, of Columbia University, discussed the Survival of Medieval Intellectual Interests into Early Modern Times. As those external conditions of life that we regard as medieval continued in large part in modern times, so many of the intellectual interests of the Middle Ages continued. Blind adhesion to Aristotle and Galen characterized the sixteenth century as much as those preceding. The Protestant Reformation was far from discarding the medieval Aristotle. The thirteenth-century text-books in various subjects continued to be used in early modern times. The history, especially the intellectual and the local history of the medieval past, was sympathetically studied, often with no marked change of intellectual attitude.³

The papers in modern European history pertained to recent periods, with the exception of that of Professor C. J. H. Hayes of Columbia, on Some Contributions of Herder to the Doctrine of Nationalism.⁴ Professor F. M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College, in a paper entitled "From Fashoda to the Entente Cordiale: a Ten-

³ Professor Thorndike's paper is to appear before long in *Speculum*.

⁴ To be printed later in this journal.

tative Interpretation", sought to show that diplomatic historians in their search for explanations and motives have relied too much on the correspondence of the diplomats and have neglected public opinion as expressed in the newspapers and reviews. A study of these latter materials for the years 1890 to 1904 gives reason to think that the formation of the Entente Cordiale, which has generally been attributed chiefly to the leading diplomats and statesmen, such as Delcassé and Edward VII., and ascribed to their hatred for Germany, was really due largely to public opinion, and that dislike for Germany, while a factor, did not operate in quite the way usually supposed. Gradual changes of opinion, through the period of the Boer War, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the Russo-Japanese War, were traced in a manner to sustain this opinion.

In the last paper of the session, Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt, of the University of Chicago, read a review⁵ of the first-published volume (volume XI.) of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, Mr. J. W. Headlam-Morley's volume of the correspondence of June 28–August 4, 1914. The general opinions he expressed may be summarized thus: that these new Foreign Office documents will not change, in any fundamental particular, the view of British policy long since established, though new light is cast especially by the "minutes" made by officials of the Foreign Office on the documents; that clearly, until the neutrality of Belgium was violated, there was no intention to send a British army to the Continent; and that Sir Edward Grey strove coolly and loyally for peace.

Three of the papers read at Rochester bore on the history of the Near East: first, one on the Origins of the Druze People and Religion, by Professor Philip K. Hitti, of Princeton University. He held that a study of the genealogical tables of their chief feudal families, an investigation of the Arabic dialect spoken by them, and a scrutiny of their religious beliefs would indicate that the modern Druzes of Lebanon are descended from tribes from the Arabian peninsula who sojourned for many generations in the lower valley of the Tigris and Euphrates where they intermarried with the Persians and became impregnated with Manichaean, Gnostic, and Shi'ite beliefs, which prepared them for the reception of the Fatimite incarnational doctrine when it was later preached to them by a Turco-Persian named Darazi. The idea of the incarnation of Deity in the Caliph al-Hakim has obvious relations to Christian doctrine and that of his triumphant return to the idea of the Mahdi in Islam and

⁵ Printed in *Current History* for March.

that of the Messiah in Israel. The immediate origins of the Druzes' religion, Professor Hitti showed from its tenets, were to be sought in the many Shi'ite heterodoxies which split early Islam, and the ultimate origins in Neo-Platonic theories, Gnosticism, and Manichaeism.

The second of these papers, by Professor A. H. Lybyer, of Illinois, discussed the Trend of Political Events in Moslem Lands. Since the National Assembly of Turkey banished the House of Osman the Moslem world has been without a caliph. While some movement has been begun toward the restoration of the caliphate, Islamic unity is seen first of all in the efforts made to gain independence of non-Moslem control. To-day, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and the Nejd-Hejaz acknowledge no suzerain, while other regions strive for similar emancipation. The results of the World War have led the Islamic peoples to a more rapid "westernization"; national separatism has been greatly increased, the functions of Church and State have been more clearly discriminated, parliamentary forms have become popular, secular education has been promoted. But in spite of all this, the realities of government in lands not obscured by foreign influence tend toward the monarchical. Conferences on the caliphate have occurred. Finally, a Moslem Congress has been organized with a permanent executive commission and provision for annual meetings.

In the third paper of this group, Professor E. M. Earle, of Columbia University, traced the Origins of Philhellenism in the United States from 1821, when the Greeks of the Morea rose to throw off the Ottoman rule, down to the establishment of Greek independence. American sympathy with the Greek cause was due to widespread reverence for the ancient Hellenes and the theory, widely accepted, that the modern Greeks were the heirs of their blood and traditions, to the heroic struggle of a nation which aspired to establish liberal and republican institutions, and to feeling for a Christian population rising against Moslem rule. Manifestations of friendliness toward the Greek cause took the form of contributions of money, raised by popular subscription; the gift of food and clothing, distributed through American agents; and the enlistment of citizens of the United States in the revolutionary army for service against the Turks. Most of the funds collected were devoted to the relief of non-combatants; the first \$40,000, however, was given directly to the committee in charge of the conduct of the war.

The important topic of the transit of civilization from Europe to America was illustrated by three papers, of which the first, by

Professor Jernegan, discussed the Influence of British and European Universities on American Life during the Colonial Period, in three main particulars. First, in the three periods selected for illustration, it was shown that graduates of British and European universities were largely responsible for events and ideas connected with colonization and administration, and for policies which helped to determine the evolution of political, economic, and social institutions in the colonies. Secondly, the spread of certain religious ideas, such as Puritanism and Pietism, and of the political philosophy which permeated revolutionary thinking, was traced to the influence of certain universities of England and the Continent. Finally, this influence was shown to have affected our colonial colleges in their imitation of forms of government and curriculum.

By common consent, no paper read in any of the sessions was more instructive in content or more delectable in presentation than that of Professor D. R. Fox, of Columbia University, on "Civilization in Transit". As this journal has been given the privilege of printing it before long, and it can hardly be summarized without doing it injustice, we mention simply that, whereas many writers of American history have followed with sympathy and applause the western progress of the man with the axe and the man with the spade, Mr. Fox dwelt on that of the pioneers of ideas, and showed how the transit of professional competence from Europe to America, and westward and outward in America, was marked by four well-defined stages visible alike in medicine, music, pictorial and plastic art, scholarship, and other professional specialties. His suggestive generalizations were applied also to cultural institutions and practices of varied sorts.

Professor Albert Hyma, of the University of Michigan, discussed Dutch Influence on the Development of Civilization in America, deprecating the attribution to Dutch influence of many contributions derived equally or more largely from the civilization of other countries, but justly declaring the superiority of the Dutch to their neighbors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the fields of science, art, theology, and social reform, and urging a higher valuation than has commonly been ascribed to the Dutch contribution to the revival of learning and to religious reform at the time of the Reformation.

Among the papers devoted to American history that of Professor W. W. Sweet, of DePauw University, on Significant Factors in the History of American Churches,⁶ noted four conditions which had

⁶ Printed in the *Journal of Religion* for January.

large significance in determining this history. Colonial churches, in the first place, were ruled by radicals who found in America a fruitful field for experiment. The result was the development of a variety of sects whose struggle for existence did much to bring about the separation of Church and State. Secondly, parallel conditions existing between religious and political history influenced Church and State in similar ways. Thus, sectionalism characterized both at the same time. The frontier, too, played its part in developing a distinct type of missionary effort through revivals, camp meetings, and the small denominational college. Finally, slavery was responsible for a schism in the churches which has continued to the present time. Growing out of the institution of slavery, also, has been the rise of negro churches since the Civil War.

Under the title, *The High Tide of French Conquest in North America*, Professor G. A. Wood, of Lake Forest University, told the story of French progress in the colonial field from 1748 to 1760. Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, of Michigan, in an entertaining but solidly based paper on *Preparedness in the Revolutionary Period* discussed the absolute lack of preparedness on the side of the American forces and the defective preparation of the British forces sent to America. Because of these conditions, which the speaker presented in convincing detail, the battles and campaigns of that war engaged small numbers of men in comparison to what might have been put into the field and were attended with results which, while investing with high credit those who upheld their cause with loyalty, endurance, and courage, reflected little glory on the mass of those who nominally participated.

A sequel of the Revolution was carefully considered in a paper on the *St. Lawrence in the Boundary Settlement of 1783*, by Mr. George W. Brown, of the University of Toronto. The thesis of this paper was that provision in the Treaty of 1783 granting free navigation of the St. Lawrence, as of the Mississippi, was omitted not because its commercial importance to both Great Britain and the United States was not understood, but because of the opposition aroused in England by the proposal to modify the Navigation Acts. The interest of both countries lay in harmonizing their claims in the West against France and Spain. Jay also argued that Great Britain would have no need of possessing western lands if she were given free access to them, through the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, in exchange for reciprocal freedom of trade which was keenly desired by the United States. So the first articles included a clause that free access and equality of duties should be accorded to the merchants

of both nations in all rivers, lakes, and harbors belonging to each country. But the clause was not included in the treaty, because of the unwillingness of England to revise the Navigation Laws in the interest of the United States.

In American history since 1800 there was only one paper, but that an entertaining and moving one, in which Professor C. A. Duniway, of Carleton College, presented personal aspects of migration in 1852 from Illinois to Oregon, based chiefly on an unpublished manuscript journal which had been kept by a romantic but clever girl of seventeen, and had descended in the speaker's family. It recorded a journey of 2400 miles made by an Illinois family, with ox-drawn wagons, from Groveland in that state to the French Prairie in Oregon. The literary flavor and human interest of this document were shown by the reading of various selections from its daily entries. Dr. Duniway added his own conclusions as to what in the record was typical of the mass of such migration.

More than the usual amount of interest centred about the annual business meeting of the Association, and the luncheon also devoted to business, namely, the business of the Endowment Fund. The session was presided over by Professor Munro; Dr. L. F. Stock, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, officiated in the place of the secretary. A pamphlet containing seven reports—the annual report of the treasurer, that of the Committee on Publications, that of the Committee on Membership, that of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, that of the Association's delegates in the American Council of Learned Societies, that of the seventh annual meeting of the Union Académique Internationale, and the preliminary report of the Committee on History Teaching in the Schools—had been mailed beforehand to all members of the Association, preparing the way adequately for intelligent action in the meeting itself. The secretary's report, which was first read, showed a membership of 3199, a gain of 237 from the preceding year. Of this total number, 244 were life members, 280 were institutions. The Council has provided that any library or institution by paying \$100, the amount of the life membership fee, may receive membership for twenty-five years without payment of annual dues.

The treasurer's report showed net receipts, not including contributions to the Endowment Fund, of \$16,120, to which should be added \$6000 supplied by the Commonwealth Fund for the work of the Committee on History Teaching, and \$5000 received from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for the work of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Against this total of \$27,120

may be set the net disbursements of \$24,946. A summary of the treasurer's report, and of the budget voted by the Council, is, as usual, appended to this chronicle, and the report in full may be found in the pamphlet already mentioned. The actual amount of the Endowment Fund, reckoning it on the par value of the securities in which all but its last receipts have been invested, was reported at \$96,465.

The information which was given out at the luncheon respecting the progress of the endowment campaign was supplemented by a folder distributed at that time. One of the most gratifying results reported was the surprisingly extensive publicity which newspapers in every part of the country had very willingly, and sometimes quite voluntarily and unexpectedly, given to the Association, its achievements and present effort. All this may be taken as convincing evidence of a rising popular interest in history in this country. It should be recorded with appreciation that the Rochester newspapers gave fuller and better accounts of the papers read and of the doings of the annual convention than it has ever received before in any city where meetings have been held. It was reported that committees for pushing the campaign had been organized in most of the states, and that the amount paid in and subscribed now runs to about \$120,000, pledged by 443 persons, of whom there were sixteen that subscribed or gave \$1000 or more. Professor S. J. Buck, who had labored very efficiently as executive secretary through nearly the whole year of 1926, was compelled by his obligations to the University of Minnesota and the Minnesota Historical Society to resign from that office at this time. Professor Harry J. Carman, of Columbia University, was appointed in his place. Columbia University continues generously to furnish quarters for the organization. The Association appropriated \$5000 for continuance of the campaign in 1927.

Professor P. J. Treat presented a brief report for the Pacific Coast Branch, at whose latest annual meeting Professor C. L. Goodwin was elected president. To enable the Branch to do more printing of papers read before it, an appropriation of \$400 was made. The Historical Manuscripts Commission was, as usual, obliged to report suspension of its activities, so far as printing is concerned, until the Austin Papers are out of the way, when, it is hoped, there will be opportunity for printing the Commission's selection from the letters received by John C. Calhoun. The Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize recommended that it should be awarded to Lowell J. Ragatz, of the George Washington University, for his monograph on "The Decline of the British West Indies, 1763-1833", with honor-

able mention of Professor J. W. Pratt, of the University of Buffalo, for his printed volume on *The Expansionists of 1812*.

To the surprise of the Council, the Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize was obliged to report that in the year 1926 no essays had been submitted in competition for this prize. In view of the many evidences of American interest in the field which the prize represents, the only way of accounting for this failure is to suppose that the existence and character of the prize are not sufficiently well known. It is a prize of \$250, based on a bequest by the noted scholar whose name it bears, and is awarded annually for the best work on "any phase of European international history since 1895". The competition is limited to citizens of the United States and to works that shall be submitted to the Association, either in manuscript or in print, before April 1 of the respective years. It is designed especially to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work nor obtained an established reputation.

The Committee on Bibliography reported that twenty of the twenty-six chapters of the long-expected *Guide to Historical Literature* are in type. There were also reports from the representatives of the Association at the Panama Congress of last spring, from its representatives in the Social Science Research Council, concerning fellowships and grants, and respecting the proposed *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, for which Professor E. R. A. Seligman has raised the necessary funds and of which he is to be editor.

Of new committees, one is to consider reorganization of the secretariat in case of large increase of endowment. Another, whose operations will be of interest to many members, the committee to administer the revolving fund of \$25,000 for publication supplied by the Carnegie Corporation, made a preliminary explanation through its chairman, Professor Edward P. Cheyney, setting forth the expectation that the money would be spent preferably for books which evince considerable maturity, and which, perhaps, though of recognized value, have been awaiting publication for some time, or for essays which have won prizes of the Association, or for instruments of historical work, such as bibliographies or documents. Excellence of form will be regarded, the grantors desiring to provide for a really successful diffusion of knowledge. Proposals should be sent to the chairman of the committee, and should give some account of the author and of the genesis of the proposed book. Notes or summaries of reports from several other committees, operating in the international field, have been given on pages 381-384 of our last number.

No report excited more interest than that of Professor A. C. Krey's committee, of historians and representatives of allied sciences, on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools.⁷ It is available as a pamphlet of forty-one pages, but its general drift may here be summarized. In the belief that the increased social maturity of school children, the increase in school attendance, and various changes in school administration have created new problems of mass education in the social studies, Professor Krey, as chairman of a committee operating with a subvention from the Commonwealth Fund, and upon the basis provided by the History Inquiry of 1924, had spent the year in making a general survey of the position of history and other social studies in the schools. He reported a large but thoughtful plan for detailed study of the subject, based on the assumptions that history and other social studies contribute to one of the main functions of the schools, education for effective social membership; and that the public school system now extends from pre-primary grades through the junior college, and that the emphasis of the proposed study should be placed upon an analysis of the social studies throughout the whole of this system, rather than on an analysis of a particular segment or year of instruction. The study advocated is to comprise a collection of general statistical information, the determination of specific objectives, the organization of content, in the light of these objectives, for teaching purposes, the methods of instruction and testing, and of the preparation of teachers. An extensive personnel and five years of work were required by this plan. Means for its execution are now being sought.

Resolutions were adopted by the Association expressing to Congress its appreciation for the legislative provision thus far made toward making available the papers concerning the Territories now preserved in the federal archives in Washington, and urging the importance of providing for their publication; and resolutions commending to the attention of Congress the need of bringing to speedy completion the edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress* prepared by the Library of Congress.

On recommendation of the Council it was voted to hold the next annual meeting in Washington; the dates will be December 28, 29, and 30. The Council had also received with favor suggestions that the Association accept the invitation of the Indiana Historical Society to meet in Indianapolis in 1928, and the invitations of the University of North Carolina and of Duke University to meet in North Carolina in 1929. Dr. Henry Osborn Taylor was elected

⁷ Printed, almost complete, in the *Historical Outlook* for March.

president of the Association for the ensuing year, Professor James H. Breasted first vice-president, Dr. James Harvey Robinson second vice-president. Professor Bassett and Dr. Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer, respectively. Three new members were elected to the Council, Mr. James T. Adams, Mr. Dwight W. Morrow, and Professor Payson J. Treat. The Committee on Nominations elected for the ensuing year consists of Messrs. Solon J. Buck, chairman, Charles W. Hackett, Percy A. Martin, Louis M. Sears, and Miss Lucy E. Textor. The acting secretary was instructed to send the thanks of the Association to the University of Rochester and others who contributed there to the great success of the annual meeting. The term of Professor Guy S. Ford as a member of the Board of Editors of this journal having expired, Professor Henry E. Bourne was elected by the Council in his place, and later was elected chairman by the Board. A full list of committee assignments for 1927 follows this article.

J. F. J.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

RECEIPTS

Annual dues	\$13,081.20	
American Historical Review, contribution	2,000.00	
Endowment Fund contribution, including life membership dues	25,275.25	
Special contribution for endowment campaign expenses	10,000.00	
Registration fees	225.00	
Royalties	74.16	
Publications	224.25	
Miscellaneous	.23	
Interest:		
Endowment fund	\$2,332.00	
Andrew D. White Fund	72.28	
George L. Beer Prize Fund	305.00	
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund	125.00	
William A. Dunning Fund	125.00	
Bank deposits	183.51	3,142.79
Grant from Commonwealth Fund		6,000.00
Grant from Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial		5,000.00
Grant from Carnegie Corporation for Revolving Publication Fund		25,000.00
Total receipts	\$90,022.88	
Cash on deposit, December 1, 1925	10,127.52	
		<u>\$100,150.40</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Secretary and Treasurer	\$3,712.40
Pacific Coast Branch	34.98

Committees of Management:

Nominations	\$41.75	
Membership	19.87	
Programme	328.62	
Local Arrangements	50.00	
Executive Council	77.28	
Endowment	22,458.97	
Treasurer's contingent fund	11.70	22,988.19

Historical Activities:

Bibliography	719.39	
Publications	526.76	
Bibliography of Modern British History	152.00	
Writings on American History	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies	193.41	
History Teaching in Schools	5,791.06	
International Committee of Historical Sciences	5,204.95	
Handbook of American Historical Societies ..	116.83	12,904.40

Prizes:

Herbert Baxter Adams	200.00	
George Louis Beer	250.00	450.00

American Historical Review	7,565.20
William A. Dunning Fund	91.66
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund investments	25,317.07
American Historical Review Fund investments	2,072.64

Total disbursements	\$75,136.54
Cash on deposit, November 30, 1926	25,013.86
	<u>\$100,150.40</u>

ENDOWMENT FUNDS

	Cost	Par Value
Principal account, invested	\$29,160.50	\$29,200.00
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Fund	4,900.00	5,000.00
Andrew D. White Fund	1,183.00	1,200.00
George L. Beer Prize Fund	5,002.50	5,000.00
William A. Dunning Fund	Bequest	5,000.00
American Historical Review Fund	8,192.50	8,500.00
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund	24,935.75	25,000.00
		<u>\$78,900.00</u>
Funds awaiting investment		17,565.62
Total		<u>\$96,465.62</u>

BUDGET, 1927

Receipts:

Annual dues	\$14,000.00
Interest on endowment and on bank balances	5,000.00
Royalties	50.00
Publications	100.00
Registration fees	200.00
Government appropriation for printing Report	7,000.00
Grant from Commonwealth Fund for Committee on History Teaching	3,000.00
Miscellaneous	25.00

\$29,375.00

Disbursements:

Office of Secretary and Treasurer	\$3,700.00
Pacific Coast Branch	400.00
Committees of Management:	
Committee on Nominations	100.00
Committee on Membership	100.00
Committee on Programme	500.00
Committee on Local Arrangements	150.00
Executive Council	500.00
Endowment Fund	5,000.00
Treasurer's contingent fund	200.00

Historical Activities:

Committee on Bibliography	500.00
Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History	500.00
Committee on Publications	700.00
Printing Annual Report	7,000.00
Conference of Historical Societies	50.00
Public Archives Commission	200.00
Writings on American History	400.00
American Council of Learned Societies	220.00
Committee on Historical Research in Colleges	50.00
Committee on History Teaching in the Schools	3,000.00
Delegates in the International Committee of Historical Sciences	200.00
Committee on Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund	100.00
Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences	100.00

Prizes:

Justin Winsor Prize, 1926	200.00
American Historical Review	8,000.00

\$31,370.00

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⁸ For purposes of routine business the secretary and the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

⁹ The names from that of Mr. McMaster to that of Mr. Munro are those of ex-presidents.

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THE BLIGHT OF PESTILENCE ON EARLY MODERN CIVILIZATION

THE Black Death of 1348 was apparently by far the most fatal epidemic in the annals of Europe, with incalculable effects upon the flourishing civilization which had marked the preceding twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Enormous as was the toll of human life which was taken at its first appearance in Europe, this proved to be no assurance of future immunity. Though we are familiar with the statement that there were subsequent recurrences of the plague, we perhaps do not sufficiently realize the pest-ridden condition of Europe in late medieval and early modern times. Like a cancer the fell disease ate at the vitals of European civilization. Like an incubus it weighed upon the human imagination and spirit. Like some crawling venomous worm it has left its foul trail across the face of history. In many parts of Europe the population seems not again to have reached the density of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries until after the economic and industrial revolution of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Schools closed, and law-courts adjourned post-haste at the approach of the dread disease. All sorts of human activities were frequently interrupted, interfered with, and enfeebled. Thus the period that we have been too apt to glorify as an age of renaissance, of reformation, of discovery, was in many ways—for we must also remember the insane wars of religion and of ambitious monarchs—a time of setback, stagnation, distress, and abject misery.

It needs no very extensive reading or profound study to find many indications of the ever present importance of the pest from the fourteenth even to the eighteenth century. Once one begins to look for such signs, one seems to find them in almost every book on the period to which one turns. Perhaps it is in part because the late medieval and early modern period has been so commonly viewed from the standpoint of the rise of monarchy, kings being the best protected of all persons from the plague, that insufficient notice has been taken of the passing of ordinary humanity "at this poor dying rate". But when we turn to local histories of towns or provinces, to the records of schools and individuals, not to mention the history of medicine, we find many marks of the ravages of pestilence. It is the purpose of the present article to give some specimens of this evidence which seems to be available in such abundance. Of course,

other epidemics and contagions may sometimes have been confused with the bubonic plague, but in any case we are not so much interested now in tracing the effects of one particular form of disease as in noting the great part played by pestilence in general in the history of the time.

As the westward sweep of the Huns in the fourth and fifth centuries had been followed by a great pestilence during the reign of Justinian, after which the Byzantine Empire hardly again attained such wealth, prosperity, and power; so the westward sweep of the Mongols in the thirteenth century was followed by the Black Death in the fourteenth. In part it may have been responsible for the expansion of the Ottoman Turks and the final decline of civilization in the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor. Those regions witnessed nine great outbreaks of the plague between 1348 and 1431, and "these dates coincide with the most aggressive period of Ottoman conquest".¹ In the West the great decrease in population may explain the triumph of centralized monarchy over local government and enterprise, and the rise of capital with the concentration of wealth in a few hands. But let us turn to more particular and demonstrable effects.

From Petrarch to Erasmus, whose respective experiences with the plague are perhaps too familiar to require repetition, we may find humanists bemoaning the effects or dodging the course of the plague. Dominicus Bandinus, a grammarian of Arezzo, in his work on Peoples, Buildings, Provinces, Cities, Islands, not only informs us that in the Black Death of 1348 he lost both his parents and all his brothers and sisters, but also mentions plagues of 1364, 1379, 1383, 1399, and 1400, in the last of which he lost his son.² Passing on to another generation and century and to a different field of learning, we may note the untimely death of Ludovicus Pontanus who had already made a great legal reputation for himself when, at scarcely thirty years of age, he died of the plague at the Council of Basel in 1439 within thirty-six hours after he fell ill. Though born in Spoleto, in the prologue of one of his works he speaks of himself as a Roman, and he is usually called Romanus, partly perhaps because of his proficiency in Roman law. Before he took up his

¹ H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (1916), p. 96.

² See the account of the manuscript, S. Michael de Muriano, Venetiis, 22, fifteenth century, in Mittarelli's *Catalogue* of 1779. The *De Populis, de Aedificiis, de Civitatibus, de Insulis*, formed the fourth part of an encyclopaedic work, *Fons Memorabilium Universi*. As a rule I shall not treat of the effects of the Black Death in the fourteenth century, as its effect on men of learning then is being investigated by one of my students, Miss Anna Campbell.

residence in Rome, he had studied law at the universities of Perugia and Padua, and he had taught law at Siena before he was called to Rome. There he was not merely a professor, but Pope Eugenius IV. made him a protonotary and consistorial advocate. He was a close friend of Panormitanus³ whom he accompanied to the council. Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II., both composed a poetical epitaph of over twenty lines in honor of Pontanus and, in his prose history of the Council of Basel, devoted a long passage to an account of his marvellous genius. Pontanus remembered everything that he had ever heard or read. Instead of citing laws by their opening words in the customary manner, he would quote the entire text from memory. He was a man worthy not of Rome merely but of the sky and to whom it seemed that no one of mortals was comparable.⁴ Though scarcely thirty at the time of his death, he had already written a commentary on the Code and Digest, a volume of *Consilia* and another of *Singularia*, as well as *Repetitiones* and *Responsa*.⁵ Thus the plague cut short a career not merely of great promise but of great achievement. Another legal authority to die of the plague was Raphael Fulgosius in 1427 after teaching law for twenty years at Padua.⁶ It has been disputed whether Johann Müller of Königsberg, whence his Latin name, Regiomontanus, the great mathematician, died at Rome in 1475-1476 of plague or whether he was assassinated by the sons of George of Trebizond, whose errors in translating Ptolemy he had mercilessly laid bare. Giovanni Cotta da Verona (1481-1509), a poet whose admirers represented him as a second Catullus, died of the pest on his way to Rome to beg Julius II. to liberate his protector, Bartolommeo d'Alviano.⁷ Robert Gaguin, the leading name in French humanism of the fifteenth century, had more than one encounter with the plague. In 1466-1467 he remained at his studies while it raged in

³ Otherwise Nicolaus Siculus, archbishop of Palermo. He was a great figure at the Council of Basel. Earlier, in 1425, he had taught canon law at Siena.

⁴ Lib. I. *de Conc. Basil.*: "erat memor omnium quae ipse unquam aut legisset aut audisset, nec ut ceteri jurisconsulti principia legum in disputando allegabat sed quasi codicem legeret sic textum memoriter recitabat. Vir non Roma tantum sed coelo dignus et cui nemo mortalium comparandus videtur; non admirationi sed stupori futurus omnibus si ut aequum videbatur aetatis tempora duplicasset."

⁵ For Pontanus I have followed the accounts of Fichardus (Joannes, Francofurtensis), *Vitae Recentiorum Jurisconsultorum* (Padua, 1565), fols. 12r-13r; and Giuseppe Caraffa, *De Gymnasio Romano* (Rome, 1751), pp. 401-402.

⁶ A note added to a Venetian manuscript, S. Marco IX. 20, informs us of his death. S. Marco IX. 5 contains his glosses on parts of the *Digest*; S. Marco IX. 57 and IX. 206 contain *Consilia* by him.

⁷ Fr. Fiorentino, *Il Risorgimento Filosofico nel Quattrocento* (Naples, 1885), pp. 270-271.

Paris; in 1484 it obliged him to retire to his country house; in 1499 most of the doctors of decretals left the plague-stricken city, but Gaguin as dean stayed on.⁸

Aeneas Sylvius had closer contacts with the pest than his passages just mentioned on the untimely death therefrom of Pontanus. As he tells us in the *Commentaries* written after he had become pope, he was one of a family of twenty-two children. There were ten still in the home when pestilence killed all except himself and two sisters.⁹ When Aeneas was in Germany about 1438, he saw famished children in Bavaria fight like dogs for bits of bread that were thrown to them. Not long after followed a very fatal plague which infested all Germany, killing many prelates as well as the aforesaid Pontanus, called "the light of the law". At Basel more than three hundred bodies were buried in a day. Aeneas lost his dearest friends, Julianus Romanus and Arnoldus Theutonicus, remaining with them to the end. Then he himself became infected and told his comrades to leave him and save themselves. One, whom he names, took this advice, but others were more constant. Aeneas naturally wished to procure the attendance of the best doctor possible. There were two celebrated physicians then present in Basel: one was a learned graduate of Paris but irreligious; the other was a pious but uneducated German. "Aeneas preferred piety to science", and was cured in this wise. Since the left side of the groin was affected, he was bled from the vein of his left foot. He was forbidden to sleep for an entire day and part of the night, and drank a powder, the composition of which his physician refused to reveal. Pieces of a green frog and bits of damp Cretan earth were applied to the infected places. The immediate effect of this treatment was to make Aeneas feel worse; he called in a priest to hear his confession, and the report spread that he was dead. But after six days he recovered and paid his doctor six pieces of gold. The conscientious physician protested that the fee was too large and that he would treat six poor patients gratis in return.¹⁰ There are yet other references to the pest in Pius's *Commentaries*. About 1450 it was raging so in Prague that the national gathering of the Bohemians had to be transferred to another town.¹¹ And after he became pope, on

⁸ See the *Notice Biographique* prefixed to Louis Thuasne's edition of his letters and orations: *Roberti Gaguini Epistolae et Orationes*, I. (1903).

⁹ *Commentarii Pii II.*, edition of 1614, liber I., p. 2, "Ex ea Silvius duodeviginti liberos sustulit, non tamen ultra decem simul aggregavit; quos urgente inopia Corsiniani quod est oppidum vallis Urciae nutrit: sed omnes tamen iniqua lues extinxit, duabus tamen sororibus Laudomia et Carhenia cum Aenea superstitis."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

one occasion the pest drove the papal court away from Viterbo.¹²

Let us take another glimpse at the effects of the pest on learning in the case of the circle of German humanists and men of letters in and about Strasbourg during the closing fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Peter Schott was forced to discontinue temporarily his legal studies at Bologna by the outbreak of the pest there in 1478, and to postpone his visit to Rome for a year because of pestilence there in the winter of 1480-1481, while the report that plague was raging in Paris kept him from going there in 1483 to pursue the study of theology. Alas! all this avoidance at best but slightly delayed his end; in 1490 he died of an epidemic at the age of only thirty-two.¹³ The very next humanist listed in Schmidt's *Literary History of Alsace*, Sebastian Murr, died of the pest in 1495.¹⁴ Jodocus Gallus (1459-1517), having in 1470 lost several members of his family in a pest, was received as a boy into a Franciscan convent and educated by that order, which first sent him to school at Schlestadt, then to their convent at Basel, and then to the University of Heidelberg.¹⁵ Jacques Han died in 1510 of an older contagious disease, leprosy. It required the special intervention of the Emperor Maximilian on his behalf to induce the town magistrates to relax the rigid rule, that all lepers must go to the lazaret-house outside town, sufficiently to allow him to continue his studies in his own house under strict quarantine.¹⁶ Thomas Wolf (1475-1509), who in 1506 had been very ill from syphilis (*morbus Gallicus*) according to his own statement, died suddenly at Rome at the age of only thirty-four while on his second visit to Italy.¹⁷ In his Commentary on the Fourteenth Psalm he had attributed "these calamities, these new diseases, these pests, these sudden deaths, these revolutions in empires that frighten us so", to the growing secularism of the age and to the increasing tendency to deprive the clergy of the property, immunities, and honor which were their ancient due.¹⁸ An outbreak of the pest at Strasbourg in 1511 forced the printer who was publishing a book for Matthias Ringman (Philesius) to move his press to Baden and issue the work there. In the same year Ringman dedicated another publication, four plays of Plautus, to a man who had fled from the plague at Remiremont. And in the same

¹² *Ibid.*, lib. VIII., p. 211.

¹³ For these facts in Schott's career see Charles Schmidt, *Histoire Littéraire de l'Alsace à la Fin du XV^e et au Commencement du XVI^e Siècle*, tome II. (1879), pp. 6-7, 10, 12, 32.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 85-86.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

year he himself died at only twenty-nine of tuberculosis which may have been aggravated by the prevailing pest.¹⁹ In the winter of 1527-1528 the students of the school at Hagenau were dispersed by the pestilence, but this enforced vacation gave the master, Gebwiler, the necessary leisure to push two works on to publication.²⁰

The Brethren of the Common Life, to whom so large a part has often been assigned in the religious and intellectual life of the pre-Reformation period, did not remain untouched by the plague. In fact, their founder, Gerard Groot, had died of it in 1384 while yet in his early forties. Visiting the bedside of one of his followers who was plague-stricken, he touched the patient's pulse and immediately felt the contagion ascend from the tips of his fingers to his armpit and began to sicken. Again in 1419 some of the brethren died from plague when it broke out in Zutphen, and in the obituaries of members of the order given by Ralph Dier de Mudén are several cases of death from the pest.²¹

But perhaps the most impressive single source for the disastrous effect of the plague upon humanists and men of learning is the work of Giovan Pietro Bolzani of Belluno (1477-1558) upon the misfortunes of Italian men of letters of his own time, especially in connection with the sack of Rome in 1527.²² Of some one hundred and eleven persons of whom he treats no less than fourteen died of the pest. These include Hermolaus Barbarus, Franciscus de Accoltis, bishop of Ancona, Antonius Marosticus, many of whose writings left in manuscript had to be burned to avoid contagion, as was also the case with Christopher Batti of Parma. Another man, who had tutored Giulio de' Medici in grammar and oratory the year before he became Pope Clement VII., contracted the plague by returning to his infected house, where servants had died of the pest, in order to rescue his writings. Other fatalities were Rodericus Lusitanus, a mathematician of note and Greek scholar; Josiphon, son of the physician of Julius II. and a student of philosophy,

¹⁹ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, II. 127-129.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

²¹ *Scriptum Rudolphi Dier de Mudén de Magistro Gherardo Grote, Domino Florencio, et Multis Aliis Devotis Fratribus* (published by G. Dumbarr, *Analecta sive Vetera aliquot Scripta Inedita*, Deventer, 1719), I. 10, 77-78, etc.

²² *Ioannis Pierii Valeriani Bellunensis de Litteratorum Infelicitate Libri Duo*, first printed at Venice, 1620. I have used the reprint from this edition with further notes and additions by Sir Egerton Brydges (Geneva, 1821). References to the plague are also numerous in the *Lives of Illustrious Men of the Fifteenth Century* of Vespasiano da Bisticci, the Florentine manuscript dealer. See *The Vespasiano Memoirs*, now first translated by W. G. and Emily Waters (1926), pp. 35, 52, 271, 274, 279, 310, 369, 422.

mathematics, Greek, and Hebrew; Julius Doionus, who taught medicine for a while at Padua; Laomedon Tardolus, a young jurist of promise; Dominicus Sarratonius, a philosopher and mathematician of Venice; and Georgius Sauromanus, a German scholar then at Rome.

In order to obtain some idea of the disturbance wrought by the plague in early modern times in what is now France, let us first begin from the year 1450 an examination of Devic and Vaissette's monumental history of Languedoc²³ in search of signs of the plague's ravages in that region. Since this history was based largely upon the official records of the local Parlement and Estates, our findings will be similarly limited. They are, nevertheless, sufficiently impressive. In 1451 the Archbishop of Toulouse died of the plague, and because of it the court of justice at Nîmes had to be transferred to Bagnols from May, 1450, to February, 1451.²⁴ Eight years later, when the Estates of Languedoc were asked for grants of taxes, they complained that a third of the population had lacked bread for three years past, and that during the last decade the pest had reduced the population one-third.²⁵ In 1463 a fire that started in the house of a baker consumed three-fourths of the city of Toulouse. The enraged citizens condemned the baker and his wife to death, and, although they were pardoned by the king, Louis XI., who chanced to be present at the time, they died of fright. Louis, indeed, acted on this occasion in a fashion unusually to his credit, for he is further said, not only to have been moved to tears by the fire's ravages, but, under the stress of the emotion of the moment, to have exempted the city from the *taille* for one hundred years. The misery occasioned by the fire was perhaps responsible for a recurrence of the plague in September of the same year which forced the Parlement to adjourn its sittings from Toulouse to Béziers.²⁶ In 1465 the pestilence compelled the courts of justice in the sénéchaussée of Beaucaire to suspend sittings for seven or eight months.²⁷ In 1472 it obliged the Parlement to retire to Albi, and then, after only three days spent there, to move on to Réalmont. In 1474 the Parlement was again compelled to take to flight twice,

²³ Cl. Devic and J. Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*. In the new and enlarged edition of 1889, volume XI., with which we begin, corresponds to volume V. of the original edition. My following citations, however, will be by book and chapter, and so correspond to either edition.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, bk. 35, ch. 19.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 31.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 45.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, ch. 50.

while at Toulouse the plague was accompanied by famine.²⁸ In 1478 the Estates had to meet in a small town because all the large ones were plague-stricken, and at their meeting of 1482 they made allusion to the poverty and misery of the pest-ridden land.²⁹

The sixteenth century told the same tale. Nîmes suffered from some terrible contagion in 1501, and troops spread it to Montpellier in 1503. Meanwhile, in 1502, the pest desolated both Provence and Languedoc. The Parlement had to leave Toulouse, but the pest followed it to Muret, then to Lavaur, then to Gaillac. Finally the judges took refuge at Grenade-sur-la-Garonne. By November the pest had stopped and they returned once more to Toulouse. But in 1506 three thousand persons died of the plague at Toulouse, and the Parlement finally had to abandon the city. Again in 1521-1522 there was pest, especially at Toulouse, and followed by famine. This time the Parlement did not return until 1523. Once more in 1527 came plague and famine which continued into the following year, with Parlement finding a refuge only at Grenade-sur-la-Garonne.³⁰ Thus it went through the century, with several years of famine and pest following the Wars of Religion at the beginning of the seventeenth century.³¹ Then in 1629-1630 some 5500 persons died of the plague at Montauban, and 50,000 in the next year at Toulouse, though it would seem that this figure must be exaggerated.³²

That the menace of the plague continued in southern France into the eighteenth century is indicated by the fact that the holder of the bishopric of Nîmes from 1710 to 1731, in a sermon delivered in the cathedral when the pest was threatening, assured his flock that he would not desert them.³³ Or in a manuscript at Avignon we may read "A Journal of What Happened" in that town "from the time of the last pest beginning August 14, 1721, and ending January 31, 1723".³⁴ It was the prevalence of plague at Marseilles in 1720-1721 and the fear lest it spread to London that led Defoe to write his *Journal of the Plague Year* recording the great plague in London in 1665. In the early eighteenth century at Avignon when land was set aside for a botanical garden which had hitherto been reserved for those afflicted with the plague, it was provided that

²⁸ Devic and Vaissette, *op. cit.*, bk. 35, ch. 74.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, chs. 82, 86.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, bk. 36, chs. 47, 51, 59, bk. 37, chs. 8, 23.

³¹ *Ibid.*, bk. 42, ch. 24.

³² *Ibid.*, bk. 43, ch. 40.

³³ Dreux du Radier, *Bibliothèque Historique et Critique du Poitou* (Paris, 1754), IV. 472.

³⁴ Avignon MS. 2793 (fonds Requien), eighteenth century, 133 fols.

they might still have the use of it whenever pestilence invaded the city, while the university should use it for botanical purposes the rest of the time.³⁵

Turning from Languedoc to other regions of France and going back again to 1451 as a starting-point, we may note in the case of Burgundy some instances of the measures of police and medical regulation that were evoked by the repeated menace of the plague. Similar measures were adopted sooner or later elsewhere, but the whole subject is too vast for us to more than touch on here. In 1452 the dyers were ordered to carry on their trade outside of Dijon in order to avoid putrefaction within the town. In 1457 it was decreed that the bodies of strangers who died of the pest and those of persons who had been hanged must be buried promptly. In 1467 tramps were expelled from town. The year before, a committee of doctors had drawn up a treatise of preventive medicine against the plague. From that time on at Dijon there was police regulation aiming at the isolation of contagious cases and the suppression of beggars, a class especially likely to harbor and spread the pest. There were also measures of sanitation and hygiene directed against dung-heaps, washing soiled linen within the town, emptying slops in the street or burning straw mattresses there, and against keeping pigs, pigeons, and the like. Infected houses were to be fumigated; in some cases the furniture was to be burned. The slaughter of animals and sale of meat were also regulated. Gradually there was developed a special personnel to care for those having the plague, and we hear of special "apothecaries of the pest". Plate VI. of Baudot's history of pharmacy in Burgundy shows us "Le Médecin de Peste" in protective armor with a baton to keep off the public in one hand, and a box of perfumes, no doubt intended to keep off the pest, in the other.³⁶ In the seventeenth century the pest was still one of the chief matters treated in the statutes of the gild of apothecaries.³⁷

In the province of Berry there were outbreaks of the plague in 1458, in 1474-1475, and so on at intervals into the seventeenth century.³⁸ When on July 25, 1580, news came to Bourges that Paris was afflicted with the plague, the doctors, apothecaries, surgeons, and barbers were promptly convened. They reported that the sick were numerous in Bourges, but that as yet there were no cases of the

³⁵ L. Bardinet, *Universitatis Avenionensis Historica Adumbratio* (1880), p. 45.

³⁶ A. Baudot, *Études Historiques sur la Pharmacie en Bourgogne avant 1803* (1905), p. 158 et seq.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³⁸ Louis Raynal, *Histoire du Berry* (1844-1847), vols. III. and IV.

plague. As preventive measures they ordered that the streets be cleaned, that all unclean animals be driven out of town, that no one from any pest-ridden place be admitted, that the sale of such fruits and vegetables as melons and cucumbers be forbidden. As soon as any cases of the plague occurred, they should either be quarantined in their own houses or put in the pest-house. These measures seem to have saved Bourges from the plague for two years, though it was raging in other towns of the province. Finally, in June, 1582, it broke out in Bourges. The mayor and échevins loyally remained at their posts, while many barbers and surgeons either left town or perished in the discharge of their duties. The clergy of the town, with the exception of the Jesuits, made a sorry showing. It became necessary to build a number of hasty additions to the pest-house, and further to pass severe measures against the prevalence of immorality, disorder, and blasphemy among the persons confined there. When plague again broke out in Bourges in 1628 six thousand of the inhabitants fled, and five thousand of those remaining died. Only one professor remained at the university, a doctor of medicine who displayed much courage throughout the epidemic. Only nine clergymen remained to receive the confessions of the dying and bring them religious consolation; namely, four Jesuits, four Capuchins, and one secular priest. Of these, two Jesuits died of the plague.³⁹ The Jesuits also rendered notable services in the pest of 1580-1581 at Paris,⁴⁰ and after 1565 they were allowed to take over the municipal college at Lyons because of the devotedness of two Jesuit fathers during the plague there.⁴¹

In Touraine of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries occurrences of the pest were as regular as inundations of the Loire, with which they alternated. There was pest in 1471 and again in 1473, when the Morality of Sainte-Barbe had to be postponed on that account. In 1482 came a hot fever and *raige de tête*; those afflicted by it ran mad through the streets, dashing their heads against walls or plunging down wells. Giraudet suggests that it may have been meningitis due to malnutrition. The reign of Charles VIII. was marked in Touraine by both the pest and syphilis; the early years of the sixteenth century by pest, famine, and flood; the opening of the reign of Francis I. by pests of 1519 and 1522.⁴² Nor

³⁹ For the outbreak of 1582, see Raynal, *op. cit.*, IV. 158-160; for that of 1628, *ibid.*, pp. 278-279.

⁴⁰ Du Boulay, *Hist. Univ. Paris.* (1665-1673), VI. 869.

⁴¹ Delandine, *Catalogue des MSS. de la Bibliothèque de Lyon* (1812), pp. 8-9.

⁴² The foregoing details in this paragraph are taken from the first volume of E. Giraudet's *Histoire de Tours* (1873).

did the pest cease to visit Tours in the later sixteenth and the seventeenth century.⁴³

Turning next to Brittany, we centre our attention upon the city of Nantes in the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ In 1501 the pest killed four thousand, at least one-tenth of the population. It returned in 1522 and 1523. In 1525 grain was high-priced; in 1527 there was famine; in 1529 there was cold and damp weather and extreme misery. As usual, an epidemic followed, which grew so serious that in 1530 the death penalty was enacted for infected persons who appeared in public. In the years 1532-1535 syphilis was added to the previous epidemic. The pest came again in 1546, in 1549, and in 1553. When, in 1569, the Loire rose twenty-one feet, another outbreak of the pest followed the inundation. It was some slight compensation and consolation that in the meantime leprosy had so disappeared that in this same year, 1569, the hospital for lepers was empty and its revenues could be joined to those of the great hospital.⁴⁵ In 1583 elaborate police regulations were adopted to check the pest,⁴⁶ yet it recurred in 1586, 1596, 1602, 1603, 1612, 1624, 1625, 1631, 1632, 1637, and 1662. The epidemic in 1602, however, appears to have been typhoid dysentery.⁴⁷ Despite these frequent visitations, the population of the town appears not to have diminished.

In Lorraine, on the other hand, the population notably diminished during the first half of the sixteenth century, when there were spells of the bubonic plague or other epidemics in 1504, 1505, 1507, 1508, 1522, 1524, and 1545.⁴⁸ This period also witnessed a marked decline in learning.⁴⁹ But in the second half of the century the population increased rapidly despite pestilences in 1574, 1585, 1587, 1594, and 1597.⁵⁰ However, the absence of pestilence from 1545 to 1574 may have helped.

Romier, in his recent work on France under Catherine de' Medici, gives us a brief cross-sectional view of the pest's ravages in mid-sixteenth century.

⁴³ See Giraudet's second volume, chapters XVIII. and XIX.

⁴⁴ For the following details see A. Guépin, *Histoire de Nantes* (2nd ed., 1839), p. 195 *et seq.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 197, where the regulations are given in detail. They included such provisions as that every house must have its own latrine, and that any householder who did not keep the pavement in front of his house clean should be fined.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 290. For the difficulty that the town government of Nantes, like that of Dijon, had in securing the services of doctors and surgeons to tend the pest-ridden, see pp. 267-268, 291, etc.

⁴⁸ Aug. Digot, *Histoire de Lorraine* (2nd ed., 1880), IV. 105.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, IV. 123.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, V. 53.

Since 1547 the pest had carried off in Limoges and its suburbs six or seven thousand persons. It passed from one province to another, taking on suddenly an acute form. It raged thus from Picardy to Languedoc, and even at Paris, during the first years of Henry II. Then came the horror of the years 1556, 1557, and 1558, during which the pest together with famine decimated the population of the realm. At Toulouse and in Quercy there were twenty-five thousand victims. The little town of Carcassonne lost two thousand souls. The survivors fled. The evil, which then reached almost all the provinces, seemed to decrease for a time after, to revive with the more force when civil war had created new woes. In 1563 six thousand more died at Limoges, four thousand at Loudun, and the following year the inhabitants of Lyons had not enough hands to bury the corpses. Charles IX., then visiting his kingdom, sought vainly for a refuge from the pest, that terrible traveller which seemed to await him at the gate of every town.⁵¹

At Bordeaux the students of the College of Guienne were dispersed by the pest in 1549 and again in 1555. In 1585 the plague killed 14,000 persons, including two leading teachers at the college which once again had to be closed, while the local Parlement fled elsewhere. Again in the seventeenth century the pest closed both the College of Guienne and the Jesuit college from 1646 to 1648.⁵² Even the great University of Paris was brought to a complete standstill by a visitation of the pest, as we learn from an oration delivered in December, 1545, by the celebrated Ramus, who was among the first to return after the pestilence. He recalls how daily before their eyes were funerals of persons of every age, sex, and fortune, young and old, men and women, rich and poor, with no hour of the day or night free from groans and grieving. Many students, many doctors, and some heads of schools perished. The royal professors were driven from their chairs by the fear of so great an evil and took to flight, as did all their disciples, leaving Paris to silence and solitude. Ramus goes on bemoaning the loss of friends and the sad state of affairs, and admits that it seems the height of temerity to try to reopen a school of letters in such a scarcity of students and with solitude reigning in all the academic precincts.⁵³ He was again

⁵¹ Lucien Romier, *Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis: la France à la Veille des Guerres de Religion* (1922), II. 65-66.

⁵² Ernest Gaullier, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne* (Paris, 1874), p. 226 etc.

⁵³ Pierre de la Ramée, *Pro Philosophica Parisiensis Academiae Disciplina Oratio* (1551), pp. 287-289. After stating that it is some time since he had last appeared on the public platform, "partim quarundam commentationum occupatione, partim impendentis periculi metu . . . cum longissime ab hac academia propter urbis pestilentiam abessem", Ramus proceeds: "Vidimus academiam quae paulo ante florentissima fuerat exitiali pestilentia afflictam. Quotidiana erant ante oculos omnis aetatis sexus fortunae juvenum senum virorum mulierum locupletum inopum funera; nulla tum erat hora diei noctisve lugubri gemitu vacua. Multi pueri plerique doctores nonnulli gymnasiarchi (ne domesticos luctus sileam) in gymnasiis

to encounter the plague at close quarters while in Geneva, where it killed his printer and forced Ramus to change his lodgings and soon afterwards to leave for Lausanne.⁵⁴

In England the University of Oxford had already suffered cruelly from the plague before the time of Ramus. In 1485, Wood tells us in his *History of Oxford*, "a strange and unheard of sickness" within a few weeks' time "dispersed and killed most of the scholars". Next year came another visitation, and yet others in 1493, 1509, 1517, and, above all, 1528-1529.⁵⁵ Rents fell badly, and streets that formerly were populous became deserted. Though the university authorities, in writing in 1523 to Sir Thomas More, complained that the nobility, clergy, and monasteries had ceased to support them financially and to send them students, it was probably in no small measure, directly or indirectly, a result of frequent visitations of pestilence that they could say: "So is the number of scholars diminished. So our halls fall down. So all liberal customs grow cold. The Colleges alone persist."⁵⁶ This was equivalent to saying that there were almost no advanced or mature students in attendance.

At about the same time the University of Vienna was even harder hit by the plague. Ever since 1436 the pest had proved troublesome, and in 1482 the institution had thought of building a hospital of its own for the students. New attacks of the pest followed in 1506 and 1510, while in the year 1521 because of the plague not a single student matriculated. It broke out again in 1527, and, what with Lutheranism and the Turks at the gates of Vienna, the university never got its students back. In 1530 there were only thirty in attendance. Practically defunct, the university was then revived as a state institution by Ferdinand's reform decrees of 1533, 1537, and 1554.⁵⁷ Were we to hark back to the fifteenth

suis miserabiliter extincti. Pulsi sunt e cathedris metu tanti mali professores Regii fugatique sunt e scholis una cum discipulis magistri; bonae artes omnes ac literae uno illo miserabili calamitosoque tempore Lutetie conticuerunt. . . . Temeritatis summae esse videbitur literarum ludum aperire in tanta discentium paucitate . . . in omnibus academiae regionibus solitudo." His using the word "boys" (*pueri*) for the students indicates that most of them were then pursuing in the colleges about the equivalent of our preparatory school work. This was the grade of instruction to which Ramus largely devoted himself.

⁵⁴ K. Waddington, *Ramus, sa Vie, ses Œuvres* (1855), p. 213.

⁵⁵ These dates approximately coincide with those given for the visitations of the English Sweat. C. Creighton in Traill, *Social England* (unillustrated edition), III. 256, lists five epidemics of the sweating sickness, two in the reign of Henry VII. and the others in 1517, 1528, and 1551.

⁵⁶ Sir Charles Edward Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford* (1924), I. 410-411, citing Wood, I. 642.

⁵⁷ Rudolf Kink, *Geschichte der Universität zu Wien* (1854), I. 226-227.

century, we should find at the University of Montpellier a statute of 1410 bemoaning that as a result of war and pest "this university has often been desolate and deserted", while a statute of 1468 states that the university still has few students and "daily hastens to its ruin".⁵⁸ In the next century we find that war and pest in the 1580's had to a great extent disorganized the school of medicine.⁵⁹

We may adduce only a few other instances of the interruptions of university instruction and dispersal of students by the pest, although doubtless many other examples might be found. In 1553 pest dispersed the students of Heidelberg, some of whom thereupon followed their professor of civil law to the University of Bourges.⁶⁰ A parallel case was when Pierre de Rebuffe, who was born in 1487 near Montpellier, after teaching for seven years at Toulouse, was driven by the plague to Cahors, whither he was followed by a crowd of students.⁶¹ The University of Grenoble had been reconstituted in 1547, but then suffered from internal dissensions, the wars of religion, and the occupation of the town by the ferocious Baron des Adrets. Then the town was desolated by the pest in 1564, and as a sequel in 1567 the university was once again fused with that at Valence. Because of an epidemic the University of Avignon ran into debt and failed to pay in full the salary of the great jurist and humanist, Alciati, who accordingly went back to Italy, although he had left it not long before to avoid the wars that were there waging.⁶²

It seems evident that the intellectual class, made up to a large extent of teachers and students (whose poverty, however, might render them more susceptible) and, at least in France, of the legal magistracy associated with law courts and parlements, was in a better position to evade the pest by migration than were the ordinary townsmen who had no other residence and whose native town was at once their home, country, and nation. The clergy and members of the medical profession were more in duty bound to remain at their posts, but, as we have seen, in fact they were often among the first to flee. In the sixteenth century this was one of the complaints made by the consuls of Montpellier against the wealthy and tax-exempt professors of medicine.⁶³ Antoine Fiancé, however,

⁵⁸ *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, I. (1890) 50.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶⁰ Louis Raynal, *op. cit.* (1844-1847), III, 414. For other instances of the effects of the plague at Heidelberg see E. Stübler, *Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät der Universität Heidelberg, 1389-1925* (1926), pp. 6-7, 17, 49, 51, 58.

⁶¹ Raynal, *op. cit.*, III, 367.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 368.

⁶³ *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, vol. II. (1912), pp. lxxvii-lxxviii.

who had been educated at Montpellier, who wrote the satire *Platopodologia* against the envious practitioners of Carpentras, and who then practised medicine at Arles, subsequently rendered great assistance in the plague at Avignon regardless of his own safety and died of the plague in 1580 while still quite young.⁶⁴ Another physician who did not flee from the plague and who fell a victim to it was the famous Conrad Gesner (1516-1565), whose *Historia Animalium* has often been represented as "the starting-point of modern zoology". A polyhistor as well as naturalist, he not only published works on plants and animals, but a bibliography of writers in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew (*Bibliotheca Universalis*), a summary of all knowledge (*Pandectae Universales*), and an account of one hundred and thirty different languages (*Mithridates de Differentiis Linguarum*). For a time he was professor of Greek at Lausanne, but he was public physician in Zurich when the plague broke out there in 1564. He remained to combat it that year and the next, when he himself died of it not yet fifty years of age. If the doctors of municipal hospitals in France at about the same time did not flee, they did demand ten or fifteen times their normal salary for caring for the afflicted during a spell of the plague: "6900 francs at Orléans in 1602, 9250 francs at Montélimar in 1586, and 11,700 francs at Perpignan in 1592."⁶⁵ The values are given in the purchasing power of the franc in 1913. But concerning Paris in 1631 Gui Patin tells us that there is no doctor in the hospitals for the pest, the care of such patients being in the hands of "ignorant barbers".⁶⁶

As for the clergy, even pope and cardinals had to reckon with the pest, as the *Commentaries* of Pius II. have already shown us, and as we learn further from the correspondence of his younger kinsman, Jacopo Piccolomini, cardinal of Pavia. A letter by him to Pope Paul II. of July 10, 1467, informs that pontiff that the plague had forced the writer to leave Pienza for Siena.⁶⁷ A year later he is much concerned for Paul II.'s own safety, pointing out that members of the papal family and household have already died

⁶⁴ L. Bardinet, *Universitatis Avenionensis Historica Adumbratio* (1880), p. 42.

⁶⁵ Vicomte Georges d'Avenel, *Les Revenus d'un Intellectuel de 1200 à 1913* (1922), p. 188. He adds: "Les municipalités, il est vrai, forcées de subir ces prix pour n'être pas abandonnées de leurs praticiens, stipulaient alors un tarif au mois ou à la journée."

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁶⁷ Ep. CCV., in the collection bound with the *Commentarii* of Pius II. in the edition of 1614: "Vehemens pestilentia que his proximis diebus Pientiam et vicina loca apprehendit, coegit me Senam recta via contendere. Itaque hic sum cum familiola incolumis."

of the plague, and that Paul should no longer remain in the pest-ridden city and expose his precious person to danger unnecessarily. The cardinal adds the further warning that antidotes and doctors are of no avail against the dread disease.⁶⁸

It is probable that, as the rich and well-housed and well-fed were less liable to the pest than the poor, so the intelligent and well-educated knew how to escape it better than the stupid and ignorant. Girolamo Ruscelli, indeed, who was at once philosopher, poet, and physician, flattered himself that he had preserved himself from the pest in 1556 in Padua and neighboring places by means of "odoriferous balls", concerning which he has left a treatise in manuscript.⁶⁹ But despite all the treatises that had been written and remedies that had been tried against the plague since 1348,⁷⁰ Giovanni Francesco Olmo in his work *On Occult Properties in Medicine*, published in 1597, could still state that no cure for the plague was known, that its causes were hidden, that it was worse than all other poisons put together, and that, if you were stricken with it, all your friends would abandon you.⁷¹ Here was a case where necessity was not the mother of invention, for surely nothing was more needed for four centuries than some remedy for the fell disease. When it raged at Venice in 1576 Galeatius Cairus, a physician from Pistoia, urged the establishment of a school especially to study it and an academy to discuss it.⁷² Even intellectuals continued to die of it in the seventeenth century, when Trecaltius the elder, professor of theology at Leyden, died of it in 1602 and was followed within two months by his successor, Francis Junius.⁷³ Jacobus Zabarella, professor of botany at Padua, died of the plague in 1630, and in 1637 passed away Daniel Sennert, professor of medicine at Wittenberg, iatro-chemist, and founder of the corpuscular theory.⁷⁴ The latter,

⁶⁸ *Pius II.*, ep. CCXLVI.: "Crebri casus qui acciderunt domi B. vestrae cogunt fideles servos ad salutem domini esse sollicitos. Olim decessit peste insignis vir cognatus suus [tuus?], nuper medicus, . . . Ioannes Condalmatio et inferioris famulatus . . . complures."

⁶⁹ "Balle Odorifere Contro la Peste", in MS. S. Michael de Muriano, Venetiis, 942, together with Aphorisms of Leonardus Floravantius. Such use of strong scents and perfumes might serve to keep off the fleas who carried the infection.

⁷⁰ For the medical literature evoked by the Black Death and subsequent plague tractates see the publications of Karl Sudhoff, Mrs. Dorothea W. Singer, A. C. Klebs, Stephen D'Irsay, E. Wickersheimer, and others. The "Pestschriften aus den ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des 'Schwarzen Todes', 1348", which Sudhoff has long been publishing, are completed with elaborate indexes in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, XVII. (1925) 241-291.

⁷¹ Ulmus, *De Occultis in Re Medica Proprietatibus* (1597), III. 8.

⁷² In Latin MS., S. Marco XIV., 35.

⁷³ W. S. M. Knight, *The Life and Works of Hugo Grotius* (1925), p. 55.

⁷⁴ E. Gerland, *Geschichte der Physik* (1913), pp. 467-468.

however, had attained the age of sixty-five, and the Jesuit Fontana, who claimed to have discovered the telescope in 1608, died of the plague at Naples when seventy-six in 1656.⁷⁵ Or the pest touched scholars through their families. For instance, both parents of the encyclopaedist Zwinger, author of the vast *Theatrum Humanae Vitae*,⁷⁶ were afflicted by it. His father, who died of the plague in 1544, had refused to take to his bed lest he alarm his wife who already was stricken by it.⁷⁷

A more general view of the presence of the plague in Germany than any of the accounts we have thus far noticed is provided for the first half of the sixteenth century by the history of the Roman Catholic, Surius, published in 1568.⁷⁸ Under the year 1502 he states that a most cruel pest depopulated all Germany far and wide. Under the next year he refers back to this pest as having killed in some parts one-third, in others one-half of the population, and adds that it was now followed by a horrible epidemic of divers diseases which swept away many thousands of lives. "There were in men pestiferous fevers, intestinal heats, hardly endurable headaches, fearful foulness of the breath; in fine, this year seemed to have brought nothing but slaughter and calamities." In 1508 he notes that a very wet summer afflicted the pigs and cattle with pestilence in not a few places. In 1528 he mentions the pest that devastated the French army then attacking Naples. In 1529 the English Sweat (*Sudor Anglicus*), a disease known by that name since its appearance in England in 1486 during the reign of Henry VII., killed many thousands in Germany within the space of twenty-four hours. In 1556 the pest raged in many places, especially along the Rhine and at Strasbourg, and John Sleidan, the noted Protestant historian, died of it. At the famous siege of Ostend in 1602 more perished from it than from the sword, and in 1639 four thousand men died of it in two days in the camp of Bernhard of Weimar who probably fell a victim to it himself rather than to poison.⁷⁹

For the many outbreaks of the plague in England the reader may be referred to Creighton's *History of Epidemics in Britain*⁸⁰ or his briefer summaries in Traill's *Social England*.⁸¹ The following

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

⁷⁶ It was edited by his son and published at Basel, 1604.

⁷⁷ *Theatrum Humanae Vitae*, p. 3695.

⁷⁸ Laurentius Surius, *Commentarius Brevis Rerum in Orbe Gestarum ab Anno 1500*.

⁷⁹ W. S. M. Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 241.

⁸⁰ Published in 2 vols. in 1891-1894.

⁸¹ See also Walter G. Bell, *The Great Plague in London in 1665* (1924),

is a typical sentence: "Twice in the Elizabethan period [in 1563 and 1593] the capital lost from a sixth to a fifth part of its population by a great plague, and in each of several other years of the reign its mortality by ordinary causes was more than doubled by plague."⁸² A very valuable recent Italian study is Guido Guerrini's "Notizie Storiche e Statistiche sulla Peste", in the *Rivista di Storia delle Scienze Mediche e Naturali*, volume XVI. (1925), pages 293-316, with interesting statistics and bibliography for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries especially.

Even when not actually present, the plague could hardly fail to be frequently in men's minds. Its psychological effect is well illustrated by the case of Jacques de Banne. From 1618 on he was a canon of Viviers in southern France, but is more important for us as a local historian. Of his ecclesiastical histories only fragments have been published, and the manuscripts of them have disappeared, at least for the time being. But in 1917 Auguste Le Sourd published his *Mémoires*,⁸³ which are in the form of artless notes covering the period from 1567 to 1637. Rather prone, in accordance with the well-established usage of many ancient and medieval historians, to record omens and portents, de Banne describes such occurrences as the haired comet of 1618 and the rain of black worms in 1622. But the pest, says Courteault, is the *Leitmotiv* of his work. He ascribes the local invasion of it to Huguenots who secretly brought a bedevilled unguent into Lyons and smeared the door-knockers of the houses and the holy water basins of the churches with it. Viviers was spared on that occasion, but de Banne is haunted by fear of the plague, and gives most circumstantial details concerning its progress and a collection of remedies against it. These include those of an Italian, of the King of Spain, and one that had been brought back from Jerusalem. He also recommends the employment of religious processions and prayers to the saints and the Virgin.

The effect of the pest alike upon learned science and popular superstition may be illustrated from the works of Robert Boyle in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The author of *The Sceptical Chymist* was inclined to ascribe the origin of the plague to "subterranean steams and noxious expirations of the terrestrial globe".⁸⁴ In a letter to Boyle from J. Beale of October 12, 1670, we read: "Whilst a person, whom for many years I have known to

⁸² *Social England*, III. 559.

⁸³ In the *Revue du Vivarais*, pp. xv, 94. I have not had access to this periodical, but follow the review of Le Sourd's publication by Henri Courteault in the *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes*, LXXVIII. (1917) 359-361.

⁸⁴ In the 1772 edition of his *Works*, V. 58.

be creditable, was reading to me the fifth page of your *Cosmical Suspicions*, he stopped at the first period, which mentions pestilential steams", and told Beale, "'That he knew a good old woman, aged near eighty, now deceased, who said often, in his hearing, that she could know if the plague were within thirty miles of her, by a pain she had in three plague sores, which sores she had in her younger days, before she was married.' He forgot to ask, and could not now guess, what her particular aim was in mentioning thirty miles distance."⁸⁵ Boyle himself had also put the query, whether plagues are natural events or supernaturally inflicted by God to punish man, and thought that they might sometimes be supernatural.⁸⁶

The impression made by the plague upon men's minds is also illustrated by the art of the time. Poussin's masterpiece was the painting called *La Peste*, for which he received no less than 9700 francs (in the purchasing power of 1913) from the Duc de Richelieu.⁸⁷

The common occurrence of death in such a sudden, swift, and unavoidable manner, and on so vast a scale, is apt to encourage a fatalistic attitude. Perhaps the mental effect of repeated pestilences had something to do with the wide spread in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the doctrine of predestination. At least we may believe that the Psalm-singing Calvinists intoned with fervor verses which for them had a grim reality that they no longer possess, verses concerning "the noisome pestilence", or "the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day". Under the circumstances of those times it might indeed be a comfort to feel oneself one of God's elect, and such Puritanical names as Preserved might be more than figurative. "A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation; there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling." Religious persecution was not the only external evil that gave to Calvinism its stern austerity. Even a Dryden wrote:

"The living few, and frequent funerals then
Proclaim'd Thy wrath on this forsaken place."

But it was an Arminius who voluntarily served as plague-preacher in stricken Leyden.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, VI. 429.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, V. 56.

⁸⁷ D'Avenel, *Les Revenus d'un Intellectuel* (1922), p. 234.

⁸⁸ W. S. M. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

The scattered evidence as to the importance of pestilence as a factor in early modern history which has been here presented is meant merely to be suggestive. It might be amplified from numerous other sources and multiplied manifold. For the most part it has been gathered indirectly and happened upon incidentally to the pursuit of other investigation. Where it has been taken from other books, their authors for the most part were not particularly or primarily interested in the pest, but noted it because it was inevitably forced upon their attention. A writer on the plague in England has compared it to a shears of Fate which kept trimmed the ragged edges of the population and of great cities, relieving society to a certain extent of the burden imposed by poverty, crime, and social degradation.⁸⁹ But this interpretation of it as cruelly performing a nevertheless wholesome function seems unduly optimistic. Did it not also breed poverty and social degradation, and perpetuate them? But whatever its character in London, our evidence suggests that for western Europe in general it was a very wholesale affliction. The loss of life everywhere was too great to be called a mere fringe of society; it must have eaten into the vigor of the community as a whole. While the educated and upper classes had a better chance of escaping it than those who suffered from malnutrition or lived in crowded and unsanitary quarters, we have seen that they often failed to escape it, and that even if they did, their life was apt to be much upset by it. It was, then, no mere shears of Fate but a blight upon early modern civilization.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

⁸⁹ C. Creighton in Traill's *Social England*, III. 145.

INTERNATIONAL CALVINISM THROUGH LOCKE AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

Two contemporary observers picture the influence of John Locke in two revolutions. Shortly after the publication in 1690 of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, justifying the principles of the English Revolution of 1688, his fellow-exile in Holland, the Huguenot critic Bayle, wrote: "Locke's Civil Government proves that the sovereignty belongs to the people." "This is the gospel of the day among Protestants." During the American Revolution Josiah Tucker, dean of Gloucester, remarked: "The Americans have made the maxims of Locke the ground of the present war."

Locke was common property on the eve of the American Revolution. He was quoted in its defense by James Otis, John Adams, Sam Adams, and the Boston town meeting, the Massachusetts assembly, Revolutionary preachers—Howard, West, Stillman, Haven, Whitaker; owned and studied by Jonathan Mayhew; read and recommended by Hamilton, Franklin, and Jefferson; and incorporated in the Declaration of Independence. His works were in scores of colonial libraries—of Weare, Revolutionary "President" of New Hampshire, Presidents Wheelock of Dartmouth and Wither- spoon of Princeton (signer of the Declaration), William Byrd of Virginia, the semi-public libraries of Providence, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston; and the college libraries of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Dartmouth where his *Government* was drawn out eight times, 1775-1776. Locke was an essential element of what Jefferson called "the American mind".

Locke's influence in government was strengthened by his vogue in philosophy and theology. The *Essay concerning Human Understanding* was the standard college text-book in Revolutionary days. The "new method of Scripture Commentary, by Paraphrase and Notes", of "the Great Mr. Locke" made his "reputation as a Scripture Commentator exceeding high with the public", wrote President Stiles of Yale, 1775.

Locke was the more acceptable in America because he restated familiar teaching. Jefferson said of the Declaration of Independence: "All its authority rests on the harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or in the elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc." John Adams coupled with Locke as "de-

fenders of liberty and consummate statesmen", Sidney, Milton, Vane, Selden, Harrington, and Ponet (Calvinistic Anglican bishop) who taught "all that was afterwards dilated upon by Locke". In the *American Register*, 1769, a cartoon labelled "An Attempt to land a Bishop in America" pictures the bishop hastily reembarking, murmuring "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace". The hostile crowd hurls "Calvin's Works", grasps "Sidney on Government" and "Locke" as additional missiles, and waves banners characterizing alike these authors and New England: "No Lords Spiritual or Temporal in New England", "Liberty and Freedom of Conscience".

The political teachings of Locke had been demonstrated as practicable in nine Calvinistic revolutions of representative assemblies against tyranny of bishop or prince: in Geneva, 1536; Scotland, 1559, 1567; the Dutch Declaration of Independence, 1581; the Huguenot civil wars culminating in the Edict of Nantes, 1598; Bocskay's Hungarian revolt of 1606; the Scottish Covenanters, 1638; England in the Civil War, and the Revolution of 1688.

Locke cites authorities sparingly; but in his *Two Treatises on Government*, his citations are almost entirely Calvinistic: Scripture seventy-nine times; seven Calvinists (Hooker, Bilson, James I., Milton, Hunton, Ainsworth, Selden); one ex-Calvinist, the Dutch Remonstrant Grotius; and only one reference uninfected by Calvinism, the Scottish Catholic Barclay.

Hooker, the secular writer chiefly quoted in Locke's *Government*, was greatly indebted to Calvin and perpetuated his influence. "The judicious Hooker" cites a dozen times Calvin, "concerning whose deserved authority even among the gravest divines, we have already spoken at large", "his rescripts and answers of as great authority as decretal epistles". "In theology thousands indebted to him, he only to God." Hooker and Bishop Bilson (like other Puritans and Anglicans to about 1636) were brought up on Calvin's *Institutes*; and these good churchmen and good doctrinal Calvinists give repeated and convincing evidence of the hold Calvin had in sixteenth-century England. A careful reading of Hooker convinces one that he has rightly been recognized by Keble, Goode, and Mozeley, as Calvinistic in doctrine, though moderate here as always, and differing in matters of church polity from the Puritans and somewhat from Calvin. Sidney Lee has sound evidence for his conclusion that in the "mingling of theology and political philosophy" of the famous *Ecclesiastical Polity* "the Frenchman Calvin may well claim the main credit of laying the foundation on which Hooker built".

In addition to Calvin, Hooker cites a score of Calvinists whose influence filtered through Locke: Beza and Goulart; Scaliger and the Dutch Calvinistic creed; Cartwright, Reynolds, Fenner; Mornay and the *Vindiciae*; Peter Martyr, and John a Lasco.¹

Three other Calvinistic authors, cited by Locke in his *Government*, were indebted to the Calvinists quoted by Hooker and to some thirty others whom they cite. Bishop Bilson, unquestionably Calvinistic, and of high repute in the English church, built upon "Father Calvin", "Brother Beza", the Calvinists in Holland and France; and justified on a Calvinistic basis the revolts in Scotland, France, and Holland, in his *True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*, written in 1585 at Elizabeth's instigation to justify English support of these successful rebels, one of the books most frequently quoted in support of the Civil War and the Revolution.

The learned and moderate Selden was a Calvinist in doctrine, good enough to sit as active member of the Westminster Assembly; and in matters of state and church government in substantial accord with Calvin though not always with the Presbyterians. Selden in his opposition to *jure divino* bishops or *jure divino* presbyters resembled Calvin, Locke, Milton, and Falkland. Selden owned and quoted with approval Calvin's catechism, Genevan *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques*, and three Calvinistic creeds, and the *Laws and Statutes of Geneva*, regarded Calvin and Beza as *doctissimi*, cited them with approval some forty-eight times, their Huguenot follower Hotman twenty-five times, and twenty other Calvinists in all over four hundred times.

Milton closely resembles Locke in opposition to tyranny (whether of king, bishop, or presbyter) and in support of tolerance and revolution, upon Calvinistic grounds of contract, natural rights, and sovereignty of the people. After visiting Geneva, where "I was in daily converse with that most learned theological professor, John Deodati", Milton wrote: "where in the Christian world doth learning more flourish than in Belgia, Helvetia, and that envied Geneva?" His *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in support of Calvinistic resistance, cites or quotes Calvin; the Dutch Declaration of Independence; the German Pareus and the Italian Peter Martyr, both so influential in England and Germany; Knox, Buchanan, and the com-

¹ Hooker (Keble ed.), *Works*, citing Calvin: I. 127, 131-133, II. 542-543, III. 47, 525, 586; Goode, *Doctrine of Church of England*, pp. 103-104, quoting Hooker, *Works*, III. ii, 588-589, 642-643, II. 324, 751, on his Calvinism; Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, p. 138; *id.*, "Hooker", *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Mozeley, *Predestination*, note xix, p. 378 (1878); Hooker, *Works*, pref., vol. I, pp. lxvi, lviii.

missioners justifying the deposition of Mary Stuart on Calvinistic grounds. After citing eight exiles in Geneva (including Knox, Goodman, Cartwright, Fenner, and Whittingham), and the "Congregations" in Germany and Geneva, Milton adds: "These were the true Protestant divines of England, our fathers in the faith we hold." The influence of these Calvinists and of the Huguenots Hotman and Mornay (*Vindiciae*) Milton passed on to Locke and New England which he praised for its opposition to bishops, and where Milton's own "principles generally prevail", wrote Jonathan Mayhew, 1761.²

Hooker, Bilson, Selden, Milton are significant examples of the links in the chain of Calvinistic resistance to tyranny forged at Geneva, and through Locke connected with the Revolutions of 1688 and 1776. Of some twenty-six Calvinistic writers who directly influenced Locke, John Adams cited or owned a score. James Otis, quoting Locke, said he might equally well have cited Sidney and the "British Martyrs", but these would have led to the outcry of rebellion. Locke was, as he himself advised, careful not to "shock the received opinions of those one has to deal with". He was judicious in citation and argument and though of Puritan strain and views was in communion with the "established church".

The half-dozen writers on government and law, outside of Locke, best known in America reveal the same red thread of Locke and Calvinism.

Grotius was bred a Calvinist, under the teaching of the Huguenot Pierre Moulin (father of Locke's own teacher), and of Uyttenbogaert who brought to Holland counsel of tolerance from the Calvinist Perrot, professor and rector of Geneva University. Grotius remained a liberal Calvinist of the type represented by the Dutch and other sixteenth-century Calvinistic creeds until he and that type were condemned, largely for political and personal reasons, at the Synod of Dort. Grotius owed even more than he confessed to the Italian refugee Gentilis, professor at Puritan Oxford, whose own *De Jure Belli* (1588, 1597) and other writings, his affiliations with the London Huguenot church, and his father's specific statements prove him to have been a Calvinist.³

² Milton, *Tenure of Kings*, sections 8, 9, 11, 17, 20, 35, 37, 38, 60, 61; *Common Place Book* (1877, Camden Soc.), pp. 31-33, 39. See also *Defensio Prima* and *Secunda*, and *Animadversions on Remonstrants*. Allison (introd. *Tenure* in Yale Studies) incorrectly accuses Milton of "wresting" Calvin; cf. *Institutes*, IV. xx. 31 ("Ephors") and sermons on Dan. iv. 25, vi. 22.

³ Gentilis's father's statements, Hotman, *Epist.* 18, p. 328, and 3, p. 261; quoted in Speranza, *Gentili Studi*, p. 60. Further evidence in Gentilis *De Nuptiis*

Blackstone has been shown by Pollock to have "substantially followed Locke, so that his *Commentaries* were a vehicle of Locke to a numerous and public-spirited band in the American Colonies".⁴ Burlamaqui, to whom Blackstone was also indebted, was widely read in the colonies. His *Principles of Natural and Political Law*, of which seven editions were published in English before 1800, was a text-book in colonial colleges, and until 1810, being read in Dartmouth by Webster and Salmon P. Chase. John Adams's autograph copy has annotations revealing careful study. Burlamaqui was Genevan born and bred, and received promotion and warm support from the strong Calvinistic rectors and professors of theology who praised him for his religion as well as his jurisprudence in terms so cordial as to indicate his sympathy with Calvinism.⁵

Vattel, whose *Droit des Gens ou Principes de la Loi Naturelle* appeared in at least fourteen editions between 1758 and 1802, was the son of a Calvinist minister, and a pupil of Burlamaqui in the University of Geneva. Montesquieu apparently drew in some measure upon Locke, the results of the Revolution of 1688, and the Puritan Sidney's *Discourse upon Government*. He recognizes the fitness of Calvinism for republics, and records his admiration for Calvin's services to Geneva.⁶ Rousseau, born and bred in Geneva, although at variance with Calvinistic theology and ethics, nevertheless in his *Contrat Social* warmly praised Calvin's contribution to liberty through his revision of the Genevan constitution. His further debt to Calvinism is acknowledged in his sixth *Lettre de Montagne*. "The unfortunate Sidney thought as I did . . . Althusius in Germany, Locke, Montesquieu. Locke especially treated these matters on exactly the same principles as I."

The red thread of Geneva and political Calvinism runs through non-Calvinists, as well as through a hundred Calvinistic writers and leaders between Calvin and Locke and another hundred between

(74 citations from Calvin in first third alone); and in Holland, *Studies in International Law*, and preface to 1877 reprint of *De Jure Belli*. Grotius and Remonstrants, Foster, "Liberal Calvinism", *Harvard Theological Review*, 1923, pp. 1-37.

⁴ "Locke's Theory of the State", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1903-1904, pp. 237-249.

⁵ Reeves, *American Journal of International Law*, 1909, p. 505 (Blackstone). Borgeaud, *Hist. Univ. Genève*, vol. I. and copy generously furnished by him of A. Lullin's inedited MS., "De Obitu J. J. Burlamaqui mei Consolatio". Lullin, a good Calvinist, praises Burlamaqui's belief ("Christi doctrinae"), his devotion to the "Evangelium", and his "sapientiam moralem".

⁶ Dunning, *Political Theories*, II. 358, 386; Montesquieu, *Correspondance*, Feb., 1749, II. 127; *L'Esprit des Lois*, bk. XI., ch. VI.; bk. X., chs. XV., XX.; Theodore Pietsch, *Ueber das Verhältniss der Politischen Theorien Lockes zu Montesquieu's Lehre von der Theilung der Gewalten* (Breslau, 1887).

Locke and the American Revolution, supporting resistance to tyranny.

It remains to be shown: (1) how Locke inherited these Calvinistic influences; (2) how far he remained Calvinist himself; (3) what of Calvinism passed through Locke to eighteenth-century attempts at civil and religious liberty.

I.

Locke's religious and political inheritance was received from eight sources. A strong Puritan influence came through his home and father, a captain in the Parliamentary army, and a Calvinist with strict ideas of discipline to which Locke acknowledged his debt. The Puritan inheritance was strengthened by four years in Westminster School, and eight at Oxford under the Puritan régime of Cromwell (in whose honor Locke wrote two poems), Owen, and Locke's tutor Cole. The professor of history, Lewis du Moulin, whom Locke was obliged by statute to hear, is an example of the international Calvinism which filtered through Locke. Son of the famous Pierre du Moulin (teacher of Grotius), Lewis du Moulin studied in the Huguenot universities, took his degrees at Geneva-like Leyden, and Puritan Cambridge and Oxford, where he was Camden Professor of Ancient History until the Restoration, a prolific writer of influence and breadth of view, whom the Anglicans vainly sought to win back from Independency. All his twenty books were recommended by Baxter; some cited by Bayle; six sent to Harvard by the liberal Hollis before the Revolution; and one was especially commended by Owen, Locke's college head. Du Moulin's lectures certainly, and probably his books discussing subjects on which professor and student were writing, would have been familiar to Locke. At Oxford Locke wrote but did not publish his "Reflections upon the Roman Commonwealth"; and in this and his *Defence of Non-conformity* (1682) followed closely the Huguenot-Puritan teachings of Du Moulin (published at almost the same time), in respect to the limitation of bishops' powers; simplification of ceremonies, avoiding things not required in Scripture; objections to any laws binding conscience, or to any coercive power in the church. Du Moulin, in his books and an unpublished manuscript on church history, maintained before Locke these and also Locke's other ideas that all churches were voluntary associations, and that the English church should be of the sixteenth-century type, comprehensive enough to include both Anglican and Puritan.

Like Locke, Owen, and scores of leading Anglicans and Dissenters, Du Moulin maintained the agreement of Church of England and Puritan in doctrine; and like Locke, made significant use of Anglican Calvinists, sixteen in all. He quotes Hooker, Calvin, and the other Calvinists upon whom Hooker and Locke built, and cites over forty Calvinists—Genevan, Swiss, Huguenot, Dutch, English, German, Scottish, Irish, Italian, American colonial. This international Huguenot-Dutch-Puritan Calvinist teacher of Locke taught and published the doctrines of fundamental law, contract and consent of people, natural rights of equality, liberty, including tolerance and liberty of conscience, not only before Locke but in five books appearing during his presence at Oxford. Du Moulin is a significant factor in Locke's inheritance of international Calvinism.⁷

Locke was on friendly terms with Nonconformists like Baxter, many of whose views (so much like Du Moulin's) he reproduced, and with the Calvinist Tyrrell, nephew and defender of Usher, Calvinistic archbishop and Irish primate, whose work Locke possessed and praised. Finally there was the influence of Puritans whose books he owned or cited—Milton, Ainsworth, Sidney, John Sadler (author of the *Rights of the Kingdom*), Sir Harry Vane, and the Presbyterian Hunton.

The Huguenot influence was begun during Locke's four years' residence in France, 1675-1679. Observing and recording the sermons, services, and discipline of the Huguenots, he rightly concluded that their doctrine did not differ from that of Presbyterians or Church of England, and that their church, founded on voluntary consent, like that of Nîmes, resembled both the primitive church and his own ideal. Locke shared the Huguenot loyalist view before 1685, when they were enjoying rights guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes. It is significant that after the violation of that edict he followed their change of base and shared their revised views upholding resistance to tyranny based upon violation of contract and fundamental law. Locke participated in scholarly discussions at the home of the Huguenot canonist Justel. With him and the Huguenot refugees, whom he came to know during his exile in Holland, Locke continued his friendships. He owned books by four

⁷ Du Moulin, *Paraenesis* (1656), epist. ded., and 637; *Power of Christian Magistrates* (1650), pp. 24, 17; *Right of Churches* (1658), epist. ded., and ch. I. ("judicious Richard Hooker", p. 195). Cf. Locke, "Reflections Roman Commonwealth" (1667), Bourne, *Locke*, I. 147-154. Cf. Du Moulin, *Declaratory Considerations* (1679); *Short Account of Advance of Church of England toward Rome* (1680), pp. 56, 102, 104; *Appeal of Non-Conformists* (1680), pp. 1, 6, 15-16, with Locke, "Defence of Nonconformity" (1682), Bourne, *Locke*, I. 457-460; *First Letter concerning Toleration* (1689), and *Second Letter* (1690), *Works*, VI. 156.

Huguenot fellow-exiles: Jurieu, fiery controversialist and ardent supporter of the English Revolution; Jacquelot (closely resembling Locke); Claude, tolerant, and widely influential; Le Clerc, Remonstrant professor but Genevan-bred and formerly minister there. Bayle (critic and part-time Calvinist) Locke met, and pronounced his *Dictionary* "incomparable".

The third Calvinistic influence was the Dutch, during six years' exile preceding the Revolution, when Locke began his serious writing. Here he formulated his "Pacific Christians", a plan for a church (at once Puritan, Huguenot, and Dutch) founded upon consent and fundamental law of Scripture and governed democratically. In Holland, his ideas of toleration, observed in practice here and in Brandenburg, attempted by Independents in England, he incorporated and published in his *Epistola de Tolerantia*, an expansion of earlier, unpublished essays. It is in Holland (and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes) that there are for the first time discoverable evidences of Locke's advocacy of resistance published in his *Government* on his return to England, 1690. Locke took active part in the negotiations regarding the English Revolution and came into trusted relations with William III.

From 1683 to 1689, Locke, a refugee and deprived of his Oxford studentship, lived in an atmosphere fermenting with ideas of religious toleration and resistance to tyranny. Huguenot refugees effectively aiding to unite Dutch, English, and the Great Elector of Brandenburg in resistance to Louis XIV., violator of the contract, fundamental law, and natural rights of liberty and freedom of conscience embodied in the Edict of Nantes; English and Scottish exiles hiding from religious and political oppression, and publishing accounts of earlier successful revolts against Stuart tyranny; Dutch Calvinists, proud of one successful revolt and preparing for another; the unorthodox Remonstrants, the "irregular regulars" of the Synod of Dort, once exiled but now tolerated and advocating tolerance—all these spiritual sons or stepsons of Calvin pullulated with ideas developed in discussion, and published in a mass of revolutionary books, periodicals, and pamphlets, Dutch, French, English, and German.

A further example of Calvinistic toleration Locke observed with commendation during two visits to Cleves, the Rhineland of that ardent Calvinist, hard hitter and shrewd diplomat, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, ally of William III. and warm friend of the Huguenots. The ambassadorship to Brandenburg was later offered to Locke by William III.

An influence, diplomatically emphasized in Locke's *Government* but apt to be overlooked as Calvinistic, was that of the Anglican Calvinists, like Hooker, Bishop Bilson, and James I. Hooker's acceptance of Calvinistic doctrine was logically accompanied by a reproduction of Calvinistic political theories, fundamental law, natural rights, contract and consent of the people, and resistance. Bilson followed "Father Calvin" even more closely than Hooker, especially in church government. James I., thrice cited in Locke's *Government*, though cordially disliking the disciplinary functions of a "Scottish Presbytery, which, saith he, as well agreeth with a Monarchy as God with the Devill", was nevertheless an orthodox Calvinist in doctrine (instigating and supporting the Synod of Dort) and helped to carry over to Locke Buchanan's Calvinistic teachings of fundamental law and contract.

Other Scottish Calvinists are not cited by Locke. Indirect influence they are likely to have had through their frequent use and citation by authors familiar to Locke; and Locke shows some interest in books on Scottish history. But "Scottish Presbytery" as well as Anglican "episcopacies", claiming apostolic authority, or coercive power over magistrates, Locke, like Baxter, Du Moulin, Falkland, Selden, and many other good English Calvinists expressly condemned.⁸

Two influences obviously affecting Locke were apparently outside the pale of Calvinism: the Latitudinarians or Liberal English churchmen (including the Cambridge school), and in Holland the Remonstrants, especially Grotius and Limborch. Here we tread on debatable ground as to how much Calvinism remained with these men. What is indisputable is that through these liberal elements there passed to Locke the pervasive Calvinistic deposit. Falkland it is true opposed Puritan domination or *jure divino* presbytery and he loved peace and moderation. But the evidence warrants the conclusion of Tulloch and Seaton that Falkland "remained a Calvinist", like Locke strongly opposing *jure divino* episcopacy and imposition of ceremonies. Falkland in his parliamentary speeches denounced Arminianism and Laud, because they had "slackened the strictness of that union which was formerly between us and those of our religion beyond the sea". The close resemblance between Falkland and Locke is the more striking as it illustrates the fact that abandonment of Calvinism is not implied by either refusal of Presbyterian polity, or by communion with the Church of England while seeking to restore sixteenth-century agreement with Huguenot and

⁸ "Sacerdos", King, *Life of Locke*, p. 291; "Toleration", *Works*, V. 14.

Dutch in place of seventeenth-century divine-right claims of bishops. Falkland moreover admired and "made very much use of" Daillé (with his characteristic Huguenot appeal to reason, linguistic and historic sense as well as to Scripture) and translated part of his *De Usu Patrum*. This also influenced Chillingworth, to whom Locke was indebted.

The liberal Cambridge Platonists "also sprang from the Puritan side", coming out of Emmanuel College that furnished New England with its pastors. Cudworth, to whom Locke was indebted, was "peculiarly associated during the Commonwealth with Cromwell and his friends", and was trusted by the Puritan House of Commons as preacher and Biblical expert.⁹ Whichcote, trained in Emmanuel and by Calvinistic teachers, "remained among the Puritans and was reckoned on their side", and "borrowed nothing from the Dutch Arminians". Denying that he had even heard of their *Apologia*, he added: "truly I have read more Calvin and Perkins and Beza than all the books, authors, or names you mention."¹⁰

The Dutch Remonstrants, to whom Locke was indebted and whom he came to resemble more closely, were outgrowths and preservers of the liberal side of Calvin and his contemporaries. Arminius, Uytenbogaert, and a dozen other Remonstrant leaders were among the 310 Dutch students bred at Geneva by 1605. Accepting the sixteenth-century Calvinistic creeds, but like Calvin (when he refused to sign the Nicene and Athanasian creeds) willing to be bound by creeds drawn from Scripture but not those constructed from men's decrees; quoting Calvin's *Institutes* on "Christian liberty"; agreeing with him on lack of merit in man, and on salvation through Christ as dependent solely upon the grace of God, without respect to qualifications of persons; continuing down to Limborch (Locke's friend) to teach Calvinistic double predestination—the Remonstrants were "a party in the state rather than a sect in the church", condemned for personal and political reasons, rather than for lack of the Calvinism of Calvin whom they quoted in opposition to their opponents and whose fundamental principles they reasserted. Even orthodox Calvinists who accepted the decrees of the Synod of Dort disapproved the illiberal attitude of the orthodox "Counterremonstrants", the "Epigones" or small fry of the seventeenth century. The synod's decrees never received symbolical authority outside of Holland and France. Locke's sympathy with

⁹ Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, I. 155, 158; Seaton, *Toleration under Later Stuarts*, p. 52; Falkland's speech concerning episcopacy, in Marriot's *Falkland*, pp. 181-190.

¹⁰ Tulloch, *op. cit.*, II. 7, 51, 72, 81.

the Remonstrants indicated (until 1695) antagonism to Synod of Dort Calvinism and its dogmatism on points left open in Calvin, but agreement with Calvin's Genevan creed and catechism, and with sixteenth-century Calvinism.¹¹

Through direct and indirect influences, both orthodox and liberal, Locke became, in terms of his own medical profession, a "carrier" of Calvinism from the Reformation to the revolutions of 1688 and 1776. How far Locke himself remained a Calvinist must be answered from his own writings, and with careful discrimination as to time, and phases of Calvinism.

II.

In doctrine, Locke's emphasis of the Calvinistic premises of absolute sovereignty of God and sole authority of Scripture "without any admixture of error", led him logically to the Calvinistic conclusions of original sin, salvation only through grace and good pleasure of God and not through works, and to the doctrine of election as taught in the orthodox Calvinistic national creeds of Geneva, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, the Palatinate, and England, drawn by Calvin, Knox, and his other sixteenth-century disciples bred in Geneva. Locke, accepting the Thirty-nine Articles, rightly felt (in common with scores of leading Anglicans and Puritans) that the two bodies "agree perfectly in doctrine". "Presbyterian, Independent, or Huguenot Church, or Church of England," "we suppose them to agree in doctrine." He held to this international sixteenth-century Calvinism until 1695, five years after publication of his *Government*, when he appears surprised to find himself at variance with Calvin and Turretini in their interpretation of Scripture.

From Calvinistic premises as to authority, he deduced Calvinistic conclusions as to sole authority of God and his word in the government of the church. Expressly approving the Huguenot and Independent church government, and their belief in churches as "voluntary associations", he testified to their safe foundation, and criticized the seventeenth-century Anglican clergy's policy as "too narrow and too clogged with stumbling blocks". Locke followed Calvin in his opposition to "episcopacies" claiming power derived from the apostles or right to dominate in the church, and definitely approved churches like the Huguenot or Independent "voluntary associations" governed by "the assembly itself" or its "ancientest brethren", on the basis of "the Word of Truth revealed in the

¹¹ Foster, "Liberal Calvinism: the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort", *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 1923, pp. 14-32.

Scripture", but with no earthly master. "One alone being our Master, even Christ, we acknowledge no masters of our assembly."

In worship, Locke took Calvin's grounds of edification and liberty rather than "human tradition", and definitely followed him and the Puritans in opposing the cross in baptism, the requirement of kneeling at communion, or imposition of "any other ceremony not instituted by Christ himself". In worship, as in government and moral discipline in both church and community, "Locke remaining Puritan in spite of the progress of his ideas, sought always to restore the primitive church in its purity, and to complete the work of the reformers, who had been by circumstances forced to compromise". Locke's letters show him continuing to the last distinctively "Protestant", urging Englishmen to "imitate the zeal and pursue the knowledge of those great and pious men who were instruments to bring us out of Roman darkness and bondage".¹²

"Every man, according to what way Providence has placed him, is bound to labor for the public good." Thus reasoning from Calvinistic premises, Locke taught a dozen social and economic implications of Calvinism. "Talents" must be productive "for others". Even men not needing a "vocation" for livelihood, "by the law of God are under obligation of doing something". Education was likewise for the benefit of others, and implied avoidance of excess that would injure health, or failure to make best use of talents, whereby "we rob God of so much service and our neighbor of help". Thrift and benevolence insured to "the public good" the fruits of "talents" and "calling". Locke guarded against waste through idleness "or sauntering humour", luxury, disease, vice, crime, and provided for Puritan discipline and inspection like that of Geneva and New England in education, morals, family, church, and community life. He was Calvinistic in his appeal to reason, and a "mind covetous of truth", and his zeal to "enterprise further", make "progress in reformation". In his tolerance—even in his exclusion of those who threatened tolerance itself or the safety of the Commonwealth—Locke was of the liberal Calvinistic type of William the Silent, Cromwell, Milton, Owen, Vane, Roger Williams, and Huet who appealed from "Calvin embittered against Servetus" to "Calvin speaking with tranquil spirit" in his chapter of "Christian Liberty". This social and economic Calvinism appears not merely in Locke's "Study", "Education", "Atlantis", "Pacific Christians", and other writings, but in his practical activities in colonial affairs, for ten years as "presiding genius" of the Board of Trade, and as promoter of reforms in poor-law ad-

¹² King, *op. cit.*, p. 277; Bastide, *Locke*, p. 77; *Works*, IX, 312.

ministration, coinage, banking, censorship of press, and in encouragement of the manufacture of Irish linen. Finally, in his political theories, Locke epitomized the five points of political Calvinism.

If one carefully compares the writings of Calvin and twenty-five Calvinists known to Locke with the latter's *Government*, "Defence of Nonconformity", "Pacific Christians", "Atlantis", *Letters on Toleration*, *Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in Scripture*, and *A Paraphrase and Notes on St. Paul's Epistles*, one finds ample evidence that Locke was not only distinctively a Biblical Christian, and in many respects markedly evangelical (regarding Christ as his personal Redeemer and Savior, risen from the dead, and to appear as the Judge of all the earth), but he was in worship, discipline, social and economic implications, political theories, and in all essentials of doctrine a Calvinist. It is true he was not of the narrower, scholastic seventeenth-century Calvinists, but rather he imbibed and passed on the moderate liberal Calvinism of the earlier unembittered Calvin and the sixteenth-century creeds, preserved by Huguenots, Independents, sixteenth-century Dutch and Anglicans, and early Remonstrants. Tags are likely to be the misleading refuge of indolent minds, but if a tag is necessary Locke might be called an Anglo-Calvinist, or better an international Calvinist. His Calvinism was the temperate, statesmanlike type of "the judicious Hooker", Bilson, Falkland, Selden, Milton, Cromwell, Owen, Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, Baxter, Vane, Du Moulin; William the Silent, William III. the Great Elector; Hotman, Mornay, Amyrault, Claude, Huet, Jacquelot—international Calvinism at its best; "filtered through the minds of men who were engaged in the active business of life".¹³

III.

Through Locke there filtered to the American Revolution five points of political Calvinism held by hundreds of Calvinists, but clarified through his *Civil Government*: fundamental law, natural rights, contract and consent of people, popular sovereignty, resistance to tyranny through responsible representatives.

¹³ King, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-278, 295, 347, 358, 301-305; "Toleration", *Works*, V. 13-16, 156; Calvin, *Inst.*, IV. i. 19; iv. 2, 10-11, 15; x. 5, 8, 16, 30, 31; III. xix. 7, 16; II. ii. 12, 14; Rom. i. 28 (*cf.* Locke, *Paraphrase*, same verse on "reprobate"); Amos, vii. 13. Calamy, *Life of Howe*, pp. 129, 120; Locke, *Education*, sects. 38-40, 45, 110, 123, 208, 210; "Study", King, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-99; *Works*, VIII. 332. Ollion, *Phil. Gén. de Locke* p. 23; Locke, *Paraphrase*, Rom. i. 28; v. 19, 20; i. 17; ix. 11; xi. 6, 7, 11; Ephesians, i. 5. *Cf.* Calvin's *Comm.*, same passages. Huet, *Apologie pour Vrais Tolérans*, pp. 30-34; Gardiner, *Hist. Eng. from James I.*, II. 122; Foster, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XVI. 9-13; Foster, in Munro, *Cyclopaedia of Education*, "Calvinists and Education"; *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 502-503.

(1) From the absolute sovereignty of God and the authority of his Word, Calvin's successor Beza deduced the conclusion of "no other will which is perpetual and immutable, the rule of justice". "God only hath this prerogative: whose sovereignty is absolute, and whose will is a perfect Rule and Reason itself", argued Governor John Winthrop. Baxter reasoned that "God as the sovereign ruler of Mankind hath given him the Law of Nature, commonly called the Moral Law". The Huguenot *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* calls it the "Law of God". Calvin's dictum, "the written law is nothing but the corroboration of the law of nature", represents the general Calvinistic tendency to identify the law of nature with the law of God, though not with the Old Testament. Calvin, Ponet, the Genevan Version of the Bible, Hotman, Pareus, Junius, Buchanan, Lilburne, and Locke taught that the law of nature was "corroborated", "contained", or "summarized" in that part of Moses's law which was fundamental and moral, not ceremonial.

The fundamental law is definitely called "the law of God and nature" by Beza, Bishop Ponet, Hooker, Hotman, Gentillet, Jurieu, Buchanan, Pareus, Francis Junius, Grotius, and Locke.

This fundamental law sometimes appears as simply the "law of nature" in Calvin, the Dutch Declaration of Independence, Bishop Bilson, Lilburne and the Levellers, John Goodwin, Owen, Vane, John Cotton, Claude, Gentilis (Grotius's predecessor), and Locke. It is also the "law of reason" in Calvin, the Genevan Version, Gentilis, the Huguenots Claude and Francis Junius (of Leyden), Hooker, Sir Edwin Sandys of the Virginia Company (quoted by Sam Adams), the Presbyterian Hunton, and Locke. It is the "law eternal and natural" of Lilburne; the "somewhat fundamental" of Cromwell; "paramount law" of Buchanan; "the great Fundamental Law" of Owen; "the Supreme Law of the Supreme Law-Giver" of Sir Harry Vane, or sometimes his "Fundamental Constitution", a term used also by Hunton, and by the fifty-seven dissenting ministers, 1649; the "*Loy fondamentale*" of Claude and Jurieu, who wrote a pamphlet to show that William III. went to England to establish this. It is the "rule of equity", or "rectitude", in Calvin, Beza, Hotman, the Genevan Version, Gentillet, and Locke. Universally binding, it is sometimes practically identified with the "Law of Nations" by Beza, Hotman, Gentilis, Grotius, Jurieu, Sandys, John Goodwin.

This teaching was effectively utilized to check any arbitrary power that violated the fundamental law of God, nature, reason, equity, law of nations, or fundamental constitution of the land, to

which all men even kings were subject. "For the sovereign is not above the laws of God, nature, and nations", based upon "perpetual custom, good sense and right reason". Thus the teaching of scores of Calvinists before Locke was summed up in a pamphlet defending the English Revolution, in French, Dutch, and English, written in 1689 by the Huguenot Jurieu, some of whose books Locke owned.¹⁴

Calvinists made no pretense of originating the idea of a law of nature, but constantly cited in its support not only Scripture but also Roman law and classical writers. To discover, as Troeltsch has done, medieval and classical elements is to reveal a Calvinistic, not an uncalvinistic trait. The Calvinistic contribution is to systematize and apply the combination of medieval, humanistic, and Scriptural knowledge and to "take the next step", when that is made plain by "nature, natural clarity of thought and God himself through the words of St. Paul", as Beza put it. Both Beza and Hotman refuse to be bound literally by the Roman law, but make distinctions enabling them to teach that kings are bound by *public* law. The "Word of God" they not only accepted as fundamental law but utilized it as "a rule of righteousness to influence our lives" (in Locke's phrase), and as a concrete means of checking tyranny. "Enterprising further", they applied this idea of a "written law" to written constitutions for both church and state. Scores of such fundamental written laws—the "Lawes and Statutes of Geneva", Dutch Declaration of Independence and Union of Utrecht, Edict of Nantes, Puritan constitutional documents in Scotland, Old and New England (of nation, colony, town, and church), and the Bill of Rights of 1689—illustrate the Calvinistic habit of embodying convictions in written form and working institutions. Locke himself not only believed in a fundamental "law of nature", "contained in the book of the law of Moses", but also drew up a written constitution for a church of the Independent, Huguenot type, and for the colony of Carolina, with its remarkable provisions for tolerance. The idea of fundamental law was put into successful practice in the Revolution of 1688, and was combined by Locke and other Cal-

¹⁴ Jurieu, *Lettres Pastorales*, Lett. XVIII., III. 399, 426; *Apologie* (Eng. trans.), p. 23; *State Tracts*, I. 188. Rare Huguenot pamphlets are in Soc. Hist. Prot. Franç., and Bib. Nat., Paris; British Museum; Harvard; Prince Library, Congregational (Boston); McAlpine Coll., Union Theol. Sem. Gentilis, *De Jure Belli*, III. xvi. 363 (ed. 1877); cf. Grotius, *Proleg.*, sects. 8-17; Locke, *Government*, sects. 5, 6, 87, 135, 142; *Paraphrase*, Rom. v. 14. References for fundamental law, contract, popular sovereignty, resistance, Foster, "Political Theories of Calvinists", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 481-503.

vinists with the other points in political Calvinism into a working system.

(2) Rights, bestowed by God and based upon his fundamental law of nature, were a part of both divine and human nature and therefore natural and inalienable. Calvin in his *Commentary on Romans* (iii. 29) dropped fertile seeds. "God made the whole human race equal and placed them under one condition." "It is a law of nature that all men are formed in the image of God and are to be brought up in the hope of blessed eternity." Calvin's *Institutes* held "reason a natural talent", and on the basis of "the divine word and the experience of common sense" discovered God-given "principles of equity", "seeds of justice and also some seeds of political order sown in the minds of all", "some desire of investigating truth", and "making new discoveries", especially in "civil polity, domestic economy, all the mechanical arts and liberal sciences" (II. ii. 12-14; III. xix. 7). Such inspiring conceptions of human possibilities, sown by Calvin and ripened among Huguenots, Independents, Dutch, and Scots, came to fruition in Locke and America.

Beza and Hotman taught *le droit naturel* of "equity and justice"; Hotman, the "natural right of liberty", "not only of body but of spirit which yields not to fire or sword but to persuasion", a principle of toleration oft repeated by Huguenot, Dutch, and Puritan down to Locke.¹⁵ The Genevan-bred Pareus of Heidelberg, in his widely read and quoted *Commentaries on Romans* (ix. p. 717; xiii. p. 1057), reasoned that such essential rights coming from God, were inalienable. Grotius taught cautiously, and the orthodox Calvinist Gronovius more vigorously (in notes authorized by the Dutch government) the doctrine of resistance based upon a natural right to violate "commands against natural or divine law". "Relying upon the Bible we maintain liberty" was the significant motto of the Dutch florin of 1681 commemorating the centennial of their Declaration of Independence.

That all men were created equal by natural law or law of God was taught by Calvin; Amyrault, Saumaise, and Jurieu; Hooker, Lilburne (brought up on Calvin and Calvinists), and the Levellers; Roger Williams, and Sidney. That they were born free was maintained by Hotman and Saumaise; the Scottish Presbyterian Rutherford; Roger Williams, Milton, Vane, Sidney, Lewis du Moulin. That all men were born free and equal was held by Saumaise, and two of Locke's fellow-exiles in Holland, Jurieu and Sidney, by

¹⁵ Hotman, *Politique*, in *Mém. Chas. IX.*, III. 89-90; Locke, *Government*, sects. 4-6, 61, 87, 95, 112; *Letters on Toleration*.

Roger Williams (a good Calvinist), who stood "for liberty and equality", and by Locke. Locke's natural right of property had been taught by Beza, Pareus, the Levellers, and the First Agreement of the People. Liberty of conscience as a natural right was taught by Hotman and the famous Huguenot pastor Claude, whose book Locke owned and whose position he supported against Louis XIV.; in England by Owen, Vane, and the First Agreement of the People; and as an inviolable right by a list, too long to catalogue here, of some sixty Calvinists in Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Hungary, England, and America. Locke's *Epistola de Tolerantia* so closely resembled the teaching of Huguenots that it was attributed to one of them by a contemporary Huguenot, an error curiously repeated by recent Huguenot scholars, Haag and Puaux.

Reason as a natural right had been taught before Locke by Calvin, Beza, Baxter, Du Moulin. Gentilis, Grotius's forerunner, had drawn the logical conclusion: "man is a rational creature, therefore the Prince must be subject to reason."¹⁶ Many other Puritans, Huguenots, and international Calvinists had made the appeal to reason. Before Locke, practically all his natural rights of equality, liberty, life, property, conscience, and reason had been taught by Calvinists as corollaries of the fundamental law of God and nature which created man free, equal, and rational. Locke was familiar with a dozen of these writers, and also with the revolutions on Calvinistic principles in Scotland, France, Holland, and England, which had fought for these rights, culminating in the Revolution of 1688.

(3) The idea of a "mutual relation" between God and man was implied in the Calvinists' thought of the "Word of God". They taught a like mutual relation between ruler and people. "Every commonwealth", said Calvin, "rests upon laws and agreements", and "the mutual obligations of head and members." "Regal power was nothing but a mutual covenant between king and people", said the Scottish commissioners, justifying to Elizabeth their "demission" of Mary, and quoting Calvin's teaching. This contract idea, embodied by one of the commissioners, Buchanan, in his much-quoted book, passed on through his pupil James I., who was quoted by Locke. Buchanan, Milton, Vane, Prynne, Baxter, Du Moulin, and John Cotton draw the logical conclusion that "the rights of him who dissolves the contract are forfeited".¹⁷

¹⁶ *De Jure Belli*, III. xvi. 363.

¹⁷ Milton, *Tenure of Kings*, p. 37; Buchanan, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, p. 196; Locke, *Government*, sects. 15, 97, 102, 138, 140-142 (cf. Sam Adams, I. 55, and Stamp Act Congress, sect. 2), 200 (James I.).

This doctrine of a mutual contract, for violation of which the people or their representatives should resist the ruler, had been taught by over sixty Calvinists, and successfully practised by Calvinists in six countries before Locke popularized it in his *Government*. Calvin's teachings and the Genevan example, reasserted explicitly by Knox and Buchanan, voted by the Scottish General Assembly and in identical words by Parliament, 1567, had been successfully reasserted in the Scottish National Covenant of 1638 against the attempt of Charles I. and Laud to violate church government and worship; and in 1643 was again incorporated in the Solemn League and Covenant which united Scottish Covenanters and English Puritans against the arbitrary government of Charles.

In England, the contract theory was taught by Calvinists of all sorts: Bishop Bilson in his *True Difference*, justifying the successful Scottish, Dutch, and Huguenot resistance, cited in Locke's *Government*; Hooker, Locke's chief reference after Scripture; three Presbyterians, Walter Travers and Cartwright (both Genevan-bred disciples of Beza) and Hunton, cited by Locke; the Italians Peter Martyr and Gentilis; Pym, Sir John Eliot, Prynne, Bradshaw in the trial of Charles I., John Goodwin in its defense, Sidney, Baxter, Lewis du Moulin, and Locke's friend Tyrrell. Locke himself regarded his Constitutions of Carolina as a compact, speaking of it thus in article 97 and providing for its signature as a "sacred and unalterable form". Finally, the Convention Parliament of 1689 justified the Revolution on the Calvinistic grounds: "that King James having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and people . . . having violated the Fundamental law and having withdrawn himself hath abdicated, and that the throne is vacant."

In France, the "mutual, reciprocal obligation between people and ruler", taught in Beza's *De Jure Magistratum*, Hotman's *Franco-Gallia*, and by Mornay (as author or editor) in the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, was exemplified in the Edict of Nantes, wrested from their ex-Calvinist king by the Huguenot's persistent "Political General Assembly". It was reasserted (after the Revocation) on the ground that this edict was a contract, by Mornay's grandson De Vrigny and six other Huguenot fellow-exiles, three at least familiar to Locke through books owned by him—Claude, Ancillon, and Jurieu.

Finally the contract theory and resistance based upon it, urged by Mornay and the Huguenots upon the Dutch, proclaimed by William the Silent and incorporated into the Declaration of Independ-

ence, reasserted by Grotius, Gronovius, and the exiles in Holland, was again, through William the Silent's great grandson, William III., assisted by another convinced Calvinist, the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Cleves, and by international Calvinists, authors, diplomats, soldiers, from six lands, translated into fact in the Revolution and the Bill of Rights.

Closely allied with the contract was the consent of the people, a theory sometimes passing imperceptibly into the sovereignty of the people. The consent of the people is of extraordinary significance among Calvinists because it also passed from the church to the state. The Huguenots "wish", said their leader, D'Huisseau, "to extend to the state the liberty they permit themselves in the affairs of religion. They believe that if they may control the views of officials in church in the service of God they ought to be also free to judge the conduct of those who are established over them in civil government".¹⁸ It is not surprising that this step was actually taken by Calvin in Geneva, and his followers in Scotland, France, and England. Locke had observed the principle of consent in the Huguenot church government at Nîmes, 1676, contrasted it favorably with the overweening powers of "episcopacies" in his "Defence of Nonconformity", 1682, incorporated it into his plan for *Civil Government*, 1690. In thus "taking the next step", carrying over from the church to the state the principle of consent of the people, Locke followed the footsteps of a dozen Calvinists: Calvin, Beza, Ponet, the widely read Genevan Version of the Bible, Cartwright, Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, Roger Williams, Huguenot national synods and "Political General Assemblies", Scottish Assembly and Parliament, Baynes, the Levellers, Du Moulin, and Jurieu. This tendency of Calvinists to extend from church to state the consent of people and ideas of republican government is corroborated by a score of critics: conservative Calvinists like Archbishop Whitgift, kings like James I. and Henry IV. who had suffered at the hands of men they recognized as logically opposed to their kind of monarchy, Cardinal Richelieu, the ex-Calvinist Grotius the part-time Calvinist Bayle, and Voltaire.

This habit of transferring ecclesiastical principles to the state was exhibited regarding other Calvinistic teachings. Locke's *Government* reproached the supporters of political absolutism, "who, relying on him [Hooker] for their ecclesiastical polity", refuse to apply his teachings to civil government, and so "deny those principles on which he builds". Hooker's principles which Locke in

¹⁸ *Réunion du Christianisme* (Saumur, 1679), pp. 197-198.

Calvinistic fashion carried over from church to state were the Calvinistic teachings of fundamental law, natural rights, contract and consent of the people.

(4) Believing that rulers received their power by consent of the people, and could govern only when they observed their contract, the logically minded Calvinist was bound in time to "take the next step" and recognize the sovereignty of the people. Calvin foresaw that this question would arise, "when rulers break faith with the people", but he felt it to be untimely, with the danger of civil war and commotions toward the close of his life especially in France, to discuss the question. "Calvin looks askint that way", as Filmer justly remarked, and went so far as to teach that magistrates were "responsible to God and the people".

Before Calvin's death, Bishop Ponet, Knox, and Goodman published at Geneva books teaching that kings are "but a portion and member of the people"; "people are not ordained for kings, but kings ordained for the people", "the whole Congregation or Commonwealth" in Ponet's significant phrase. "The common people", said Goodman, "must see that their Princes be subject to God's Lawes". A year later, Goodman, Knox, and the "Congregation" in Scotland were putting their principles into practice and asserting Calvin's approval, as Goodman had already done in his *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed*. That "People were not made for kings but kings for the people", was a favorite Calvinist teaching, proclaimed by these "ancient Puritans at Geneva"; by four Huguenot famous publications after St. Bartholomew (Hotman's *Politique, Reveille, Matin, and Franco-Gallia*, and Beza's *De Jure Magistratuum*); by the Dutch Declaration of Independence; by Goodwin's "Defence of the Sentence against the King"; by Jurieu, on the eve of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; on the eve of the English Revolution by Tronchin, and after it, by the *Sept Sages de France à leur Roi Louis XIV.*

"Souveraineté" Hotman applied to the people; but he identified them with the "estates composed of the body of all the people". The *Vindiciae* taught that "the sovereign is the whole people or those who represent the people, like the estates", adding the homely touch, "kings are of the same dough as others . . . raised by the people". This same alternative of people or their representatives made by Hotman, Beza, and the *Vindiciae* was repeated in Locke's *Government*: "there remains still in the people a supreme power", but "the legislative is the supreme power while government subsists" (sects. 134-138, 149, 150). What Figgis says of the *Vindiciae*

is also true of Hotman, Beza, and Jurieu: "It is hard to overestimate the resemblance between the ideas of Locke and the author of the *Vindiciae*."

A year before Locke's *Government*, Jurieu reproduced the arguments of Beza and the *Vindiciae*, and lifted (errors and all) nineteen passages from Hotman's *Franco-Gallia* to prove that "the Sovereign power is in the hands of the people and of assemblies composed of its deputies". This *Soupirs de France Esclave* was immediately translated into Dutch, English, and Spanish; and on the eve of the French Revolution reprinted anonymously (*Les Voeux d'un Patriote*) as a plea for a meeting of the States-General. It was in Mirabeau's library with Calvin's *Institutes*, Beza's *De Jure*, Hotman's *Franco-Gallia*, the *Vindiciae*, Milton, Locke, and John Adams—a chain from Reformation through the three revolutions of 1688, 1776, 1789. Jurieu's *Apologie pour leurs Majestés Britanniques*, 1689, justifying the Revolution on grounds of sovereignty of people and violation of compact, was immediately translated into Dutch, "Englished", and published in *State Tracts*. "This pretended sovereignty of the people you have resurrected from the tomb of Buchanan, Junius Brutus (author of *Vindiciae*) and Milton", complained Bayle who found this in Jurieu and Locke, and as "the gospel of the day among Protestants". The striking similarity between Jurieu and Locke, in basing resistance upon contract, natural rights, and popular sovereignty, pointed out by Lureau and Van Ordt, has been summed up by Lacour-Gayet. "Jurieu quite as much as Locke deserves to be called the theorist of the Revolution of 1688." Their common residence in Amsterdam, service of William III., and interest in Bayle and the Socinian controversy, and Locke's ownership of Jurieu's books on this subject indicate Locke's knowledge of Jurieu.¹⁹

Milton, like Jurieu, Baxter, and Pareus (whom he quotes), taught that the people are the "proximate" or direct cause of sovereignty. Popular sovereignty had been also taught by the Dutch Declaration of Independence, Grotius, the Puritan Army, and Cromwell ("the supremacy is in the people—radically in them—and to be set down by them in their representation"), by Ireton and the Levelers, Thomas Hooker, John Goodwin, Vane, and Sidney. Locke

¹⁹ Cf. *Franco-Gallia* (*Mém. Chas. IX.*), II. 406-411; *Soupirs de France*, VI. 84-92. The Catholic Monarchomachist Boucher also lifted from *Franco-Gallia* in *De Justa Henrici III. Abdicatione*, cap. XVII. Locke (sovereignty and resistance), *Government*, sects. 149-151, 195, 200, 202, 210-217, 220-222. Acknowledgment is made to Earl Lovelace for permission to examine Lord King's half of Locke's library. The other half, probably containing more Huguenot books, has disappeared.

repeats this teaching of over thirty international Calvinists, with the majority of whom he was familiar.

(5) The doctrine of resistance to tyranny through responsible representatives or "Ephors" first taught in Calvin's *Institutes* (IV. xx. 31), was repeated not merely by half a dozen (as Gierke's scholarly work on Althusius indicated) but by some twenty-eight Calvinists before Locke, sometimes with a quotation, but at least using the term "Ephor" and the essential provision. Calvin's passage quoted by the Scottish commissioners to Elizabeth in defense of their "demonstration" of Mary, was requoted in Camden's *Annals*, Milton, and Grotius, and attacked by Bayle.

To the refutation of the passage Heylin devoted a book, 1657, and to its defense Harrington another, 1659. Calvin's teaching was cited by Prynne, 1643, Rutherford (*Lex Rex*, 1644), and another Scot, John Brown, in his *Apologetical Narrative* justifying Scottish resistance to tyranny. These three writers, with Milton, Buchanan, and twenty other Calvinists, were condemned in the famous Oxford University decree, July 21, 1683, a month before Locke sought safety in Holland. Of the thirty-two authors thus put on the High Church *Index* for their teaching of the doctrines of resistance to tyranny based upon fundamental law, natural rights, contract, and popular sovereignty, all but seven were Calvinists. Calvin's teaching of the "Ephors" was also utilized by William the Silent, by Buchanan, in Germany by Althusius, Alstedius, and Peter Martyr, by Beza, Hotman, Daneau, and the *Vindiciae*, Ponet, Fenner, Knight, Bradshaw in the trial of Charles I., John Goodwin in his *Defence* of that trial, Sidney, and Locke's friends Baxter and Tyrrell. In addition to the twenty-eight using Calvin's teaching and phraseology, twenty more followed Calvin's reasoning as to the duty of active resistance by representatives ordained for the protection of the people. Among these were Jurieu, Hunton, Baxter, Owen, all known to Locke.

As Locke linked the doctrine of resistance through the "legislative" with the idea of contract or consent of the people, so had Calvin, Peter Martyr, Beza, the *Vindiciae*, Bilson, Fenner, Althusius, Milton, Bradshaw, and Vane. Resistance combined with the other Calvinistic political theories taught by Locke, sovereignty of the people, fundamental law and "vocation" (like that of Ephors or Parliament), was also taught by scores of Calvinists. In Hungary, Bocskay and the Calvinists secured their civil and religious liberties through resistance on the part of the representative assembly, and embodied their rights in a written charter, 1606. In 1608 their

representative assembly (like the Scots and Huguenots) refused the royal command to adjourn; and on grounds singularly like those of 1688 (violation of the compact, and desertion by the king) deposed Rudolph and elected his successor.²⁰

In each Calvinistic revolution there was shrewd linking of theory with practice. Thus the success of the earlier revolutions was cited over ninety times by Calvinists to justify the later: the Scottish example by the Huguenots; both these by William the Silent and the Dutch; all three in Bilson's justification of English aid to Scots, Huguenots, and Dutch; and in many pamphlets urging or defending the Revolution of 1688. A striking example of this continuity of Calvinistic influence was the act of Convocation, 1606, justifying English aid to Dutch and Huguenots on the ground: "when any such new forms of government, begun by Rebellion, are after thoroughly settled, the authority in them is of God." Publication of Overall's *Convocation Book* containing this was suppressed at James's request. In 1689, put into print by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it induced Sherlock, Master of the Temple, to accept William and justify the Revolution in *The Case of Allegiance to Sovereign Powers Stated*.

The Revolution was carried through by a felicitous combination of Anglicans and Dissenters; but they combined by abandoning High-Church Anglican passive obedience, and accepting Calvinistic teachings of resistance to tyranny by a representative body and on the basis of contract, fundamental law, and natural rights. The Revolution is unthinkable without these theories and the Puritan and other successful revolutions based upon them. It was impossible without the support of the Dissenters, like Howe and Bunyan, Baxter and Kiffin, and their congregations. It was, under Anglican auspices, actually carried out largely by an extraordinary combination of Calvinists, English Dissenters, Scottish and Brandenburg Calvinists, William III. and the sturdy Dutch, Huguenot diplomats, gold, ships, sailors, and 696 young officers forming the *cadres* of the army so successfully welded and wielded by William's right-hand man, the Huguenot marshal, Schomburg.

The Revolution of 1688 which Locke aided and justified, and his own teaching of resistance to tyranny through responsible representatives, which he based upon fundamental law, contract, natural rights, and sovereignty of the people, were in the main historical outgrowths of international Calvinism. This is not to assert that

²⁰ *Corpus Juris Hungarici*, I. 643; E. Csuday, *Geschichte der Ungarn*, übersetzt von M. Darvai, II. 67-97.

no other elements entered into Locke or the Revolution. Calvinists did not claim to be original. They built upon the past; but they "took the next step", possibly the most distinguishing contribution of Calvinism. Ancient and medieval writers had taught fundamental law, natural rights, contract, sovereignty of the people, obedience to God rather than man. Each of these teachings Calvinists carried a step further, notably in changing passive refusal to obey into active resistance through lay representatives following a "calling", ordained of God; and responsible, not to "God and the Church", but to "God and the people". With a possible exception on this point, the contribution of Calvinism was not in originating, but in (1) carrying theories to logical conclusions; (2) tying them all together into a workable system; (3) developing the type of people capable of putting them into practice; (4) demonstrating that their principles worked successfully in practice.

In civil and ecclesiastical government, worship, social and economic implications, and fundamental doctrines Locke, absorbing the international Calvinism of Independent, Anglican, Huguenot, Dutch, and German, remained, until after he had written his *Civil Government*, a moderate Calvinist of the sixteenth-century type, the sort of Englishman described by Thomas Long in his *Calvinus Redivivus* of 1673. "You shall find it all one to be a moderate Calvinist and a sober Conformist." Constantly striving to bring both Anglican and Nonconformist to the earlier "moderate and sober" type, Locke himself typifies the Calvinism productive of civil and religious liberty that filtered from international sources through this calm thinker and man of affairs. The Calvinism assimilated and carried over by Locke possessed the liberal, international character of the Calvinistic commonwealths founded or expanded by thousands of exiles for conscience' sake—shrewd Genevan traders, prosperous Huguenot artisans and bankers, indomitable Dutch merchants, canny Scots, thrifty Scotch-Irish, and resourceful Puritans, and the Calvinists from all these lands who made up the majority of the seventeenth-century colonists in America.

Locke and the men like-minded with him, determined Calvinists, "sober and discreet" (to use his own description) supporters of liberty and law, illustrate the dictum of Locke's admirer Webster concerning the Puritans. "The determined spirit of no compromise with moral evil sharpened the sight for the discovery of political evils." "The enquiry was not whether the thing was bearable but whether it was right." Although Webster, like Locke, disliked elaborate creeds, he concluded, "I verily believe creeds had something to do with the Revolution".

The large and convincing mass of first-hand evidence proves that international Calvinism filtered through Locke and the Revolution of 1688. It also substantiates four sound conclusions as to the joint influence of Locke and other Calvinists: Bayle's statement, 1693, that Locke's teachings in his *Civil Government* were "the gospel of the day among Protestants"; the cartoon of 1769 linking Locke with Calvin and Sidney in colonial resistance to tyranny; Webster's conclusion, "creeds had something to do with the Revolution"; and Dean Tucker's remark, "the Americans have made the maxims of Locke the ground of the present war".

HERBERT D. FOSTER.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN IMMIGRATION AS A FIELD FOR RESEARCH

THE fact that the American Historical Association's Committee on Research has listed the history of immigration among the topics that stand in need of investigation makes unnecessary any discussion of its importance. The addition to our population between 1815 and 1914 of more than thirty million Europeans, and their services in the national development of that century, constitute an era in colonial history no less significant to our future than the two centuries that preceded. In time the change in sovereignty that occurred in 1776 will be regarded as an unnatural dividing line, and settlement will be viewed as a continuous process from the beginnings in 1607 to the close in 1914. The term "immigration", however, is in usage generally restricted to the period since the Revolution or more specifically to the more modern period characterized by individual as distinguished from group migration. Earlier the settler came in a company bringing with it all the instruments of community life; later a social atom detached itself from one society and attached itself to another the framework of which was already constructed.

The pioneers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries looked upon themselves as exiles, driven from their native land by an intolerant government or a hopeless material condition. Their successors were never quite clear as to motives. Sometimes they considered themselves exiles; at other times they were fortune-hunters. Whether they left Europe because they could no longer live in it or because they could live so much better in America, they never quite decided. But the distinction is fundamental. In the one case the causes are to be found in Europe; in the other in America. Either the immigrants were expelled or they were attracted.

A study of the various waves which have marked high points in the westward tide reveals a limited geographical origin for each. "Old" and "new" are the adjectives used to describe the shift from Northern and Western Europe to the South and East in the course of the century. But this general movement is no more significant than the changes within the two areas. At any given time the phenomenon of emigration appears not in a nation as a whole, but in a comparatively restricted part of that nation; and when it again makes its appearance, though the emigrants may still be listed as Germans or Italians, their origin is distinct. In every case the exodus is accompa-

nied in that district by a social and economic reorganization usually indicating an adjustment to modern life. Such reorganizations have taken place without emigration to America. But they are always accompanied by changes in population—sometimes a drift to the cities, sometimes a movement to hitherto waste lands or to other parts of Europe. On occasion they have resulted in a congestion of population which has produced great social unrest. To the United States their members have gone only when American industry was prospering, and each wave of migration coincides with an era of unusual business activity. During the century, therefore, it may be said that America was a huge magnet of varying intensity drawing to itself the people of Europe from those regions where conditions made them mobile and from which transportation provided a path. American conditions determined the duration and height of the waves; European the particular source.

Accordingly, both Europe and America are the field for research. Because students of nineteenth-century Europe have concentrated so prevailingly upon the political developments, the student of American immigration will be forced to do much pioneer work which at first glance seems to have little bearing on his topic. How extensive these researches must be may be understood from the suggestion that emigration has been connected with as many phases of European life as immigration has of American life. Freedom to move, desire to move, and means to move summarize these phases. But each is a wide field. Freedom to move involves the process by which the remaining feudal bands were loosened and the systems of land tenure revolutionized; in short, that break-up of the solidarity of the community which, in making the individual mobile, forced him to shift for himself. Desire to move concerns political and economic, social and psychological motives, and its roots may be found now in one, now in the other of the great movements of the century. How the emigrant obtained the means to move is a part of the history of the transfer of property and of the development of land and sea transportation.¹

Until a cheap, safe, and individual crossing of the Atlantic was provided, any mass emigration was impossible. A description of

¹ The student will be led into a consideration of topics such as these: the legal development of the right of emigration; military obligations affecting emigration; marriage laws, standards of living, birth and death rates in relation to the growth of population in any given region; migration to cities; division of the common lands; formation of a class of mobile agricultural laborers; laws of tenancy; decline of household industry; changes in systems of land culture—arable or grazing; religious movements and ecclesiastical policy; social results of the revolutions of 1848; transport policies of European railroads; effects of competition with American agriculture; effect of crop failures and years of scarcity; popular knowledge of America.

the transport difficulties of the eighteenth century would be a fitting introduction to an appreciation of this factor in the nineteenth. A study of the emigrant trade from the days when the captain made a winter journey inland to solicit passengers for his annual spring voyage to the time when no village was without its agency and not a day passed without a speedy emigrant ship leaving some European port would be a contribution to the history of both migration and commerce. But much preliminary work must be done, as the subject is bound up with technical progress, sanitary regulations, and the economics of return cargoes.²

When upon the high seas the emigrant was in the hands of some shipping company and its policies constituted a vital factor in his movements. After the Civil War the rivalries of the lines were often the dominant factor, as would be shown by a study of the competition of the German and English companies for the control of the Scandinavian trade, or the more general struggle to capture that of the Mediterranean. There were rate wars waged upon the North Atlantic which determined the extent and character of American immigration in certain years; and the treaties of peace which closed these wars had more influence upon the movement in succeeding years than any contemporary American legislation. Every port of embarkation has its history, concerned on the one hand with the development of its interior net of communication and on the other with the nature of its Atlantic commerce. Thus the tobacco trade of Bremen, the cotton trade of Havre, and the timber trade of Liverpool have dictated the American terminus of the voyage and thereby determined the racial complexion of certain sections. Were the archives of shipping companies opened we could see the agents in operation, and how, when one reservoir of mankind was becoming exhausted, steps were already being taken to educate another in the advantages of emigration.

Though the American tariff policy has long been a subject of historical research, the development of the legal conditions under which the most valuable of all our imports has entered is entirely neglected. The state laws of immigration and settlement are usually characterized as dead letters, but neither the shippers nor the immigrants thought of them as such. The assumption of regulation by the federal government was the culmination of a long agitation which

² Some definite subjects will indicate the wide range of interests involved: reasons for the domination of Americans in the trade from 1820 to 1850; effects of the repeal of the British Navigation Laws in 1849; transfer of shipping to other activities in bringing about a sudden decline, as in 1855; transition, in the carriage of emigrants, from sailing vessels to steamships (1860-1870) in relation to price and in relation to the disappearance of the American flag from the seas.

concerned the Supreme Court, the transportation companies, the labor unions, and the farmers. A cross-section of all these influences could be obtained by studying the Immigration Convention which met in Cincinnati in 1870. The progress of the movement for restriction, leading up to the present-day legislation, involves much social and political history but there is need of a concise presentation. Castle Garden and Ellis Island are each worthy of a volume; and the administration of laws, the labor bureaus, and the welfare activities at Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans should not be neglected.

In the history of immigration no subject is more important than that of the process of distribution. Not only did it determine the permanent location of races, but its methods have been agents of Americanization and its phases have marked eras in national development. It is unfortunate that statisticians have not been located at Buffalo and Pittsburgh and at the bridges across the Mississippi to record the migrations westward. Their figures would show the rise and fall of the movements, indicating waves not unlike the waves of immigration. The years and extent of the flow, however, have been obtained from other sources. They may be related to the waves of immigration and at once a significant fact is revealed. They do not coincide. Immigration and distribution are two distinct movements, chronologically related; and the periods of small immigration are periods of continental dispersion.

This is the more remarkable because the old immigration is recognized as being one of land-seekers. But the majority did not reach the land directly. To do so, either they would be obliged to settle upon the frontier, or they must be possessed of sufficient means to offer a price which would induce the established farmer to sell. As frontiersmen they were not successful. Neither by training nor by temperament were they fitted. As purchasers their resources were usually limited. Accordingly they reached the land through the medium of industry—an intermediate stage—becoming farmers when their finances improved or industry failed them.

Immigration and dispersion were part of the same cycle. A period of industrial activity created optimism and American capital looked to the future. Railroads, canals, and highways were built, and cities were improved with business blocks and more pretentious homes. Coal and iron mines were opened, furnaces put into blast, and rolling-mills into operation. There was apparently a limitless demand for labor, and every immigrant who could handle a spade filled his pockets with gold. Many who arrived to seek land, lured

by the high wages, postponed their intentions. The farmer was prosperous with an ever expanding home market, and he called for hands to increase his production. But it was overdone. Capital employed in transportation was put into a fixed form, unremunerative until surrounding lands were settled and local trade stimulated. The weight of obligations exceeded the earning capacity, and collapse ensued. Unemployment faced millions; there was no prospect of revival; and the farmer, who had usually mortgaged his estate to buy more lands or to make improvements, was ruined.

So to save himself he went west. The railroads offered him their lands and he began anew in the wilderness. The immigrant of a few months' or years' residence was without his job, but if he could not earn wages he could at least raise his own bread; and with his savings he bought the semi-improved farm that the American deserted. Others lacked the courage for even this mid-frontier venture and they returned to Europe, forming that eastward migration so noticeable in all periods of depression. Bringing gloomy reports they helped to stem the tide that had already been checked by the arrival of discouraging letters and the decline in the number of prepaid passages. A period of immigration had ceased and one of dispersion commenced.

Thereupon new states began to appear in the West. Millions of acres were homesteaded; the railroads strengthened their position by the sale of lands. Vast areas were put under cultivation, and fertility so cheapened production that new markets were captured. Soon the settler could afford to buy more than necessities. Activities at the stores in the new villages began to increase, and their orders influenced the cities. The little tricklings of exchange began to roll together into a great current of prosperity. Optimism returned. The furnaces were relighted, factory wheels moved, and the instruments of expansion reached westward into new fields. Again there was a call for labor. But the immigrant farmer would not leave his soil and if his son responded it was to serve in the higher ranks. Then through millions of human channels it became known in Europe that things in America had changed, that employment was abundant and wages good, and a new migration was in motion.

It is through some such hypothesis that the history of immigrant distribution should be approached. The immediate destination of immigrants during each of the eras of prosperity should be studied and their participation in the landward movements following the crises in 1819, 1837, 1842, 1857, 1873 determined. The return European migrations after 1893 and 1907, when it was easier for the immigrant to obtain land in Italy than in America, should receive

special attention. Not until much detailed work has been done can a theory of distribution be stated; but the investigation of many of its single aspects will be valuable contributions towards such a theory.

Before the days of the railroads the immigrants considered the journey from the seaport to the interior as difficult a stage of their migration as crossing the Atlantic. Often it was, in fact, as expensive and lasted as long. The immigrant trade on the great natural highways—the Hudson River, the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Great Lakes—should be studied in the same way as that of the Atlantic, in relation to the commerce. Pittsburgh and Buffalo, Chicago and St. Louis should be investigated as immigrant distributing centres. Local ordinances and police regulations will reveal how the hotels, land offices, and labor exchanges were regulated. The reasons for the popularity of certain states or regions at certain times, as Pennsylvania and Illinois in the 'twenties, Missouri and Ohio in the 'thirties, Wisconsin in the 'forties, and Iowa and Michigan in the 'fifties, will be profitable studies in both transportation and publicity.

With the era of internal improvements a new factor in distribution appears. The census of 1850, the first providing statistics of foreign-born by counties, reveals all lines of communication bordered with heavy alien percentages. These represent in part accessibility and in part the residue left by the construction gangs. An analysis should be made of the labor policy of canals and railroads—the hierarchy of contractors and subcontractors, the recruiting of men, labor conditions, and the preservation of order. The history of a "shanty town" may be as rich in primitive self-government as any mining gulch in California and marks the first participation of its inhabitants in American democracy.

These alien fringes were sometimes caused by the labor being stranded by the absconding of the contractor, but more often they represent the permanent staff necessary for the up-keep of every mile of the canal or railroad, those who judiciously chose uncleared lands or snapped up an opportunity in improved farms, and those who were drawn in by the stimulated industrial activity. A study of biographies, in local histories or obituary notices, will reveal how often the nucleus of a later extended foreign settlement was formed by such pioneers. When the railroads and canals possessed lands themselves, their land policy will explain much settlement. That the great Western railroads rank with the colonial trading companies as American colonizers is becoming recognized, but the influence of the railroads in the older sections should not be overlooked. The opening of the Erie Railroad, for instance, brought thousands of newly arrived immigrants into southern New York and northern Pennsylvania.

Access to a market was demanded by the foreigner who settled upon the land, whereas the native American was more self-sufficing.

When the railroad net was completed to the Mississippi the carriage of immigrants became an important feature, sought by the railroads not only for the immediate revenue or disposal of their lands, but for the more permanent income to be derived from settlement. Hence tickets were sold in the interior villages of Europe, alliances were formed with steamship lines, competition was bitter in the ports, and rates were reduced to ridiculous figures, as in the railroad war of 1885 when for a time the flat rate from New York to Chicago was only a dollar. The varying policies of individual roads, the relation of rates to settlement in any area, the agreements with certain industries for the supply of labor, as well as the history of the immigrant train itself as an institution, are all topics concerning this third and final stage of migration worthy of investigation. Nor should the "home seekers" excursions be forgotten which in times of industrial depression drew away from congested centres those who had settled in the cities.

Land companies and individual landowners supplemented the activities of the railroads. The rise of the great land fortunes of America, the creation of these estates of hundreds of thousands and even millions of acres, is a phase of American settlement as yet obscure. But the dissolution of these estates will be found to be intimately connected with the immigration of foreigners, as the advertisements in the German and English agricultural journals of the 'seventies and 'eighties unmistakably reveal. Agents of such estates may also be found operating in the European villages, sticking their posters in the public houses, lecturing to the improvement clubs, and, allied with the railroad and state representatives, smoothing all the difficulties of migration. Though it was in the last quarter of the century that this mode of settlement is most noticeable, the same influence operated from the very beginning and often was instrumental in determining the permanent character of a given region. Thus it was probably the opening of the Astor lands at an opportune moment that turned the tide of Germans to Wisconsin.

There were other factors exerting a positive influence upon the process of distribution. Religious ties, which must be interpreted as including language and social customs as well as spiritual needs, determined the location of many; and those church statesmen who had at heart the future of their faith used this sentiment for the benefit of both the settler and his organization. The early history of many rural parishes will show how the minister or priest turned solicitor and by working quietly year after year changed his feeble missionary

charge into a vigorous church. Ecclesiastical administrators undertook comprehensive plans, the Catholic Church producing a group of colonizing bishops, Fenwick of Boston, Ireland of St. Paul, and Byrne of Little Rock, the activities of each of whom will repay study. The Irish Colonization Convention which met at Buffalo in February, 1856, upon the suggestion of D'Arcy McGee, proved a failure; but an analysis of the plans there promulgated will prove an interesting indication of racial consciousness, and their final wreck due to the opposition of Bishop Hughes of New York will provide an enlightening picture of rival racial ambitions. Many congregations, especially of Germans and Scandinavians, migrated as a group; but although almost any county history of the Middle West will mention the arrival of some such body, the economic history of one of these enterprises has never been written.

¶ By the operation of these factors of distribution the immigrant became attached more or less permanently to some economic activity in country, village, or city. In each of these he has had an historical development which has left him on quite a different plane and has in turn influenced the American evolution of those activities.

The economic history of foreign farming communities has varied with the local conditions existing upon their arrival and their financial resources.³ Many immigrants were left, as it were, stranded in the small towns and villages. Here they served as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and casual laborers. Some obtained a footing in commercial life and their children have become merchants and bankers. Professional men of foreign parentage have been recruited almost exclusively from this class, so their influence as leaders of the second generation has been far greater than their numerical proportion would warrant. Others of this group, however, have been the ne'er-dowells that have contributed so much to the flavor of Main Street literature. The part that industry has played in the transitional stages of distribution has been emphasized above. The principles will be clarified when approached from a different angle and when the labor history of a coal mine, a factory, or the construction of a railroad is written. The racial evolution of a purely manufacturing city, such as Lowell, Massachusetts, will provide additional illustrations, with the Irish displacing, or at least taking the place of, the

³ Suggestive fields for investigation are: the immigrant as an outright purchaser; the rise of the hired man to ownership; the immigrant as renter or mortgaged debtor; occupation of abandoned farms by any race; the different racial customs in providing for the second generation; the immigrant as a market gardener, cotton planter, or tobacco grower, as a fruitman, rancher, or ordinary prairie mixed-farmer; employment of farm hands and older sons in lumbering, ice-cutting, and other seasonal labor; attitude towards improvements and scientific farming.

Yankees; the French Canadians succeeding the Irish; and they in turn followed by the Greeks and Slavs.⁴

When the process of distribution had been completed and some definite economic status achieved, social life appeared. If the immigrant's lot was cast in a purely American environment, he soon lost his characteristics or became a social hermit. More often he was surrounded by hundreds of the same life-history, and in company with them he built up a society, neither European nor American. At present there exist probably a score of types (which ought to be classified). Upon their vitality the future complexion of American life in large measure depends. An understanding of the evolution of these types is a necessary preliminary to any policy of Americanization.

Research should begin with the reaction upon the individual. How did it affect his health? When did he discard his old clothing and when and why did he become ashamed of being "different"? What changes occurred in his principles and morals and why did he become more ambitious? What new interests did he most naturally adopt and which of the old most naturally disappeared? The determination of how immigrant reaction has varied with time, place, and nationality may seem to present insuperable difficulties. But it is not impossible. Biographies, reminiscences, and letters exist by the thousand; acute observations were made by travellers; and the missionary reports teem with comments because the attitude of the individual towards his old religion was usually an index of his whole mental outlook.

The social history of the family will provide a clue to much community development. What variations in internal administration and authority resulted from the migration? The persistence of family traditions, customs, and even names, the training of children in the years before going to school, the family pastimes and mutual obligations are pertinent topics. In time the second generation became a disturbing element. Unnumbered household revolutions occurred, the rebels demanding modernization of furniture, food, and dress, and often a change of religion. When they became successful in securing

⁴ Other topics are: immigration in relation to the construction of street railroads, factories, dams, and canals, and the dispersion of the workers when completed; the influences which led certain races into certain occupations; the acquisition of city property; rise in the standard of living; levers by which a group raised itself to a higher plane of industry; efforts to retain control of a particular industry against the inroads of later comers; the circumstances that culminated in the Anti-Contract Labor Law; attitude of the immigrants to the unions, their radicalism, their conservatism, their leadership, their utilization as strike-breakers, and their influence in the formation of the immigrant restriction laws.

control of the family the strongest bulwark of hyphenism was carried. The success or failure of such movements should be related to nationality, location, religion, and community type.

Finally, community activities demand research. Every-day life in Boston and Milwaukee and a score of other foreign "capitals" should be described. The sociology of the hundred-and-sixty-acre farm is as worthy of investigation as that of the ante-bellum plantation. What amusements, festivals, commercial and social habits prevailed? How was an aristocracy of its own created and was it an expression of European or American standards? What was the opinion upon intermarriage with other groups and what was the social effect of such alliances? Did each race manifest a characteristic attitude towards social problems such as temperance and Sunday observance? At what stage and why did native prejudice express itself and did it cause an intensification of peculiarities? What traits persisted after the first generation had passed, and was a constant influx necessary to maintain racial individuality?

As long as any group retained its own language any amalgamation with American social life was impossible. From the first their leaders complained of the eagerness with which immigrants discarded their mother tongue. Its retention became the corner-stone of all efforts to maintain racial solidarity. Historically, therefore, the problem has two aspects: first, the varying circumstances that led to the adoption of English; and secondly, the positive language-policy of the leaders.

The matter being so personal, the materials for the study of the first are very scant. But the second generation, now so widely represented in the colleges, might be subjected to a questionnaire, for it was in the inner life of the bilingual families that the transition took place. For the second point the materials are abundant. Sooner or later in every denomination the language question arose, and the proceedings of church conventions and the columns of their official organs are filled with debates and resolutions. Even more abundant are the materials for a history of the teaching of foreign languages in the public schools. Every state board of education was subjected to tremendous pressure and in many states every ward and school district witnessed similar political propaganda. The language legislation during the war, interesting as a manifestation of war psychology, can be more clearly understood as a reaction from these former concessions.

The language question is but one phase of the much broader subject of the migration of institutions. How these institutions were

set up, how they throve in the American atmosphere, and how they competed with the native institutions is part of the history of immigration. The process of their transplantation is obscure, though a few years after settlement we can see them in full bloom, churches, parochial schools, academies, fraternal organizations. There are Portuguese bands, Welsh *eisteddfods*, German *turnvereins*, Bohemian *sokols*, Polish "falcons", and Greek "communities".⁵ Each nationality at every period demands study of its own. What applies to the Irish differs from what applies to the Hungarians; and the situation among the Germans in 1840 is quite different from that in 1880. It varied with the intensity of the national feeling in the European countries, with the amount of support given by organizations at home, with the internal politics of any race in America, and the amount of opposition which native institutions exhibited.

It was the American churches and their missionary activities that offered the strongest resistance. They met the invaders on their own ground and fought them with their own language. With their seminaries on American soil they had an advantage which the European training schools could not duplicate and their success was the despair of the early missionaries from the churches of Europe. Psychologically the years of migration provided a fertile field for the propagation of new faiths, and the result was the division of the nationalities, especially the old immigrants, among sects and the break-up of migrating denominations into many branches. Much as these divisions were to be deplored from the point of view of effective religious service, they did act as agents of Americanization by breaking the ties with European hierarchies and placing administration in the hands of those who were directed by American organizations.⁶

⁵ In connection with their origin many questions arise: Did the immigrants create these institutions because there were none to serve them or because they were content only with their own? Did these institutions arise spontaneously or were they due to the activity of some enterprising individuals? Was assistance in finance or leadership received from any society in the home country, and, if so, what were the motives of this society? There were other parts of the world to which emigrating Europeans brought their institutions. As many Irish settled in England in the years after the famine as entered America; Italians by the hundreds of thousands have colonized the Argentine, and there are flourishing German settlements in Brazil. By comparing the institutional history of the races in these differing environments the problems and significance of their development in the United States may be the more clearly understood.

⁶ The problem of the organization of immigrants may be approached most successfully through biography. A few among the hundreds of such pioneers are, the Catholics, Rev. James Fitton and Rev. Henry Lemcke; the Lutherans, Rev. C. F. W. Walther and Rev. L. P. Esbjørn; the Methodist, Rev. Wilhelm Nast; and the two Protestant Episcopal bishops, Philander Chase and Jackson Kemper.

This mingling of social systems raises the natural question, what has immigration as a whole or any group as a race contributed to American culture? Many of the intellectuals among the newcomers thought of themselves as being the bearers of a higher civilization and their descendants have been assiduous in pressing their claims, so that to-day the racial origin of every man who has achieved distinction has been duly acclaimed. We have lists of statesmen, soldiers, poets, novelists, engineers, and educators presenting a formidable array.

It is submitted, however, that this method does not reach the heart of the problem. It is in the township, the village, or the city ward that the leaven in the lump can be detected. There the investigator will find the German singing society which gradually took into its ranks non-Germans, stimulated the formation of other societies, and provided a winter's concert course. There he will find the immigrant music teacher who passed on the training of his old-world masters to hundreds of the offspring of a dozen nations. He will see a reading circle develop into a library indelibly characterized by the particular bent of its originators, thereby determining the literary character of the community. He will see the immigrant schoolmaster expressing his own education and producing among his pupils an unusually large proportion of scientists, philosophers, or farmers. When a few hundred such studies have been made and compared, then we can more confidently say what each race has contributed to the cultural possessions of American society.

In certain centres the mingling of racial contributions may be analyzed. There are the universities, many members of whose faculties have been drawn from the European institutions and whose training can be traced in the organization and scope of the curriculum as well as in the class-room. Hundreds of each nationality have sat in Congress and in the state legislatures. Have they been especially active in producing legislation that will foster the development of arts and sciences? In the cities there have existed theatres promoted by almost every national group. When they disappeared did they leave any trace of their influence upon the American stage? At what times and for what reasons have European classics become popular either in the original or in translation? What scientific, literary, artistic, or musical causes have been championed by the national societies? What literature did the immigrants produce and what characteristic traits of contemporary American literature may be traced to this origin? ⁷

⁷ The immigrants produced many novelists whose work will never live as fiction. But as reactions to American environment these attempts repay study. Characters and plots are drawn from the community life with which the authors were acquainted.

These questions can be answered only by access to sources that depict the inner life of a group. Such a source is found in the foreign-language press. Fortunately it was most numerous. To peruse the pages gives a vivid cross-section of community activities. Their advertisements show the food, clothing, books; their news columns express their own doings as well as those of their American neighbors. To the foreigner who had church, school, club, and society the newspaper told of the larger American world in which he lived, and assisted materially in the transition from the old to the new.⁸

But it is as political exponents or political instructors that the foreign press will always command the greatest attention; and throughout the nineteenth century, with the increasing percentage of naturalized voters, its relation to each of the succeeding political crises becomes of greater significance. In these matters, however, it is a question whether it merely reflected group opinion or made it. In another and increasingly important field it became the guide—foreign affairs. Not until the World War does the foreign press appear as a great public influence. But that influence was not of sudden growth. Whatever may be said of the course of the American press generally in respect to European news before the war, the foreign-language press was not ignorant and did not slight such topics. Each of the diplomatic crises that mark off the advance to August, 1914, forms the basis of news and editorial comment that reflected the prevailing opinion in the country of origin. Consequently these people in America were almost as prepared for war, psychologically, as any in Europe; and when the conflict did come the whole battery of the press was turned upon the American policy of neutrality, thus creating many of the internal problems of the troubled years from 1914 to 1917. The historian who will attempt to unravel the political skein of that period must first trace the development of the international state of mind of the groups with which he deals.

Mrs. Mary Sadlier and Paul Peppergrass (Rev. John Boyce) write of the Irish, J. R. Psenka of the Czechs, and Abraham Cahan of the Jews. Among the Scandinavian writers are the well-known Knut Hamsun and Johan Bojer. But less prominent authors such as Waldemar Ager should not be overlooked.

⁸ In addition to a study of certain important papers which may well be called the mouthpieces of respective groups, it would be enlightening to investigate the careers of some of the leading journalists. Among them are: Oswald Ottendorfer of the New York *Staats-Zeitung*; Hermann Raster of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*; William Doenzer of the *Anzeiger des Westens*; John Anderson of *Skandinaven*; Byrnild Anundsen of *Decorah Posten*; Patrick Donahoe and John B. O'Reilly of the Boston *Pilot*; Patrick Ford of the *Irish World*; James A. McMaster of the New York *Freeman's Journal*; Col. Hans Mattson of the *Svenska Amerikaner*; and Solon J. Vlastos of the Greek paper *Atlantis*.

In the formation of this state of mind the press was by 1914 receiving the assistance of powerful allies. The foreign national elements were becoming more conscious of their origin. Immigrants of forty years' residence were becoming reflective. An unusually large number of reminiscences appeared; histories were being written; and alliances, foundations, and leagues were being organized. Though very largely cultural in their ambitions, these national societies could not exclude politics in times of crisis, and in 1914 they played the rôle in national politics that for practically a century local societies had enacted in their own neighborhoods.

It is in these local circles that the student of the influence of racial groups in American politics will make his start. There are perhaps a hundred of such clubs that demand an historian. He will investigate the circumstances attending the organization of each, trace the political allegiance of the moving spirits in the venture, analyze its programmes, ferret out the speakers, and interpret the toasts at the annual banquets. Soon he will find its leaders becoming aldermen and its more prosperous members being favored with city and state contracts. Governors and mayors appear on the programmes. The advantages of naturalization are urged and committees are appointed to welcome the immigrants and train them up in the political way in which they should go. These features, be it emphasized, are not necessarily the most important activities of the society. Charity and good fellowship may be more pronounced as prestige and wealth grow with numbers. But this approach to the problem is the direct path into the maze of local politics where new and bewildered voters are captured for this or that party, and in turn the party is influenced in its attitude towards even national issues.

The immigrant came with many preconceived attitudes which were the basis of his reaction to American life. One of them relates that for ten years before his departure he read every printed word he could find on the United States; he read all the letters which reached the village from those who had already migrated; and when he heard that here or there within the range of a dozen miles someone had returned to visit relatives or friends he called on foot to catechize him more particularly. From such reminiscences, in newspapers and magazines, books and lectures, an attempt should be made to deduce the prevailing attitude towards American problems at various periods, in order to estimate the background of political reactions. Important among such sources will be the addresses and writings of the many successful immigrants who were later returned to their native country to serve as ministers and consuls and who looked upon themselves as interpreters of America to their former compatriots.

The political machines found the foreigners susceptible. The issues that were emphasized, the attentions paid to visiting foreign notables, the injection of religious controversies were all means to an end. The fire, police, and street departments of every city have a racial history. Naturalization clubs flourished in all communities, some of them bona-fide efforts to train immigrants into the status of citizens, others the creatures of the machine. Their activities should be related to the nature of the impending political struggles. As early as the decade of the 'thirties, efforts to secure the German or Irish vote may be recognized locally. The spread of such tactics from city government to state government and thence on into national politics should be traced.

In the rural regions, either the foreigners in one township were so few that they did not count, or so many that they had entire control. A township of the latter type will provide an enlightening laboratory. Here is a community governed by men who have had no training in democracy, and with only the barest outlines of the structure provided by a higher authority. Under such circumstances what type of man came forward? Was political service looked upon as a burden? Now that they were in the land of freedom did they hasten to govern themselves? Did they merely imitate their neighbors or were they more progressive or more conservative? To which did they pay the more attention, schools or roads? Were the German immigrants after 1848 more politically-minded than their predecessors, and did any change occur after 1871? It is questions such as these that the student who has before him the records of a North Dakota or a Wisconsin township can answer.

With these matters disposed of, it will be more possible to generalize as to whether the immigrants have contributed anything to American political ideals. Perhaps they have retarded the progress of democracy by burdening it with a mass of citizens lacking the qualities necessary for self-government. It may be that their European attitude has led to more social legislation and has fostered the movement towards centralization. On occasion they have forgotten that they were in America and have been more interested in fighting the battles of the old country than in participating in those of the new; but in so doing they have inadvertently complicated the existing American issues and created many entirely new.⁹ Irish, German, Hungarian, Polish, and Italian patriotic movements operated from

⁹ This is especially true of the Irish, who for almost a century championed the cause of their island through a series of movements: the Repeal agitation of the 'forties, the Fenianism of the 'sixties, the Land League of the 'eighties, and the Sinn Fein movement of our own time. Each of these will be found closely connected with the social as well as the political issues of the time.

an American base about the middle of the last century; and research will probably reveal that the emergence of the new nations of Eastern and Central Europe in consequence of the war was possible only because there had existed in America, for a generation or two, active colonies of those nationalities, which had kept alive the ideal of independence and which could offer financial support and political pressure when the time for reconstruction had arrived. All such activities, which to the natives have seemed so alien to American life, have prepared the way for the anti-foreigner movements from the time of the Know-nothings down to the era of No-entanglements and the new immigration act.¹⁰

Countries of origin were never blind to their loss when they saw their ports thronged with the sturdiest of their peasantry. Efforts to stem the movement were attempted. To the student these efforts will by contrast indicate the strength of the forces that attracted to America, and reveal the local conditions that urged departure. Special attention should be directed to the societies which in the Scandinavian countries agitated against emigration, and the relation of empire settlement to the variations in the flow of the British current. The positive policy of Italy in securing economic advantages from the movement will be found an essential factor in the development of the characteristics of the new immigration.

European governments, moreover, realized that their political as well as their economic life was involved. Experience with a few returned radicals revealed a new threat to their institutions. Consequently all who had been in America were looked upon with suspicion and if necessary their freedom in action and speech was limited. At times newspapers and periodicals, books, and even personal letters were subjected to the censor. But it was evidently all in vain. And here is a rich field for those who would trace the development of nineteenth-century democracy. What influence American political theory had upon the minds of those who were the leaders; how the framework of the American republic was the model for projected European republics; and how the peasant who had neither political theories nor visionary governments in mind vaguely began to feel that things could be better because they were better across the Atlantic—these circumstances require investigation. It is not unlikely that the

¹⁰ Political biography offers a great array of governors and members of Congress. They should be studied more from the point of view of their relations to the group from which they came. Though Carl Schurz has often been written of as an American statesman, his career as a German-American is even more significant. Governor John A. Johnson, Senators Knute Nelson and James Shields, and the Bohemian Charles Jonas, who had a varied career at home and abroad, should be approached from this point of view.

results of such researches will compel a revaluation of factors and the "leaven of the French Revolution", which has so long stood first in the list, will be displaced by the influence of America, gradually becoming known to Europeans as a practical example of democracy, conducted by men among whom were those who had once been their neighbors.

The above topics indicate the type of source-material from which the history of immigration can be drawn. Not until the movement was clearly defined were bureaus for its supervision created by the European governments. Long before their reports appear, however, pertinent official documents are available. There are ponderous investigations of land tenure, feudal services, taxation, marriage laws, poverty, and military affairs, that contribute to an understanding. Petitions to legislatures provoked debates in which members added their testimony and suggested remedies. Consuls residing abroad reported on the fate of fellow-countrymen who had settled in their districts. There were charitable organizations that investigated the feasibility of obtaining relief by systematic emigration and in doing so laid bare the social maladjustments that were stimulating departure and the actual conditions under which emigration was already taking place. Farmers discussed the problems of rural labor at their annual meetings, and local correspondents of agricultural journals, in reporting from month to month on weather conditions and harvest prospects, commented on the changes in population that were effecting a revolution in local society.

In the countries of Northwest Europe, emigration produced a literature of its own. Before commerce undertook the task of watching over the voyager from his native village to his new home, emigrants travelled "by the book". A comparative study of these guides reveals the changes that took place from decade to decade in the routes, difficulties, costs, and even motives of emigration. But books could not keep up with the ever changing conditions of the new world, and emigrants' periodicals began to appear with the first great wave of the movement. Their files present a rich opportunity, with advertisements of land and transportation companies, news items, letters from settlers, notes on labor conditions, and descriptive poetry and fiction.¹¹

¹¹ The following list of German and Swiss emigrant papers is probably not complete, but it indicates their nature: *Der Nordamerikaner* (St. Gall, 1833-1834); *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung* (Rudolstadt, 1846-1871); *Der Deutsche Auswanderer* (Darmstadt, 1847-1850); *Germania, Archiv zur Kenntniss des Deutschen Elements in allen Ländern der Erde* (Frankfurt am Main, 1847-1850); *Der Sächsische Auswanderer* (Leipzig, 1848-1851); *Der Auswanderer am Niederrhein* (Meurs, 1848-1849), a series of pamphlets; *Deutsche Auswanderer-Zeitung*

In time, catering to the needs of the emigrants became the principal business for several months of the year at the ports of embarkation. Their newspapers and commercial journals, and the official city and port documents record the almost daily variation in the flow, as well as the general trade conditions influencing transportation. City information bureaus were established, protective societies formed, and religious organizations were not slow in undertaking missionary work. All of these left their documents. The actual transatlantic journey is depicted in the works of travellers, all of whom made excursions through the steerage. The less picturesque aspects of the business may be discovered in the annual reports of shipping companies, the columns of commercial periodicals, and official investigations of the passenger trade.

In America all sources of pioneer history can make a contribution. But there are two which bear directly on the foreign element in the process. The one is the immigrant press discussed above, the other the great mass of literature connected with the religious condition of the immigrants. Bishops and missionaries on their travels could not overlook the material situation of their flocks, and in their reports this interest was reflected. How much lies buried in church archives

(Bremen, 1852-1875); *Hansa, Central Organ für Deutsche Auswanderung* (Hamburg, 1852-1857); *Hamburger Zeitung für Deutsche Auswanderungs- und Kolonisations-Angelegenheiten* (Hamburg, 1852-1858); *Das Westland: Magazin zur Kunde Amerikanischer Verhältnisse* (Bremen, 1851-1852); *Atlantis: Zeitschrift für Leben und Literatur in England und Amerika* (Dessau, 1853-1854); *Neuestes über Auswanderung und von Ausgewanderten* (1850-1853), an annual review edited by August Schultze; *Anschauungen und Erfahrungen in Nordamerika, eine Monatschrift* (Zurich, 1853-1855); *Schilderungen aus Amerika, eine Monatschrift* (Zurich, 1859-1860); *Taschen-Bibliothek der Reise-, Zeit-, und Lebensbilder* (Rudolstadt, 1854-1857), including an annual emigrants' calendar; *Der Tollense-Bote, Blätter zur Unterhaltung und Belehrung, Auswanderungs-Zeitung und Anzeiger für Mecklenburg* (Neubrandenburg, 1855-1856); *Der Emigrant* (Bremen, 1868); *Der Auswanderer* (Zurich, 1872-1873); *Der Pfadfinder* (Gotha, 1872-1873); *Weltpost: Blätter für Deutsche Auswanderung, Kolonisation, und Weltverkehr* (Leipzig, 1881-1885); *Neue Auswanderungs-Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1880-1881), continued as *Deutsch-Amerikanische Zeitung* (1882); *Amerikanische Nachrichten* (Berlin, 1883-1884), continued as *Deutsche Weltpost* (1885-1886). In addition to these, volume III. of *Der Kolonist* (Bern) appeared in 1854, and volume VIII. of the *Schweizerische Auswanderungszeitung* (Bern), in 1873; but I have not yet been able to locate complete files of these two papers.

For British emigrants the following papers, all published in London, appeared: *The Emigration Gazette* (1841-1843); *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (1848-1849); *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal* (1848-1849); *The Universal Emigration and Colonial Messenger* (1850-1851); *The Emigration Record and Colonial Journal* (1856-1858); *Land and Emigration* (1871-1873); *The American Settler* (1872-1874 and 1880-1892). *The Anglo-American Times* (1865-1896), though not primarily an emigrant journal, contains a great deal of information about land, the process of settlement, and the industrial situation.

can only be imagined. The great amount that found its way into print has hardly been touched.¹² In Europe societies were formed to promote the spiritual welfare of the diaspora, and their publications are even more informative.¹³

Very often the history of a parish is the history of an immigrant community and the local press should be searched for commemorative addresses on anniversary occasions and for biographical sketches of the clergy.

But such materials can be found in very few libraries to which students have ready access. A long and semi-blind search for their location is necessary before the investigator can attack his problems. Especially one who studies a common phase of all emigrations is confronted by an almost hopeless task. Accordingly it is suggested that as the first step in opening up the field a survey be made to locate the raw materials. Such a survey would extend beyond the libraries of universities and the great public libraries. It would explore the riches of the theological institutions and the archives of church headquarters. It would reveal unexpected treasures on the shelves of local historical societies and in the libraries of immigrant communities. It would discover under what conditions the files of an immigrant newspaper may be consulted or, if defunct, into whose hands they have passed. Such a comprehensive investigation would do more than shorten the labors of the student. It would be the best guaranty that the history of American immigration be written on the broad and impartial lines that its place in national development deserves.

MARCUS L. HANSEN.

¹² How extensive this literature is may be realized by referring to the article "Periodical Literature" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XI., pp. 692-696; and to the list of Lutheran papers in John G. Morris's *Bibliotheca Lutherana* (Philadelphia, 1876), pp. 131-139.

¹³ The most important of these publications are: *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* (Lyons, 1827-); *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthum Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1832-); *Das Missionsblatt* (Barmen, 1826-); *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (Leipzig, 1837-); *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nordamerika* (Berlin, 1843-); *Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeinde* (Hamburg, 1837-); and *Fliegende Blätter aus dem Rauhen Hause zu Horn* (Hamburg, 1844-).

THE PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY: A BRIEF ESTIMATE OF THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

IT is very fortunate for those who would study the decade 1835-1845 in the history of the United States that practically all the correspondence and books of the largest American business firm of the period have been preserved and are accessible.¹ In the economic and political life of the United States during these years the American Fur Company was a factor that has not been accorded its due prominence. Its agents were stationed from Canton to Leipzig and included some of the foremost business men of the day; its chief interest was furs, skins, and buffalo robes, which it secured from Indians and whites by means of factors throughout the length and breadth of the present territory of the United States; its secondary interests were the manufactures that it purchased in Europe and America to barter for these peltries; and its minor activities included the fisheries of Lake Superior, the maple-sugar industry, the lead trade, the sale of flour, and steamboating on the Western waters and along the American seaboard. For practically every phase of American life during the decade these papers hold items of interest: commerce, banking, domestic markets, politics, domestic manufactures, transportation, religious conditions, education, settlement of the West, land speculation, Indian policy, travel and travelers, the panic of 1837, foreign relations, and very many others. The close connection existing between this company and some of the outstanding business men of Europe also makes these papers unplumbed sources of information on the economic and social con-

¹ The American Fur Company's papers are now in the possession of the New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York City. Regarding their history Mr. Alexander J. Wall, the librarian of the society, wrote on Oct. 21, 1924, to the Minnesota Historical Society: "The history of these Papers is very brief. Mr. John D. Clute, of New York City, a member of this Society 1854-1879, who died November 9, 1879, in his eighty-sixth year, was for many years a Trustee of the American Fur Company. On February 16, 1863, the Society purchased from him the collection of American Fur Company Papers, consisting of eight chests. The amount paid was eighty dollars. These Papers remained in these chests in the Society's old building on Second Avenue and Eleventh Street for many years without a single inquiry ever being made for their use. When we moved into this building they still remained unpacked until we built the steel and glass cases on the Library floor which now house our manuscript collection. They were then placed in these cases and your Institution is making the second examination which these Papers have ever had."

ditions of Europe. In other words, one could hardly get from any single group of papers a more accurate cross-section of American life for the decade 1835-1845 than these papers afford.

The period covered by the papers may be said to be the years from 1834 to 1847, though certain records antedate and some follow that period. They may be classified roughly as follows: original letters received from factors, foreign and domestic agents, rivals, politicians, and many others; copies of letters sent by the company; records of orders for goods to be shipped to factors in the fur country and lists of furs received from the Indians in exchange for these goods; and records of sundry other transactions consequent on the bartering of goods for furs. The letters sent and received alone number over sixteen thousand. Their chief topic is, of course, the fur trade, but quite apart from the information they afford on this topic, they are records of the business, social, and political life of hundreds of localities as widely separated as Smyrna and Sault Ste. Marie. The books of the company give the figures and mathematical calculations mentioned in the letters. They afford the details, telling exactly how many furs were shipped, of what varieties, by whom, at what cost, and how and to whom sold. Certain files of volumes relate wholly to the receipt of furs; others to shipment and sales of furs; one series is entitled "Orders Inward" and gives the lists of goods ordered from European and American firms; another is called "Orders Outward" and lists the furs, with their values, which were shipped to England and other markets. It is from these volumes that the historian of the fur trade in the United States will get the greater part of his statistical data. Bills of lading, accounts current, old drafts, inventories of stock, lists of employees, contracts, deeds, and other loose papers have also been preserved in embarrassing richness.

The need for such a collection of documents, showing in their entirety all the methods of getting and marketing furs and skins, has been felt for many years. The only other group that has been preserved in anything like its original form, the papers of the Hudson's Bay Company, is not open to students, and, even if they were accessible, they could hardly be called typical of the papers of American fur companies. As far as is known, the papers of the North-West Company, the other big fur company in North America, were either joined with those of the Hudson's Bay Company when the merger of the two concerns was effected in 1821, or have been lost. Only a few items are available.

The American Fur Company was organized by John Jacob Astor in 1808 and was closely affiliated with one of the Montreal fur companies. Despite the Treaty of Paris, British traders still controlled a large part of the fur-yielding area of northwestern United States at the close of the War of 1812. In 1816 Astor secured control of the fur trade in the United States by engineering the passage by Congress of an act restricting to Americans the issuance of fur-traders' licenses. From that time until 1834 his was the great fur company in the United States.

For the period prior to 1834 only scattering business papers of this firm have been preserved, since the great New York fire of 1835 destroyed a large body of them.² In the old hotel at Mackinac may still be seen three of the letter-books kept by Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart, factors of the company at Mackinac, from 1816 to 1828; in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa are six ledgers of the Northern Department of the company for the years 1817-1835; in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library is a body of papers of the company, apparently those of its agent at Mackinac, covering the years 1816 to 1834; in the Chicago Historical Society collection are the papers of John Lawe, agent at Green Bay; in the Missouri Historical Society collection are the papers of a number of agents and associates of Astor's company, especially the Prattes, Chouteaus, Menards, McKenzies, and so forth; in the collections of the historical societies of Wisconsin and Minnesota are the papers of Alexis Bailly, the agent at the mouth of the St. Peter's, now the Minnesota, River; and in these collections and those of other Western historical agencies may be found the personal papers of several agents of the company, which usually include more or less of business data.

Therefore, since only these oddly assorted and widely separated records of the American Fur Company in its first phase have been preserved, the main source of documentary data on the fur trade of the United States is seen to be the papers of the American Fur Company for the years 1834-1847, which fortunately have been preserved almost in their entirety. Moreover, as fur-trade methods varied but little from 1760 to 1840, one can get from papers as late as these a very correct view of methods in vogue at a much earlier period.

John Jacob Astor and his son withdrew from the American Fur Company in 1834. It was reorganized immediately under its old name as a corporation under the laws of New York, after a

² This information was obtained from members of the Astor family.

proposal for incorporation in Michigan had been considered and rejected because of the fear that a tax would be levied there on its capital stock. Ramsay Crooks, a survivor of the Astorians and long Astor's right-hand man in the fur trade, was elected president. Eight stockholders are mentioned in the first dividend statement. Offices and warehouses were maintained in the Vesey and Pearl streets neighborhood, the centre of commercial New York; and outfit and department headquarters were located at Prairie du Chien (Western Outfit), Mackinac (Northern Department), Lapointe (Northern Outfit), Sault Ste. Marie (St. Mary's Outfit), and Detroit (Detroit Department). Other stations and substations dotted the wilderness from Detroit to Devil's Lake, the most notable being those at Grand River, Fond du Lac (modern Duluth), Chicago, Sandy Lake, Green Bay, Milwaukee, and the mouth of the Minnesota River. All business was carried on by means of the outfits and departments. Goods were bought in Europe and America for each unit and debited to it on the company's books. Opposite these entries were placed the credit items of the number of packs of furs and robes shipped by the unit to the New York office. The trade for the region west of the Mississippi was mainly in the hands of Pratte, Chouteau, and Company (after 1838 Pierre Chouteau, jr., and Company) of St. Louis. As Bernard Pratte was Crooks's father-in-law, a family tie united the two companies. The American Fur Company marketed the furs and robes of the St. Louis firm and purchased its articles for the Indian trade. Since the factors of Pratte, Chouteau, and Company were found scattered from the Canadian border to Texas and beyond the Rocky Mountains, and since the American Fur Company controlled the area east of the Mississippi, the scope of the American Fur Company may be said to have covered the entire fur-producing area of the United States.

That the fur trade was a profitable business the papers of the company leave no room to doubt. As late as 1840 William Brewster, a stockholder and agent of the company at Detroit, collected three hundred thousand dollars' worth of furs and skins in his warehouses in one season. Apparently, too, they were drawn only from southern Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. From the letter that tells of this collection one can get an idea of the profit of the business.³ Of the three hundred thousand dollars to be derived from the sale of these furs, Brewster wrote that he expected to clear seventy-five thousand. In the same year the company planned to declare a dividend of twenty-five per cent., and presumably it did so.

³ Brewster to Crooks, May 6, 1840.

In 1836 its dividend was ten per cent. and in 1837 it was fifteen per cent. Thus the American Fur Company was doing a thriving business in the late 'thirties.

From another angle, that of the degree of competition that the company encountered, one arrives at the same conclusion regarding the prosperity of the fur trade. During the period from 1838 to 1842 the whole Ohio valley was a scene of cutthroat competition. The latter epithet is ordinarily reserved for describing business methods that characterized the opening of the era of "big business". It is used advisedly, however, in referring to the tactics of the American Fur Company and its rivals, for one of the conclusions to be derived from reading the correspondence and studying the books of the company is that here was an instance of big business half a century before its time.

During the period above mentioned the company's chief rivals were W. G. and G. W. Ewing, a fur house of Fort Wayne; a German concern represented by a man named Hotte; and a certain Oppenheim, apparently the representative of another German house. The agents of the first concern all but came to blows with Crooks's representatives at Dayton, Perrysburg, Vincennes, Peru, Evansville, Fort Wayne, Logansport, South Bend, and other places in the Ohio valley. The grim determination of each side to win the struggle may be sensed from George Hunt's letter of May 27, 1839, in which he wrote that the Ewings had eleven buyers out against him in the vicinity of Madison, Indiana. Brewster's zest for the "war of extermination", as Crooks characterized this struggle with the Ewings, was contagious—so much so that Crooks had to put a damper on the ardor of his representatives, admonishing Brewster that no questionable policy should be pursued by the company's agents. Nevertheless, Brewster in one of his letters could not refrain from gloating over his success in securing a collection of furs for which Hotte had made a contract.⁴ He also wrote that he represented to certain fur collectors in Ohio that the company would ruin them if they did not make a permanent arrangement with it. "Buy everything you can lay your hands on without fear, except beaver and muskrats", was Crooks's own advice in the spring of 1838; and in August he wrote to his London correspondent and agent, Curtis M. Lampson, that he did not expect a certain shipment of deerskins to bring more than cost, as they were purchased merely to prevent Hotte from getting them. The explanation for this reckless purchasing of furs and skins was the realization by Crooks that the

⁴ May 19, 1838.

American Fur Company must control the fur market of the United States if Lampson was to control the Continental sale for it. In other words, the company aimed to become a monopoly.

Relations of traders and Indians to the company's chief rival in the sale of furs, the Hudson's Bay Company, are disclosed again and again in its correspondence. Most cordial interchanges of courtesies were made, especially between Crooks and Sir George Simpson, the governor of the English company, and between the factors of the two companies at the Sault. Part of this good-will was due to an agreement between the two companies that the English firm should control the fur trade in a region north of Lake Superior corresponding roughly with the modern Cook County, Minnesota, in return for the annual payment of three hundred pounds sterling. Thus competition was avoided. On the other hand the American Fur Company's agent in London, Curtis M. Lampson, was a bitter rival of the Hudson's Bay Company in the actual fur market and made regular reports to Crooks of the furs received by that concern from Canada and, especially, from the region about the Columbia River. Nor was Lampson slow to announce his joy when the Columbia River ship failed to arrive in London. Those who are interested in determining the cause for the English government's ready relinquishment of the Oregon country in 1846 would do well to study the figures of fur returns from that region from 1834 to 1846 as given in the American Fur Company's papers. Other aspects of relations between the two companies are touched upon in the correspondence between Lampson and Crooks. Thus in 1838, when the Canadian rebellion was at its height, Crooks wrote in reply to a letter from Lampson inquiring about the effect of a possible separation of Canada from Great Britain: "The troubles in Canada may *in time* produce a separation from the mother country, and in that case no doubt the new Governments first step would be to destroy the influence of the Bay Company, and their expulsion would follow as a matter of course, and the trade be thrown open to private competition among the Citizens of the new Power."⁵

In the story of the fur trade as told in these papers there is no more interesting portion than the influence of fashions on the wayward whims and vagaries of commerce both domestic and foreign. Reading the letters of Crooks and his correspondents day by day, one is impressed with the vast amount of difference which the change from beaver to silk hats, for example, made to thousands of persons. Apparently about 1830 Dame Fashion decreed that silk should be

⁵ Mar. 8, 1838.

the *non plus ultra* in materials for hats. This was a blow to dealers in beaver and muskrat furs, which hitherto had been the most necessary articles in the hatter's business. About the same period nutria, especially that from South America, became more fashionable than muskrat fur. Thus two of the American Fur Company's chief articles of trade, the muskrat skins from the upper waters of the Mississippi and the beaver from the Rocky Mountains and New Mexico, became of very much less value than formerly. A letter from Crooks in August, 1836, definitely stated that the home consumption of beaver was greatly diminished in consequence of the almost universal use of silk hats.

An unsuspected blow to the company's beaver-sales came in 1842 when the old beaver headdress worn in the British army was replaced by a new kind of cap. In 1838 the product of another region, the deerskins from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, of which great numbers were shipped yearly to Lampson for sale at the Leipzig fairs, was threatened by the substitution of Cape goatskins by German dressers. In the late 'thirties bear fur became a very popular trimming and prices rose accordingly. Raccoons were also in great demand in the late 'thirties and early 'forties. The source of the supply for this demand is shown in a letter of May 19, 1838, in which Brewster reported that by June 10 he would have shipped twenty thousand raccoon skins from Detroit. These skins were obtained mainly in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Crooks's firm depended largely for its profits upon the prices which furs brought in the Leipzig fairs. The great fur markets of the world were the annual Easter and Michaelmas fairs at Leipzig, at which were sold, among others, the peltries of the American and Canadian forests that had reached the Continent by way of the English fur dealers. Every fur buyer in America watched for the results of these sales as eagerly as business men to-day read of the activities of the New York stock exchange. The correspondence of foreign representatives of the American Fur Company from 1834 to 1847 affords a history of prices and conditions in each Leipzig fair during that period.

The fact that the chief markets for American furs and skins were in foreign lands should be stressed. If there is one conviction, deeper than any other, to be gained from reading the papers of the American Fur Company, it is that the history of the fur trade should be studied against the background of world conditions. The period of these papers witnessed a great upheaval in fur-marketing conditions; and the letters of Crooks and his foreign correspondents are

among the best reports of the changes that were occurring. American furs had always found their way to the Leipzig fairs through the English auctions, chiefly those of C. M. Lampson. Soon after 1835, apparently, German firms began to make attempts to purchase and ship American furs direct to Leipzig. The bitter fight with which Lampson and Crooks countered these attacks on their monopoly schemes has already been mentioned. One of the best brief histories of the fur trade seen in its general world outlines, *Der Rauchwaaren-Handel*, by Heinrich Lomer, makes special mention of the beginning of the direct trade between Germany and the United States:

Die Pelz-Compagnien oder die grösseren Handlungshäuser senden die amerikanische Waare entweder nach London, nach Leipzig oder auch nach New-York, von welchem letzteren Platze sie, in andere Hände übergegangen, auch entweder an Commissionshäuser und Makler nach London, oder nach Leipzig an Rauchwaarenhandlungen versandt wird. Von den Londoner Maklern werden die Waaren mehr oder weniger gut sortirt und in zwei oder dreimal jährlich wiederkehrenden grossen Auctionen, gewöhnlich im Anschlusse an die Auction der Hudsonsbay-Compagnie, verkauft. Eines der grossen Londoner Commissionshäuser, welches seit 32 Jahren den grössten Theil der Waaren empfangen hat, ist das von C. M. Lampson, eines viel Organisationsgeist besitzenden und energischen Mannes.

Derselbe pflegt das Quantum in mehrere Auctionen einzutheilen, und oftmals selbst, wenn er eine Ueberfüllung des Marktes fürchtet, Waaren jahrelang aufzusparen. Wird nun durch das lange Lagern die Waare einestheils unscheinbar, und müssen andererseits die Eigenthümer lange Zeit auf vollständige Abrechnung warten, und ist es unmöglich, dass ein Londoner Haus, welches für Export-Waaren kaum 30 Käufer hat, den Markt so beurtheilen kann, wie ein Leipziger Haus, welches deren fünfhundert besitzt, so ist es auch hauptsächlich vielen Amerikanern klar geworden, dass durch die Kosten des Londoner Zwischenhandels, welche mehr denn 10 Procent betragen, die Waare um ebensoviel theurer wird. Dieses und die Sorgfalt der Leipziger Handlungshäuser haben, zum grossen Theil erst in den letzten Jahren, dem Waarenzug eine directe Richtung gegeben. In Leipzig wird die Waare nach Platzzusätzen verkauft.⁶

Lomer's description of the fairs is also worth quoting in part:

Zum Einkaufe sowohl, wie zum Verkaufe versammeln sich auf unserer Messe die vornehmsten Kaufleute, Rauchwaarenhändler und Kürschner aus allen Ländern: Nordamerikaner, Engländer, Franzosen, Italiener, Schweizer, Holländer, Schweden, Dänen, Tartaren, Russen, Griechen, Polen, Wallachen, Ungarn und endlich Deutsche aus allen namhaften Städten. Wenn wir die Zahl von 2500 fremden Rauchwaarenhändlern annehmen, so glauben wir nicht zu hoch zu greifen.⁷

⁶ *Der Rauchwaaren-Handel* (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 24-26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

He then lists the furs bought by representatives of the different nations there gathered, paying particular attention to the Greek buyers with their imposing clothes and red fezzes, who, incidentally, cut quite a figure also in Lampson's reports to Crooks on the Leipzig fairs. Lomer then continues:

Die russischen und sibirischen Waaren, die in England und Amerika gebraucht werden, gehen zum grössten Theile durch die Hände der Leipziger Kaufleute. Die Waaren der Verein. Staaten Nord-Amerikas und Canadas, die früher nur mittelst der Londoner Auctionen hierhergekommen sind, kommen seit den letzten Jahren direct zu unserm Markt, aus welchem Allen hervorleuchtet, dass der Rauchwaarenhandel Leipzigs an Bedeutung zugenommen hat.⁸

Curtis Miranda Lampson, of whom mention has been made, was an Englishman by adoption but a Vermonter by birth. Like Joshua Bates and several other Americans he became the European agent for leading American commercial firms. His correspondence with Crooks is voluminous, for he made a practice of writing by every packet to New York. In it is mirrored the commercial life of England and her merchants—which means of course the commercial life of the world, for Englishmen were still the bankers and merchants of the industrial world.

The relations between Lampson and the American Fur Company are not wholly clear. As far as the papers of that company throw any light on the subject, Crooks seems to have believed that Lampson attended to the interests of only one American firm, his own. On the other hand, the papers of the Ewing brothers indicate that Lampson, during the same period, was marketing their furs.⁹ At all events, whether or not the American Fur Company was aware of Lampson's dual interest, Lampson urged upon Crooks the monopoly of the American fur market—and Crooks responded in the manner already described. Lampson's own objective was to prevent a direct trade from developing between America and Leipzig; or, to state it positively, to control the sales of furs from America.

Closely connected with the letters which disclose the methods, prices, and profits of the fur trade are those revealing the company's relations with the Indians. These were so close that no one should attempt to describe any phase of Indian policy in these years among the tribes about the Great Lakes and upper reaches of the Mississippi without consulting the papers of the company. By their aid one is led behind the scenes to behold characters who never appeared on

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 45.

⁹ The papers of W. G. and G. W. Ewing are in the possession of the Indiana State Library, Indianapolis. A calendar of them is being made.

the open stage, but who nevertheless helped to produce the nation's Indian policy. Ramsay Crooks was of course one of them; Charles Gratiot was another; Henry R. Schoolcraft and George Henry Jones were also anxious to please the American Fur Company. When the matter of Indian treaties, of payments, or of contracts for government goods was to the fore, correspondence between these men was almost certain to contain more details than were given to the public. An especially interesting situation developed in the Senate in 1842-1843, when Robert Stuart attempted to secure the confirmation of an Indian treaty very favorable to the American Fur Company. On January 5, 1843, Senator William Woodbridge wrote to Crooks that the treaty concluded by Stuart was in danger; that Chouteau's presence might be of decided benefit; that Senator Benton appeared violently opposed to the treaty; that the treaty was doomed if opposition should assume a party character; that the objections offered to the treaty were: (1) the country was not yet wanted, (2) the terms were too favorable to the interests of the American Fur Company, (3) the clause providing for the continuance of the United States laws (*i.e.*, prohibiting the introduction of ardent spirits, etc.) was contrary to states' rights, (4) if the secret working of the human heart could be looked into, one of the objections would be seen to rest upon the fact that this treaty was made by Robert Stuart, who was a friend of James Doty, and James Doty was the object of most vindictive hostility, (5) Stuart was once connected with the American Fur Company and was now friendly to it. Woodbridge remarked at the close that although he had not violated any rule of the Senate in writing this letter, considerations of propriety led him to request that it be burned. His next letter, of January 19, was more hopeful regarding the treaty: he had taken advantage of the intimate relations between Colonel Benton and Governor Cass to obtain intercession for the treaty and Cass had stated that there would be no further objections from Benton.

On May 21, 1835, Crooks wrote to John Lawe at Green Bay that the annuities were to be paid early in September and advised that Lawe should be prepared to secure a large share of the money, since it was more "certain" than the fur trade. Another evidence that the company did not depend for its entire profits upon the exchange of furs for goods was its eagerness to have one of its agents appointed sutler at Fort Snelling on the upper Mississippi. A letter of June 6, 1835, from Colonel Samuel C. Stambaugh to Crooks explains one source of this sutler's income: four companies were to be stationed at the fort and to each soldier the sutler was permitted

to sell daily two gills of wine and as much ale and porter as desired. Fort Snelling, he added, was considered the best army post for a sutler.

The manner in which Indian treaties benefited the company appears in Crooks's letter to Samuel Abbott, agent at Mackinac, June 23, 1838. The treaties have been ratified, he writes, and this action will supply funds for the company's western and northern outfits. On September 30, 1839, Crooks wrote from the West that the government had paid the Chippewa Indians and half-breeds, and that of the \$103,500 thus paid he now had \$59,000 with him. Of course the method of getting such sums from the government was to present claims against the Indians for goods never paid for by them in furs and skins as promised when credits were granted them.

Not all the American Fur Company's influence, however, was baneful to the Indians. Its letters show that above all else the company desired peace among the different tribes; and doubtless the frontier settlers had often to thank the company for the fact that they were left unmolested by the Indians. Moreover the company was in favor of prohibiting the sale of liquor to the Indians and of maintaining missions and schools among them. An amusing "subsidiary industry" maintained by the company was its sale of French wines in New York to support Father Frederick Baraga's little Catholic mission at Lapointe on the southern shore of Lake Superior. De Massiac and De Loisson, wine merchants of Pierry near Épernay, France, impressed by Baraga's devotion and high purpose to convert the Ojibways, apparently offered to give to the mission the proceeds from the sales of such wines as Crooks should receive for the purpose from them and should sell in New York. The correspondence relating to the shipment and arrival of wines, the sales, and the amount of proceeds, is quite extensive. Crooks apparently attended to the sales gratuitously. Such a service was quite in keeping with his character. He and his wife found time in their busy lives to attend to the education of numerous little half-breeds from the fur country, to search New York stores for music for traders in the wilds of Michigan and the region west of Lake Superior, to pick out and send worsteds for the embroidery of the traders' daughters, and to buy long lists of books for missionaries and traders. Hence it would not be strange if Crooks donated his services in raising money for the little Catholic chapel on Madeline Island, curious as this method of financing the salvation of souls may appear to the modern mind. To Baraga's credit it must be added that his temperance scruples displayed themselves several

times in protest against this manner of obtaining funds, but apparently without effect.

A topic closely related to that of Indian relations, regarding which Crooks carried on an extensive correspondence, was that of the making and marketing of woolen blankets. Probably few persons realize the significance of the blanket in the history of Indian relations. It was of the first importance because of the universal need of it among all tribes of Indians. Consequently great numbers were sent yearly beyond the frontier in the United States and to every nook and corner of western Canada. The keenest sort of competition existed among French, Belgian, and British merchants for this lucrative portion of the American Fur Company's trade, now one and now another getting the upper hand. Finally, in the 'thirties, the infant mills at Lowell and at Buffalo appeared in the struggle and the British merchants saw in them successful rivals. For the purpose of learning the secret of their competitors' success in selling blankets to the American Fur Company, both the British and the American blanket-makers secured samples of their rivals' wares—sometimes openly, sometimes surreptitiously—and the whole correspondence on this phase of the company's trade shows how fearful were the British merchants of losing such an immense part of their business.

Land speculation and the settlement of the frontier are topics in many letters. Solomon Juneau at Milwaukee reports in an especially enlightening way on the latter subject. The region about his trading post was receiving its first deluge of settlers in the latter half of the 'thirties, and Juneau's correspondence affords an excellent opportunity for watching the growing disparity between the interests of trader and farmer. Even some references to the pineries and the lumbering industry in Maine, Michigan, and Wisconsin are to be noted. In general it may be said that in these papers one can study in unusual detail the frontier as it existed east of the Mississippi between 1835 and 1850.

For a phase of economic history which needs further intensive study, the development of a home market for the produce of the Ohio Valley, these papers of the American Fur Company are worthy of attention. Practically all the butter, pork, cheese, flour, and corn that supplied hundreds of the company's factors about the Great Lakes and as far west as the upper branches of the Missouri were secured in Ohio, western New York, and Pennsylvania. Cleveland and Buffalo were the chief shipping points. William Brewster of Detroit had charge of the purchasing of these products each year,

and his letters to Crooks frequently quote prices and give the agricultural prospects of the farmers in these regions. Thus in 1840 and 1841, when the company was endeavoring to sell lake fish, Brewster's letters and those of his assistants describe the poverty of "our Hoosiers", who had no market for their bacon and pork and who consequently had very little ready money with which to vary their diet by means of fish. A little earlier Crooks had written thus:

So long as Pork and Beef commanded such high prices as they have for years past, the state of Ohio alone consumed nearly all the Fish that the whole of the upper Lakes produced; but the reduction in the value of flesh enables people to obtain it now at about the same rate as fish—and to be, and being prepared where it costs no more, less fish will be required for the country of the Lakes and the Ohio, and like all other articles that are more than equal to the demand, our Fish must fall in price unless we can rid ourselves of the surplus. It is therefore of vast importance to the success of the business under your management that we find so large a new opening as will take off all that Ohio cannot, or will not consume.¹⁰

References in the company's papers to the subsidiary industries in which it was interested are many. Thus the fisheries of Lake Superior, flour speculations, the maple-sugar trade, the copper trade of Lake Superior, the cranberry trade of the upper Mississippi, the lead trade of the Mississippi, and sales of sand for glass-making all receive attention. Many of these industries were relatively minor interests of the company, but the fisheries seemed at one time to be on the point of becoming a large and profitable business.¹¹ The correspondence with the Chouteau firms contains most of the data regarding the lead trade, and that with a Boston firm, the New England Glass Company, tells of the sales of sand for glass-making. With the rush of miners to the copper mines of Lake Superior in 1845, the references to the various companies, prices of ore, methods of shipment, and other phases of the copper industry become numerous.

Comments on current events and politics are scattered throughout the letters. On January 2, 1836, Crooks wrote that if President Jackson was determined on securing Indian lands in Michigan for the United States, "Means will be found to induce the Indians to sell". On the thirtieth of the same month Henry R. Schoolcraft

¹⁰ Crooks to Borup, Dec. 31, 1839.

¹¹ As the author has considered in some detail in another article the history of the Lake Superior fisheries, no further account of them will be given here. See Nute, "The American Fur Company's Fishing Enterprises on Lake Superior", in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII. 483-503.

reported to Crooks on the excitement occasioned by the chartering of the United States Bank by the legislature of Pennsylvania. Most of the correspondence with Lampson gives comments on the political or economic news of the country. Thus on April 5, 1838, Crooks wrote that the Whigs had won the election in Connecticut and that a Whig victory might "open Van Buren's eyes"; otherwise his "destructive course" would end in prostration for everybody. References to Locofocos are numerous, especially to the New York species, but even from far away Sault Ste. Marie came John Livingston's complaint of May 5, 1841, that the present postmaster was a Locofoco and generally disliked and that at the election held on November 1, 1840, he used "all and every illegal way" to secure his election—and succeeded therein.

Political wirepulling by the company was not unknown; on April 13, 1839, Crooks in a letter to Hercules L. Dousman described how efforts were being made to enlist the support of the Pennsylvania legislature in securing favorable action by Congress on Paquette's Indian claim. It is expedient, Crooks writes, to propitiate Pennsylvania, upon which Van Buren mainly relies for re-election. That the company secured any political advantages from Webster's indebtedness to it is unlikely, but correspondence with and about him shows the awkward reluctance with which it pressed its claims on him. From William A. Bradley's letter of March 19, 1839, it is plain that Webster, some years before, had given a note for \$10,000 to the company—which, a member of Pratte, Chouteau, and Company remarked, might be recovered "with time and very much patience". In 1840, however, the stock of patience seems to have run low, for plans were afoot for forcing a settlement. What the outcome was does not appear in the papers of the American Fur Company nor in the published letters of Webster; but, knowing that statesman's reputation for impecuniousness, one is inclined to doubt that the issue was satisfactory to the holder of the note.

From politics one turns to the educational facilities of the country and finds valuable information concerning secondary schools. The paternalism so characteristic of this great monopoly cared for little Virginia Rolette's education at a convent school in Georgetown in the District of Columbia and for her brother's at Fredericksburg; for Jane Holiday's at Miss Grant's school at Ipswich, Massachusetts; for John S. Garland's at College Point, New York; and for William Whipple Warren's and his brother's at Oneida Institute in the state of New York. These names represent only a few of the half-breed families of the frontier whose children were educated

largely because Ramsay Crooks took the responsibility for paying tuition as it came due, for arranging for personal escorts for the children to and from the schools, and even for solacing more than one homesick boy or girl. Private schools throughout the country, realizing the company's influence in securing patronage for them, often sent printed circulars describing the courses, expenses, and general conditions of their respective institutions. An example is a circular from St. Mary's Seminary, Perry County, Missouri, inclosed in a letter of March 18, 1838, which affords much information about the school.

A very large proportion of the letters received by the company affords data on transportation facilities. Nearly every domestic letter indicated the route by which the letter itself, or furs, or Indian goods would be forwarded. Hence anyone interested in the general details of transportation for these years can find in these letters an immense quantity of facts. Special phases of transportation, however, receive more than this kind of incidental mention. Thus the relative cost and preferability of the several routes over which goods might be sent from New York and other eastern points to St. Louis receive a good deal of attention. Much of the correspondence relating to this subject was carried on with Francis Ronaud of Pittsburgh, who served as forwarding agent for the powder ordered from Du Pont de Nemours and Company of Brandywine, and the firearms and other merchandise secured in Lancaster, Philadelphia, and other places in Pennsylvania. Correspondence with him gives the rates charged by wagoners on freight to Pittsburgh; the corresponding rates on the Pennsylvania canal during the months when it was open; the time required to ship goods from Pittsburgh both east and west; and the method, cost, and time required for shipping by keel boat from Pittsburgh to St. Louis.

Correspondence with Merle and Company of New Orleans, who served as the American Fur Company's agents at that point, and with Pratte, Chouteau, and Company of St. Louis gives data respecting transportation on the Mississippi River as compared with that of the Ohio River route. The latter stream was preferred for the shipment of furs from St. Louis—except sometimes in the winter months—because of the deterioration in quality which the hot weather of the South was likely to cause in the furs; and because thereby the New Orleans quarantine, annoying in its delays, was avoided. Likewise, letters to and from William Brewster, the agent at Detroit, and Gabriel Franchere, the agent for selling fish

along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, give some facts about rates and schedules on the Ohio canal.

As for transportation on the Great Lakes—in nearly every letter to and from agents in that region one can find references to sailing vessels or steamers. One of the most interesting phases of this subject is the construction of vessels for the Lake Superior trade. The company was the first to maintain a transportation line on that lake, though there had been earlier instances of vessels in its waters, notably those of the North-West Company, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the British Admiralty. Before 1842 the American Fur Company had at least two schooners and two smaller vessels on the lake and also maintained a brig on the lower lakes. At first the vessels on Lake Superior were not common carriers, but in 1844 they began to be used for carrying passengers and freight. The Erie Canal traffic as well as shipping facilities and forwarding houses between New York and Albany are discussed again and again in the company's correspondence.

With the letters pertaining to transportation might well be mentioned those bearing on insurance of various kinds. Marine insurance was obtained by the American Fur Company on goods shipped from New York to England and New Orleans by sea, and on the merchandise sent inland by way of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri rivers. Rates and methods were discussed in many letters. A number of bad accidents occurred which afford the student an opportunity of discovering whether the insurance companies covered losses promptly and satisfactorily. Fire insurance was also secured on the buildings and stock of all the important inland posts, like those at Detroit, the Sault, and Prairie du Chien; and on the storehouses and buildings in New York. The great New York fire of December, 1835, was the occasion for much correspondence concerning insurance. Immediately thereafter Crooks wrote to Joseph Blain of Philadelphia asking for \$40,000 insurance. Blain replied that for the present insurance boards would not accept any risks on New York accounts at any premium. This reply led Crooks to write, on December 21, to George Wildes and Company of London stating that American insurance companies were ruined and that the company's property was now unprotected and asking advice about getting insurance in London. On December 24 the Traders' Insurance Company of New York sent out a circular recalling all policies in order to be able to settle with sufferers from the recent fire. These and other letters indicate not only the kind of material that may be found on

fire insurance but also how local conditions and events are often described quite incidentally in business papers.

Like the correspondence relating to transportation, that dealing with banking conditions is voluminous. As much of the business of the company was transacted in the region where wildcat banks were most flourishing, the information on such institutions is of great value. Particularly for the panic of 1837 and the "hard times" of 1839 are the data instructive and interesting. On June 3, 1837, Rix Robinson, a trader on Grand River, Michigan, wrote to Crooks, "Panic pervades even the wilderness". The international aspect of the crisis also appears: in a letter of May 30, Gott and Sons, the company's agents in Leeds, wrote that commercial relations between the United States and Great Britain were so embarrassed as to cause alarm. The correspondence of C. M. Lampson of London gives useful information, otherwise difficult to find, regarding the amount and kinds of American securities held by Europeans. It is interesting, for example, to learn that in 1841 Lampson held certificates for ten thousand dollars' worth of Pennsylvania state stock and was interested in bonds of the state of Missouri. He also owned fifteen shares of the American Fur Company's stock.

On December 4, 1837, Brewster wrote in haste to Crooks that \$500,000 of a Michigan loan had been taken in Detroit and that the high rate of exchange would soon be reduced materially. "Now", he writes, "is the time to purchase our Michigan money in your city on speculation, and if the Company has funds or can borrow them, I have no doubt but a very handsome operation could be made in operating largely in the purchase of the certificates of our Banks." A list of Detroit banks follows. Similarly, references to banking conditions in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana are numerous throughout the letters of the company and its factors, the latter constantly drawing drafts on the company to pay for furs and skins purchased in those regions. It would be interesting to make a study showing how important as a source of ready cash the American Fur Company was in this country of scarce money.

Although Lampson was more intimately connected with the American Fur Company than any other foreigner, the correspondence with several other English firms was very heavy and revealed contacts between England and America that are well worth consideration. The company's books show that from \$150,000 to \$200,000 worth of furs was shipped yearly by the company to England, and this amount with the profit from sales was invested in

blankets, cutlery, silver ornaments, calico, strouds, vermillion, traps, guns, and a long list of other articles. Blankets and cloths were obtained from A. and S. Henry and Company and Benjamin Gott and Sons of Leeds, and from Crafts and Stell of Manchester. Hiram Cutler of Sheffield sent scalping knives, other knives, traps, flints, and a general assortment of cutlery. Fielden Brothers and Company and Crary, Fletcher, and Company, both of Liverpool, acted as shipping agents; and George Wildes and Company, of London, and later Wildes, Pickersgill, and Company of Liverpool, served, to a considerable extent at least, as bankers. Abstracts of a few letters from these firms will serve to illustrate the kind of data that can be found in their correspondence with the company.

On December 30, 1837, Wildes, Pickersgill, and Company sent an abstract of the American Fur Company's account current for the past six months showing a balance of £16,022 4s. 4d. in favor of the Liverpool firm. On February 8, 1838, Crooks wrote to Gott and Sons that he had shipped sample French blankets to them; that he considered French blankets superior to the English varieties, except that the latter were a clearer white—a point never overlooked by Indians; and he advised that three point blankets be reduced in size. On January 1, 1838, A. and S. Henry and Company sent a circular stating that trade had improved and prices were high, that the rise in prices of cotton was of importance to America, that the actual consumption of cotton in 1837 was greater than that of 1836, that wool and silk prices had advanced, that stocks of articles adapted to the American trade were light, and that time would be required for execution of orders.

Other foreign correspondents were De Massiac and De Loisson of Pierry, France, who shipped wines to Crooks to be sold in the chief American cities. In 1846 they were seeking to increase their sales in the United States and requested Crooks to present samples of their wines to individual Congressmen, as such generosity would extend a knowledge of their product to every state. Another French firm was represented by Alphonse Loubat, who secured blankets, ribbons, and other French merchandise. He seems to have been connected with a firm in New York and with the commission house of Tardieu and Loubat in Havre.

In Venice Alessandro Bertolla was Crooks's correspondent, and from Trieste Bazil Suppantichitsch wrote to him at irregular intervals. The former shipped an incongruous assortment of Indian beads, hats, and clocks. The latter was interested chiefly in Baraga, shipping him ecclesiastical ornaments, books, and money.

From these foreign correspondents one learns much of the aspect of American foreign relations. Especially in 1845 and 1846, when the Oregon question and the Mexican War loomed large, are the comments interesting. On July 10, 1845, Sir George Simpson, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote of his satisfaction in the dying of excitement over the Oregon question; about four thousand Americans were settled in Oregon and were much disappointed in the character and resources of the region; there was a strong disposition on the part of these emigrants to declare themselves independent; he feared that the boundary question would remain unsettled for some years and that his company would suffer from a disorderly population in the vicinity of the settlements. A. and S. Henry and Company also gave circumstantial evidence of the widespread interest in the Oregon question; on March 3, 1846, they offered apologies to Crooks for not having filled an order at the rate previously named, but excused themselves on the ground that the heavy government contracts for army cloth had raised prices. Crooks wrote once, in 1846, that he expected to get his English goods soon, "if Polk can keep his hands off the British a little while longer". On June 11, 1846, Massiac and Loisson wrote that French newspapers predicted that the Mexican War would be settled by the intervention of England and France. By the end of 1846 the Oregon trouble was past—and the Mexican War never seemed of especial importance to the American Fur Company—but an event in Russia was proving of sufficient magnitude to attract attention: the Czar forbade Russian Jews to wear certain furs. This ukase was the cause of fewer sales of his furs, wrote Crooks to Abbott.¹²

A change is visible in the company's correspondence after the summer of 1842. That year was one of the worst in the history of the American Fur Company. The winter was mild—so mild that furs could not be secured in the Ohio Valley and on the headwaters of the Mississippi; the bank situation in the United States was a constant irritant to business of all varieties; a large stock of furs lay unsold; the "war" between Great Britain and China kept the ports of the latter country closed to commerce and so the best market for otters could not be reached; the new Russian tariff was being vigorously enforced and many of the American Fur Company's wares at the Leipzig fair could no longer find their way, openly or secretly, beyond the German frontier into Russia; the Leipzig fair itself was the worst in years; and the American Fur Company lost

¹² Crooks to Samuel Abbott, Dec. 22, 1846.

heavily. In September the company suspended payment and was placed in the hands of George Ehninger as receiver. The next few years were devoted to paying its debts. The correspondence of the early part of 1846 seems to show a reorganization of the company at that time. Thereafter it appears to have acted as a commission house marketing furs for other companies and securing their merchandise in European markets. A new charter was obtained, stating that the capital of the firm was three hundred thousand dollars. In many ways the company's interests remained as before and no break is discernible in its correspondence. Its records, however, end for all practical purposes with the year 1847.

A complete calendar of the papers of the American Fur Company with index has been prepared under the supervision of the writer through the co-operation of the following historical agencies: the New York Historical Society, the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, the Indiana State Library, the Historical Survey of the University of Illinois, the Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, the Missouri Historical Society, the State Historical Society of Iowa, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the Minnesota Historical Society. Calendaring was begun in December, 1922, and completed in September, 1925. The original cards were sent to the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society, where they were arranged in chronological order and indexed. A copy of the calendar was then made for each of the co-operating agencies. Including the index of 244 pages, the calendar, which consists of 18,181 items, fills 1942 typed pages. The cost of such a big piece of work was reduced to the minimum for every subscriber by the pooling of funds, and amounted to but \$3450 for the calendaring and the typing. In the libraries of these nine institutions the student can now consult a typed abstract of every document in the collection and determine for himself without an expensive trip to New York whether the collection contains aught for his purpose.

The student of the fur trade is thus well supplied with source-material and with physical aids to research. It is to be hoped that with the way made thus so smooth for him, he will soon begin to write an adequate history of the American Fur Company. It is to be hoped also that workers in other fields will perceive the value of these papers and make good use of them.

GRACE LEE NUTE.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

BYZANTINE STUDIES IN RUSSIA, PAST AND PRESENT ¹

For a long time Russia lived and developed under the political, social, and commercial influence of the Byzantine Empire. Like the Byzantine emperor, the Russian sovereign of Kiev, and later of Moscow, was the head and protector of the Orthodox Church. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, Orthodox peoples began to consider the Russian sovereign as the unique protector and defender of the whole Orthodox world. As the Byzantine Empire was a direct continuation of the Roman Empire, and the new capital of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, was very often called the second Rome, so Moscow, the capital of the Russian state, was called by some Russian writers of the end of the fifteenth and of the beginning of the sixteenth centuries the third Rome. Under Peter the Great we may observe a reaction against the Byzantine influence and the Byzantine ideals, and a plainly expressed predilection for the West and the Western culture. It is only from the beginning of the nineteenth century that we can see the first efforts in the domain of Byzantine history. Among those Germans who having come to Russia remained there and devoted their whole lives to studies in Russia, two names may be mentioned, Philip Krug and Ernst Kunik; the latter died in 1899, almost octogenarian. Both scholars, pointing out the great importance of Byzantine studies for ancient Russian history, treated mostly the questions which, having a connection with the old Russian life, might more or less elucidate Russian history. But until the second half of the nineteenth century, we can not speak of serious and systematic studies in Russia on our subject.

A really solid foundation for the systematic study of Byzantine history in Russia was laid by V. G. Vasilievski, professor in the University of Petrograd and member of the Academy of Sciences (d. 1899). Superior to all historians of his time by his accurate and varied knowledge and his critical sagacity, he gave us a series of the most important works in different sections of Byzantology. Byzantium and the West, especially before the first crusade, Byzantium and ancient Russia, lives of saints as historical sources, accounts of the Oriental sources for Byzantine and old Russian history, were the favorite topics of this great Russian Byzantinist. He brought to light

¹ Paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Ann Arbor, December, 1925.

and tried to elucidate some of the social and economic problems of Byzantine history, and he was the first editor of the Russian Byzantine review (the *Vizantiiski Vremennik*), published by the Academy of Sciences at Petrograd from 1894 on.

Simultaneously with Vasilievski Baron V. Rosen, professor of Arabic in the University of Petrograd and member of the Academy of Sciences, translated into Russian many Arabic texts concerning Byzantine and old Russian history and showed the importance of these texts in such studies. The works of Vasilievski and Rosen were very soon used by European writers, who fully acknowledged the results attained by these two Russian scholars.

At the same time V. I. Lamanski, professor in the University of Petrograd, very well known in Russia and in all Slavonic countries, was one of the first-class men in the field of Slavonic history and Slavonic international relations. As the history of the southern Slavonic peoples was closely connected with that of the Byzantine Empire, the greater part of Lamanski's works is very important for Byzantine history: for example, his book about the Slavs in Asia Minor, North Africa, and Spain, as well as his investigations on Cyril and Methodius, the famous missionaries to the Slavonic tribes in the ninth century, throw a bright light upon the Slavonic problem in Byzantium, which had a great part in the political, religious, and economic life of the Byzantine Empire.

Moreover, many of the Russian professors of classics, at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries, gradually began to treat Byzantine subjects and study Byzantine texts—for instance, V. Ernstedt, P. Nikitin, and V. Latyshev.

Simultaneously with Vasilievski, Rosen, and Lamanski rose the gigantic figure of N. P. Kondakov, who, born in 1844, died at Prague an octogenarian, February 16, 1925. Everyone who takes a serious interest in Byzantine archaeology and art is well acquainted with the works, or, at least, with the name and chief ideas of this outstanding scholar. A great many of the questions and problems in the domain of the general history of art, archaeology, and culture were treated in the standard works of Kondakov—questions and problems of classical art, of Hellenistic and early Christian art, of the art of the nomadic peoples of the second to tenth centuries, especially in Southern Russia and Eastern Europe, of Byzantine art, of West-European art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and of Slavonic and Russian art.

What is the chief idea of Kondakov on the significance of Byzantine art? That Byzantium was a concentration of all elements of the history of art in the sixth to twelfth centuries. Byzantium,

having inherited the ancient culture, adapted at a later time, but still first among European countries, the art of many nomad peoples that passed through the great plains of Southern Russia or stayed there for a certain time. Adapting this peculiar art Byzantium transformed it, added to it new forms and motives, and transmitted it in such a new form to the peoples of Western Europe. These are the titles of his most important works: "The History of Byzantine Art and Iconography, based on the Miniatures of Greek Manuscripts"; "The Byzantine Enamels"; "The Monuments of the Christian Art of Mount Athos"; "The Iconography of Our Lord" and "The Iconography of the Holy Virgin"; "The Mosaics of the Mosque of Kahrie-Djami in Constantinople"; his "Archaeological Journeys through Syria and Macedonia"; "The Russian Treasures"; and the six volumes of Russian antiquities (with I. Tolstoi). In these two latter works has been collected a great mass of material on Byzantine art affecting the problem of the connections between ancient Russian art and that of Byzantium.

The influence of Kondakov's works and his ideas spread far beyond the limits of Russia. He created in Russia a group of real scholars. Among the foreign scholars, Minns in England, Millet in France, Muñoz in Italy say that they belong to Kondakov's school.

Another octogenarian scholar, who is fortunately still alive, is Th. I. Uspenski. He has remained in Russia during the whole period of revolution, and is continuing his work at Petrograd. Uspenski concentrated his chief interest on various problems of the internal history of Byzantium, especially on problems of social and economic life. Quite a new page in his life began in 1894, when the Russian Archaeological Institute was created in Constantinople. Uspenski was appointed the director of this important institution, which existed till the Great War. After Turkey had entered into the war on the side of Germany, he left Constantinople for Russia.

During his directorship, Uspenski organized many archaeological expeditions to Asia Minor, Syria, Bulgaria, Trebizond, and Serbia. In most of these expeditions he took part personally. From the point of view of archaeology the results of his activity in Constantinople were very important, especially the excavations directed by him on the site of the ancient capital of the first Bulgarian state in the Balkan Peninsula. The sixteen volumes of the publications of the Russian Institute, containing a great deal of archaeological and historical material, are a very solid monument to the activity of the Russian and, in some cases, foreign scholars, who had worked under the direction of Uspenski. Since the war this important archaeological institution has no longer existed.

Many interesting papers and books were printed in the publications of the various spiritual academies of Russia (a kind of high divinity schools), for instance, those of Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, and Kazan.

In 1917 the revolution broke out in Russia. Then came the years 1919-1921—years of famine, of cold, of darkness; communication from one place to another was almost completely interrupted. Printing, especially of scientific papers, became almost impossible. Of the small group of Russian Byzantinists, a certain number could not bear the privations and sufferings of such severe conditions of life and died. Then died the eminent archaeologist I. Smirnov, beloved pupil of Kondakov; Chr. Loparev, connoisseur of Byzantine lives of saints; P. Bezobrazov, fine investigator of complicated and difficult problems of the internal history of Byzantium; B. Pantchenko, author of an interesting book on the Byzantine peasantry and of the catalogue of the Byzantine seals in the Museum of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople; I. Kulakovski, author of the first general history of Byzantium (to A. D. 717) written in Russian; N. Skabalanovitch, high authority on the problems of the history of the Byzantine Church; Latyshev, excellent scholar in the field of Byzantine texts and Greek inscriptions; finally, Szepuro, quite a young man, who, studying Caucasian languages, Armenian, and Georgian, and knowing Greek and Latin well, promised to become later an eminent scholar.

The Russian Byzantine review (the *Vizantiiski Vremennik*) ceased to appear. The spiritual academies having been closed, their publications were also suppressed.

At the present time I can mention the following names of Russian scholars in Petrograd, who are interested in Byzantine studies and are known in scientific circles: D. Ainalov, V. Beneshevitch, A. Dmitriievski, N. Likhatchev, N. Malizki, A. Smirnov, I. Sokolov, N. Sytchev, Th. Schmitt, Th. Uspenski, V. Valdenberg; in Moscow and other places, N. Protasov, Nekrasov, A. Rudakov, E. Tchernousov. Some of these scholars spent the hardest years not in Petrograd, but outside, mostly in various cities of Southern Russia, where conditions of living seemed to be better than in Petrograd. Ainalov came to Petrograd from the Crimea, Dmitriievski from Astrakhan, Sokolov and Schmitt from Kiev.

While the Russian Byzantinists, exhausted by the severe conditions of daily living and separated one from another, were working as well as was possible, individually, there was created in 1918, in Petrograd, the Academy for the History of Material Culture. As a matter of fact, it was the former Archaeological Commission, very

well known in Russia and abroad, which was enlarged and transformed into the Academy under the new name just mentioned. The new Academy was divided into three departments: ethnography, archaeology, and art, its general object being to study all three in all times and among all countries and peoples. The department of archaeology was subdivided into sections, one of which took the name of the section of Early Christian and Byzantine Archaeology. I was elected chairman of the latter section.

My chief object was at first to concentrate in my section some of the scattered scientific forces by introducing into it, as well as I might, young men and young women who had already begun to work, but during the first years of the revolution had been dispersed and deprived of the possibility of working systematically. For one small group of participants I chose the topic of the historical and archaeological study of the medieval Crimea, long a province in the Byzantine Empire, and of the adjacent places. The monuments of the Middle Ages in the Crimea—Greek, Roman, Gothic, Byzantine, Italian (Genoese and Venetian)—have not yet been systematically studied. This small group consisted of Mr. A. Smirnov and of three young women: the Misses N. Izmailova, H. Skrzynskaya, and M. Tikhanova. I myself took up the study of the Gothic problem in the Crimea and of the flourishing medieval Venetian colony of Tana at the mouth of the Don. Smirnov began to collect material for the history and archaeology of the peninsula of Tmutarakan (Taman), east of the Crimea; Miss Izmailova studied the monuments of the city of Cherson (Korsun), where the Russian prince Vladimir was converted to Christianity; Miss Skrzynskaya the Italian, especially Genoese, monuments of Sudak and Theodosia, two small cities on the southern shore of the Crimea; and Miss Tikhanova the history and the archaeological tradition of the city of Kertch (Bosphorus), opposite to the peninsula of Tmutarakan. It was during all those years a great consolation and encouragement to me to come to our cold room and to see that these young persons, in spite of famine and cold, were working strenuously and willingly. Under such circumstances all available material has been collected, and in 1924, two of the members of my group could at last, for the first time from the beginning of their work, go to the Crimea and study on the spot the archaeological remains of the Crimean Middle Ages. In 1925 three members of my sections went to the Crimea. Miss Skrzynskaya has measured all the Genoese fortifications of Sudak and made new copies of all Italian inscriptions, which will be published in Genoa in the *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*. Misses Izmailova and

Tikhanova have also brought together very interesting materials on Cherson and Kertch.

Summarizing all achievements of my section, I can say that some of the material is now ready for publication. The first part of my book on the Goths in the Crimea has appeared in the *Publications of the Academy for the History of Material Culture* (vol. I., 1921); but the second and third parts of it, completely ready for publication, can not be printed for want of means. It was unexpectedly fortunate for me to have the second and last volume of my *General History of Byzantium* published in Petrograd (1923-1925).

In addition to the medieval Crimea, my section also took up the study of conditions of internal life in Byzantium—customs and manners, street life, the theatre, the Byzantine house and its utensils, church utensils, costume, and so forth. Well-known scholars, Ainalov, Likhatchev, Malizki, Th. Schmitt, Th. Uspenski, joined it, each however also continuing his special individual work. Ainalov has studied the mosaics of the cathedral of Kiev and of some other churches and monasteries of Kiev and of Tchernigov, closely connected with Byzantine mosaics, and has discovered at Moscow an extremely interesting thirteenth-century manuscript of the Greek chronicle of Georgios Hamartolos with more than a hundred miniatures, exceedingly important from the point of view of historical and archaeological details. Likhatchev is working on the history of Byzantine and Russian seals, Malizki on the Byzantine miniatures of the so-called Psalter of Khludov, Th. Schmitt on the architecture and mosaics of the cathedral of Kiev, Th. Uspenski, the octogenarian chief of Russian Byzantinism, on the internal history of the Empire of Trebizond.

Owing to Uspenski's energy, there has been established at the Academy of Sciences the Commission of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Byzantine emperor of the tenth century, in whose time the empire became a real centre of international life. The chief object of this commission was to collect all sources of this epoch, literary and archaeological, to translate the collected texts into Russian, and so to lay a solid foundation for the general investigation of the most important and brilliant period of Byzantine history, particularly interesting for the primitive history of Russia. When, a few years ago, a movement began in Western Europe for a new edition, corrected and enlarged, of Ducange's famous dictionary of medieval Latin, Uspenski brought about at the Academy of Sciences the creation of a Commission of Ducange, which should collect material for a new corrected and enlarged edition of Ducange's dictionary of medieval Greek. This commission and the Commission of Con-

stantine Porphyrogenitus have been united into one, the Commission of Ducange, of which Uspenski is chairman.

For the last six or seven years two Russian scholars, N. Sytchev and the architect C. Romanov, have made very interesting and important studies of Byzantine and West-European influences in old Russia, in the churches of Novgorod and Pskov, where many new frescoes have been discovered, photographed, and studied. V. Beneshvitch is working on some problems of the Byzantine jurisprudence; A. Dmitriievski on the Byzantine liturgic texts, selected from copies formerly made by him from Greek manuscripts in various monasteries of the Near East; Valdenberg on the development of political theories and thought in Byzantium. He has now nearly finished a book in two volumes on the history of political literature in Byzantium.

I know well that the Russian scholars, in recent years, from a normal point of view, have not achieved very much. But when I remember all the difficulties and all the privations and complications of daily life in Russia for the last seven or eight years, I may say with a feeling of some satisfaction that the Russian Byzantinists, old and young, have fulfilled their moral duty and done what they could.

Byzantology now has in Europe the most flourishing period of its existence. There are four special Byzantine reviews: two in Germany—in Munich the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* and in Berlin the *Byzantinische und Neugriechische Jahrbücher*; one in Belgium, *Byzantion*, and one in Italy, *Bizanzio*, the first volume of which will soon be published. Unfortunately, the Russian publications—the *Vizantiiski Vremennik* in Petrograd and the memoirs of the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople—have ceased; but I may hope, only for a time, not for ever, and indeed in 1926 the twenty-four volume of the *Vizantiiski Vremennik* came out (the managing editor is Th. I. Uspenski).

There is no doubt that, in comparison with all that is achieved elsewhere, the Russian scholars of recent years play a rather modest part in modern Byzantology. But there was a time when foreign scholars agreed that in the history of Byzantine art and in the internal history of the Byzantine Empire, Russian scholars held the first place, and I look forward hopefully to a better time for Byzantology in Russia.

ALEXANDER A. VASILIEV.

THE FIRST PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATION IN AMERICA

IT is not always remembered that the Catholic Church, from the time of its establishment in the New World in the early part of the sixteenth century, was not merely a religious organization; under its auspices there came into existence the educational system of Spanish America and all the philanthropic agencies which had for their purpose the relief of the poor, the sick, the aged, the widows and orphans. Thus it was that the first philanthropic society formed in the New World, while composed of laymen, was a charitable organization which operated in conjunction with the cathedral of Mexico City. Fortunately the early records of this brotherhood have been preserved, and from the one hundred and forty-four yellowed leaves of the *Book of the Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament for Charity*¹ the history of its accomplishments may be followed until almost the close of the sixteenth century.

Scarcely had the Spaniards gained a foothold in Mexico City before the need of some form of organization for the dispensation of charity was realized. As a result, a meeting was held in the monastery of San Francisco on March 16, 1538, at which was organized the Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament. Among those present were men who had served under Pedrarias, Ayllon, Cortés, and Narváez; probably the best known of the group was Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, who was later to lead the expedition into New Mexico. The twenty-three charter members authorized a committee to draw up a constitution in which the general purposes of the order were set forth, as follows: to render assistance to the needy, to visit and care for the sick, to visit and provide food for prisoners, to assist needy widows, and to educate orphan girls. A school was to be established in which these girls might live under the supervision of a Spanish woman, and dowries were to be provided in order that they might be suitably married. Provision was made for aiding persons without funds who wished to return to Spain, and efforts were to be made to care for all new arrivals. Charity was to be extended to any person, but especially to Castilians, for the majority of the members, being from that province, felt it to be particularly incumbent upon them to care for their countrymen.

To carry on the work of the organization, there were to be five officials—a president, two deputies, and two accountants. Each of these was elected for a term of six months; one of the six was to be retained for a second term, the others being ineligible for re-election. No person holding a public office might serve as an officer in the

¹ Manuscript in the library of the University of Texas.

Brotherhood. A box for the collection of alms was to be placed in the cathedral; to this there were to be three keys, one to be held by the president, the second by one of the deputies, and the third by one of the accountants. The joint duties of these three consisted in guarding the funds when removed from the box, and disbursing such amounts as were voted to specific purposes by the body.

The financial records of this organization are of especial interest. From these it can be seen that one of the principal tasks which the organization took upon itself was to send to meet each *flota*, upon its arrival at Vera Cruz, a representative who was authorized to purchase food or other necessities for any travellers who were sick or in want. In order that the spiritual needs of these immigrants might not be neglected, a priest was sent down from Mexico City to minister to them on their arrival. What a relief it must have been to the poor wretches who had been confined in the ships for months to find awaiting them, in a foreign land, representatives of such a philanthropic agency! Among the items of expense incurred by the representative at Vera Cruz were: meat, quinces, oil, honey, almonds, wine, candles, cloaks, sandals, purgatives, a lancet for bleeding, transportation of a sick man and his possessions, food along the way, and care of a *fraile* too weak to proceed beyond Perote. Horses were provided at the expense of the Brotherhood for those too feeble to make the trip to the capital on foot; medicines and medical attention were furnished to the sick. According to the report of July 21, 1538, 350 *pesos* had been expended in caring for those newly arrived in the *flota*. Among other items of expense which occur regularly throughout the records are: shoes, bedding, drugs, passage money for conquistadores wishing to return to Spain, fines for prisoners, and food of various kinds.

As was the case with many Spanish organizations, great attention was given to the regulations governing the Brotherhood. Four different constitutions were drafted within a few years, all of which are set forth in the book of records which survives. Among the amendments are provisions that members of the organization should attend the funeral of any dead member; that the organization should provide funds for the burial of paupers; and that some member should accompany each such body to the grave. There was to be a joint weekly celebration of mass, and the feast of the Blessed Sacrament was to be observed with proper ceremonies. In amending the clause relative to the election of officers, it was voted that any member who refused to accept an office should be fined; fines were also to be assessed against any member who failed to be present at the regular meetings of the body—the penalty in this case being a pound of white

wax. It was required of members that they visit regularly the sick, the poor, and those in prison. Evidently salt was not one of the items included in prison fare, for the records show that it was one of the luxuries provided by this organization to those making longer or shorter sojourns in the various penal establishments.

The asylum for orphan girls did not come into actual existence as soon as anticipated. Although projected in 1538, the plan did not take definite form until 1548, and not until 1552 was a house purchased to serve as a permanent home. The original regulations for this establishment were quite as detailed as those governing the Brotherhood, and were amended quite as frequently. The first plan called for the housing of thirty Spanish and *mestizo* orphan girls; the next, forty. Discipline was strict. No women, not even the wives of officers of the Brotherhood, were allowed to visit the home without permission; no official, not even the *mayordomo*, was admitted alone. A special chaplain was appointed and paid by the organization for his services in the asylum. All proceedings relating to its control were to be held in inviolable secrecy by the officials.

As the work of the organization grew, it became necessary to appoint a solicitor who acted as a business manager under the direction of the officials. Such an appointment was made in 1574 when Agustín Castano became the incumbent. Among the various duties performed by him, there is mentioned the purchase of a slave to serve in the asylum; later, one who was too old to be of much service was sold by him. On one occasion, when the walls of a room in the asylum had fallen and the business manager had not the authority to order repairs, he induced the officers to make an inspection of the building in order to understand the urgency of the case. When the situation was realized, as no funds were available to make the repairs necessary, the members were required to go begging on the streets until a sufficient amount was obtained.

The last ten pages of the manuscript are taken up largely with the details of the management of the orphan asylum. In 1579, as it had been found that fifty *pesos* was not sufficient to cover the expense of a girl for a year, it was decided that each girl, or some patron for her, must pay a certain amount of meal in addition to twenty *pesos de mina* each year. In that same year the problem of getting Isabel Maldonado married presented itself—a dowry of five hundred *pesos* had to be provided. Fortunately, it was found that another orphan who had been married some years still had no children; for that reason, three hundred *pesos* of her dowry had to be returned. If a marriage was dissolved, for any reason, the full dowry was forfeited

by the husband. It would never have been possible for the organization to have maintained the asylum on the scale established had not wealthy patrons left bequests. In 1580 Pedro Garico left one thousand *pesos* which provided for a number of girls whose names are duly entered in the records.

The last meeting, of which the minutes appear in this volume, took place on July 21, 1584. The final official act was the decision of the body to have all the deeds and papers belonging to the Brotherhood filed in the civil records of Mexico City.

Among the more important items in this manuscript are the autographs of the members of the organization. At the end of the proceedings of each meeting the signatures of the approving officials appear. Unfortunately the signatures of the original founding members were not included, probably because the record-book had not yet been bought, but among those which do appear frequently later are Cervantes de Salazar, Doctor Mendez, Doctor Vique, Bernardo de Albornoz, Juan de Cueva, Luis de Castillo, and Santiago de Figueroa. Indeed, hundreds of autographs of the conquistadores and their descendants adorn the pages of this manuscript—undoubtedly one of the most interesting of those extant which picture life in Mexico City in the sixteenth century. For in this volume, replete as it is with entries which reveal in an intimate fashion social conditions in the capital of Spanish North America, are preserved the details of the founding and accomplishments of the first philanthropic society organized by Europeans in the New World.

LOTA SPELL.

DOCUMENTS

1. *A Society for Preservation of Liberty, 1784.*

THE original of the following interesting document came some years ago, as a gift, into the possession of the Library of the University of North Carolina. It is printed in the form of a broadside upon a single sheet of heavy paper, now yellowed and stained from age. It carried nothing to indicate where it was printed. All attempts to discover any allusion, contemporary or later, to the organization described have failed. No contemporary Virginia newspapers have been found. At William and Mary College, the most probable place for investigation, there is nothing which throws light upon it. The same is true of the Division of Archives of the Virginia State Library and the Virginia Historical Society. Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, Dr. Philip Alexander Bruce, Mr. W. G. Stannard, and Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, the men best qualified to speak with authority on the subject of Virginia history of this period, have never found any allusion to it. A close search of the various histories of Virginia, of the biographies of Madison, Monroe, and Patrick Henry, and of such contemporary correspondence as is available has brought only negative results, and while it seems scarcely likely that this is the sole surviving copy of the broadside, so far no other has been found.

The document follows:

We, the undersigned, having associated for the purpose of preserving and handing down to posterity, those pure and sacred principles of Liberty, which have been derived to us, from the happy event of the late glorious Revolution, and being convinced, that the surest mode to secure Republican systems of Government from lapsing into Tyranny, is by giving free and frequent information to the mass of people, both of the nature of them, and of the measures which may be adopted by their several component parts; have determined, and do hereby most solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, by every holy tie and obligation, which free men ought to hold inestimably dear, that every one in his respective station, will keep a watchful eye over the great fundamental rights of the people.

That we will without reserve, communicate our thoughts to each other, and to the people, on every subject which may either tend to amend our Government, or to preserve it from the innovations of ambition, and the designs of faction.

To accomplish this desirable object, we do agree to commit to paper our sentiments, in plain and intelligible language, on every subject which concerns the General Weal; and transmit the same to the Honorable John

Blair, Esq; whom we hereby constitute president of the said society, with powers to congregate the members thereof, either at Richmond or Williamsburg whenever he may suppose that he has a sufficient quantity of materials collected for publication. It is farther agreed, that it shall be a rule of the said society, that no publications shall be made till after mature deliberation in the convocation, it shall have been so determined, by at least two thirds of the present members.

JOHN BLAIR
JAMES MADISON
ROBERT ANDREWS
JAMES M'CLURG
JOHN PAGE
JAMES INNES
MANN PAGE
JAMES MADISON, Jun.
PATRICK HENRY
THOMAS LOMAX
EDMUND RANDOLPH
WILLIAM SHROT¹
WILLIAM FLEMING
JOHN BRECKENRIDGE
ARCHIBALD STEUART²
JOSEPH JONES
WILLIAM NELSON, Jun.
B. RANDOLPH
JAMES MARSHALL
RICARD³ HENRY LEE
WILLIAM LEE
LUDWELL LEE
WILLIAM GRAYSON
FRANCIS CORBIN
PHILIP MAZZEI
WILSON C. NICHOLAS
JOHN NICHOLAS
JOHN TAYLOR
J. BROWN
RICHARD B. LEE
SPENCER ROANE
ALEXANDER WHITE
JAMES MONROE
ARTHUR LEE.

At a meeting held on the 15th of June, 1784.

Resolved, that the following declaration be added to the paper originally signed by the members, viz.

The Society being persuaded, that the liberty of a people is most secure when the extent of their rights, and the measures of government concerning them are known, do declare that the purpose of this institution is to communicate by fit publications such facts and sentiments as tend to unfold and explain the one or the other.

¹ Evidently William Short.

² Stuart is correct.

³ Richard.

The document is interesting in its revelation of the existing political situation in Virginia as it appeared to the group of men who formed the agreement. It is, perhaps, even more interesting in respect to the rather remarkable group of men who thus came together—a group which, in talent and experience, could scarcely have been assembled in any other American state.

Some idea of its quality will be gained by noting that it included, of those notable in national matters, one signer of the Declaration of Independence—Richard Henry Lee; two presidents of the United States—Madison and Monroe; three secretaries of state—Edmund Randolph, Madison, and Monroe; two attorneys general—Randolph and Breckenridge; one associate justice of the Supreme Court—Blair; four foreign ministers—Arthur Lee, William Lee, Monroe, and Short; thirteen members of the Continental Congress or Congress of the Confederation—Henry, R. H. Lee, Madison, Arthur Lee, Monroe, White (North Carolina), Brown, W. C. Nicholas, Grayson, Fleming, E. Randolph, Mann Page, and Jones; four members of the Federal Convention—Madison, Randolph, Blair, and McClurg; seven senators—Breckenridge, Taylor, W. C. Nicholas, Grayson, R. H. Lee, Monroe, and Brown (Kentucky), the last being president *pro tempore* of the Senate; and nine representatives—John Page, Fleming, White, R. B. Lee, Brown (Kentucky), John Nicholas, W. C. Nicholas, Madison, and Breckenridge.

In state affairs there is of course an even wider range of service. The group includes five governors of Virginia; nine members of the executive council of Virginia; three state attorneys general; three judges of the court of appeals; four judges of lower courts; six members of the colonial assembly; twenty-two members of state legislatures; two colonial agents in England; five members of the convention of 1775; eight members of the convention of 1776 which adopted the first constitution of Virginia; fourteen members of the convention of 1788; and two members of the convention of 1829—Madison, and Monroe who was its president.

Nineteen of the group were alumni of the College of William and Mary. Other institutions of learning which had sons included were: Oxford, Cambridge, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania and College of Philadelphia, and Eton. Four had read law in the Temple, and three had completed the course in medicine at Edinburgh. A number had military experience, in the French and Indian War or in the Revolution. One was afterward a bishop, others professors, members or presidents of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

2. *H. L. Bulwer on the Death of President Taylor, 1850.*

The following letter addressed to Lord Palmerston, Foreign Secretary, by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, British envoy in Washington, afterward Lord Dalling, is sent to the *Review* by Mr. Amos A. Ettinger, an American student in Brasenose College, who found the original in the London Public Record Office, F. O. America, 513, no. 131.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1850.

My Lord:

I requested Mr. Grattan by telegraph yesterday morning to inform Your Lordship that General Taylor had just departed this life after a sudden and short illness.

On Sunday night medical attendance was summoned. During Monday the symptoms did not seem alarming. On Tuesday they became so; and on Tuesday night at half past ten o'clock the President had ceased to exist.

Dysentery and fever, the reigning complaints of Washington at this time, carried him off.

He is the second Whig President who within the last few years has died in office.

Mr. Fillmore the Vice President succeeds him as Mr. Tyler on a former occasion succeeded General Harrison.

General Taylor the Whig Presidential Candidate in 1848 was chosen by the People not because he belonged to a party, but because he had distinguished himself as an individual; or rather as a soldier.

This fact constituted the principal subsequent difficulty of his position.

Disliked by the Whig leaders because he had superseded their pretensions to power, he had to govern with the Whig party, which, however influential and respectable, does not even when united form the strongest party in this Country.

A majority in the two houses was opposed to his administration and a party attack in which his own name was comprehended disturbed the few last conscious hours of his existence.

His general abilities were good, his experience in public life and political affairs small; his mind not uncultivated; he seems to have possessed some military genius, and to have been uniformly fortunate in war.

Firmness, which his opponents called obstinacy, was his predominant characteristic. His intentions were always good; his word could always be relied upon; his manners were downright, simple, straightforward; his name was popular throughout the Union, and he died almost universally respected and lamented.

The effect which his death may have upon political affairs seems to be in some degree uncertain. His successor is what is here called "a Northern Whig", that is an anti-free trader, and an abolitionist.

He is a lawyer, and has been known in public life as a member of the House of Representatives.

It is at present supposed that he will not attempt to carry out his own notions and those of his party against the South, but rather take advantage of his Northern position as a means of effecting some compromise.

Some Members of the present Cabinet will certainly have¹ office, probably all.

Mr. Webster is spoken of as Mr. Clayton's successor.

I have the honour, etc.,

H. L. BULWER.

¹ This word is "leave" in the original text, and one would think "leave" to be the word intended by the author of the letter, but the handwriting in which "h" has been written over "le" is, Mr. Ettinger says, clearly that of Bulwer.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

A Short History of Civilization. By LYNN THORNDIKE, Ph.D., Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 619. \$5.00.)

BEGINNING with an explanation of the formation of the geological strata and the evolution of life on our planet, this book traces the shifts and changes of civilization from the stone age to our own time. It is well proportioned. There are forty-two chapters. One is introductory; two are devoted to prehistoric and primitive times; five to the civilizations of the Near East; ten to Greece and Rome, the spread of early Christianity, and the barbarian invasions; four to the civilizations of the Far East; two to the Byzantine and Saracenic civilizations; six to medieval Europe; seven to the Renaissance, Reformation, and Age of Reason; and five to the development of our present civilization.

In a book dealing with the entire history of man's progress there are, naturally, some periods treated with better knowledge and understanding than others; but even the most alert reader will fail to find a really weak chapter, while the greater number of the chapters are admirable summaries of the periods with which they deal. In two or three instances, it seems, a better arrangement might have been made. Why, for instance, should not the Revival of Town Life come after the Crusades? But, aside from the necessary exceptions, the chronological sequence of the story is generally maintained.

There are some absent faces. Where is the Pseudo-Dionysius, through whose writings mysticism flowed into medieval life? Where is Scotus Erigena, in whom that influence, as well as an original vision of life, is apparent? Averroës is mentioned, but no indication of his thought, widespread, lasting, dissolving, is given. Of the real reformers of the sixteenth century few are named. Not a sentence is devoted to either of the two Socini, to Sebastian Franck, or even to Sebastian Castellio, who remains the greatest champion of religious tolerance, and who by every conception and canon of culture is surely entitled to an honorable place in such a book as this. Yet, despite these omissions, a correct estimate is given of the part played in the history of civilization by the Protestant Revolution. And for this we ought to be deeply grateful. In the books usually recommended to undergraduate students and the general public few other movements are so generally treated with partiality and misunderstanding to the detriment of genuinely liberal and progressive thought.

There are also a few slips; only a very inconsequential battleship could be built for five million dollars. Some aspects of civilization are dealt

with only in part. The story of philosophy is left incomplete. Bergson, Croce, James, Santayana, and others are missing. The history of sculpture ends with Michelangelo; no mention is made of Rodin. Painting fares better, though we look in vain for Sargent.

In a book with so wide a range as this there are, quite naturally, some judgments with which not everyone will agree. We are told that "Renaissance architecture and Protestantism combined have sounded the knell of ecclesiastical art, if not of art in general". The bell may have tolled, but the sound seems never to have reached the ears of any of the great artists of the subsequent centuries. Did Mozart, or Beethoven, or Chopin, or Keats, or Shelley, or Rodin pause to hear it? And is it even true, as the sentence implies, that Renaissance architecture is anti-spiritual in character? Who can say so after seeing such a church as that of Santa Maria della Consolazione at Todi? The opinion seems to be an echo of a certain leading architect, some of whose dicta about medieval and modern life and art are unmitigated nonsense.

These are only minor flaws. The book is highly successful, being by far the best of its kind, and will prove a great boon to thoughtful teachers. What is most worth while in every period of man's cultural development is here seized upon and revealed. Great movements are lucidly explained; there are admirable touches of portraiture; often there is shrewd reflection; always there is the courage of the author's convictions; and the entire book is made attractive by capable literary craftsmanship.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

An Inquiry into the Causes of the Growth and Decay of Civilisation.

By THOMAS LLOYD. (London: *The Statist*. 1926. Pp. xiv, 859. 15 s.)

THIS bulky volume published after the death of its author, the late editor of the *London Statist*, contains three parts, each of which would of itself make a respectable book. They are: I., "The Origin of Man and of Civilisation" (pp. 1-103), II., "State Economics" (pp. 104-525), and III., "The Proofs of History" (pp. 525-859). Part I. traces the gradual development of civilization from pre-palaeolithic times to the fall of the Roman Empire, with a slight reference to the later period, and a whole chapter devoted to attacking an antiquated theory of an "Aryan" race. Part II. covers the entire field of public economy, discussing the nature of wealth, capital, banking, price, value, and the like. The illustrations in this part are drawn largely from English history, and the author never omits an opportunity to criticize the British economists of the last century, to attack the English land system, to point out weaknesses in the British banking organization, and to censure the government's neglect of expert advice in dealing with problems that affect the nation's prosperity. Part III. restates a good deal of the content of part I. and attempts to explain the causes of the decline of civilization among the peoples of the Mediterranean world.

Briefly, the author's theory of the rise and decay of civilization seems to be as follows. Progress and decay are due to human agency; they are not matters of soil, climate, or other environmental conditions, if we except geological catastrophes. The chief factor in the growth of civilization is invention, and it is only by means of fresh inventions that it can be maintained. Civilization arose in the Nile Valley and in Mesopotamia through the energy and inventiveness of the brown or brunette race, the oldest known inhabitants of both regions. From these two centres civilization spread over Western Asia, probably to Eastern Asia, and around the Mediterranean. Civilization declined in its original home as a result of misgovernment, war, and slavery. This decline paved the way for the Persian conquest, the rise of Greece, the Macedonian conquest, and the Roman world-empire. None of these later peoples succeeded in recovering the old-time prosperity of Egypt and Babylonia. Rome was the great destructive agency which brought ancient civilization to ruin. A powerful disintegrating factor, which affected all the states of antiquity, was the abandonment of a social order based on the primitive "clan" and the failure to find a satisfactory substitute. The modern world has not attained in all respects the cultural level of Pharaonic Egypt, nor has it found an adequate substitute for the clan system. For the future the only hope lies in education and democratic government.

The student of ancient history will find as much, if not more, to criticize as to commend in the writer's interpretation of ancient times. His distinction between *clan* and *household* is not very clear. He speaks of absolute community of property within the clan, and the exercise of the *patria potestas* by the head of the clan. It is fairly safe to say that a clan system of this sort, if it ever existed, had broken down among all peoples of antiquity before they attained a civilized state, and that no real civilization ever rested upon such a basis. The author's acceptance of Petrie's Egyptian chronology gives him a faulty perspective in his whole view of ancient history. One's confidence in his deductions is shaken by the argument that the duration of an independent Egyptian culture compared with the much briefer periods of Persian, Greek, and Roman rule in Egypt proves the immense intellectual superiority of the brown over the "Aryan" race, as well as by the statement that, since Latin and Celtic have a certain number of roots or words in common, the one language *must be an offshoot of the other*, and the Romans must be a Celtic tribe. That the Scythians were also Celts, that the name Scythian is the same as Scot, that the Greeks were Celts who came into the Aegean by way of Cyprus from Syria, that Alexander the Great's destruction of Tyre brought economic ruin to Greece, and that Augustus "was utterly bereft of all statesmanship" are views stated with great positiveness. The book is not free from errors of fact, such as that it was Cyrus the Great of Persia, who, in alliance with Babylon, overthrew the Assyrian empire about 600 B. C. There is no bibliography or foot-note references to other authors, but the neglect of the economic developments of the Hellenistic Age and the great underestimate of the prosperity of the

Roman Empire in the early Christian centuries seem to indicate unfamiliarity with the results of much recent research. The author's style is unattractive, and countless repetitions have made the work much longer than is necessary. There is no index.

A. E. R. BOAK.

A Short History of Marriage. By EDWARD WESTERMARCK, Ph.D., LL.D., Martin White Professor of Sociology in the University of London, Professor of Philosophy in the Academy of Åbo. (London and New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xiii, 327. 10 s. 6 d.)

For students whose interests are not specialized enough to warrant mastery of Dr. Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage* the present concise treatise will prove a boon. It can hardly be said to make any new contribution to social science, but it presents in compact yet readable form the essential conclusions of a foremost authority in the field. The professional historian will perchance look askance at the author's proneness to presumption in the place of certainty, as for instance in his reliance on such expressions as, "I suppose", "Probably", "May be", "I can not but think", "It may be presumed", but such caution is not out of place in so conjectural a field as that of historical sociology, to which this book manifestly belongs rather than to the field of history in the departmental sense.

It is obvious, nevertheless, that Dr. Westermarck is wedded to a very consistent and firm opinionativeness that enables him to wrest assurance on many points from evidence that means quite the contrary to other keen scholars. An easy illustration of this tendency is his credulity as to instinct. Thus the "aversion to incest may be independent of both experience and education", even though on another page he inadvertently concedes that the instinctive explanation is gratuitous; for he quotes Sir Henry Maine as remarking: "The common residence of so many persons of both sexes in the same household may be said to be only possible through their belief that any union of kinsmen and kinswomen would be incestuous." Thus repugnance to incest might easily be a social tradition based on experience with the harm of allowing the general kinship bond to be unduly warped by private ties between individuals in the domestic group. It would seem that the author has some tendency to rationalize in substantiation of preconceived dogma, when it would be more in order to retain an attitude of inquiry.

The book is somewhat unsatisfactory too in respect to profundity of interpretation of marriage phenomena. There is a certain naïveté at points, as when customs related to the desire to marry off older children first are said to be "ultimately based on the idea that men and women should marry as soon as they arrive at the proper age, and that it is unnatural for an elder brother or sister to remain unmarried when a younger one becomes marriageable". As if a usage could be "ultimately based"

on ideas that people have about it! Surely a sociologist, with his insight into the social correlation of thought, ought to be able to find a deeper foundation for custom than in opinion.

One might question also the use of a topical arrangement whereby successive chapters deal with the origin of marriage, the frequency of marriage and the marriage age, endogamy, exogamy, marriage by capture, consent as a condition of marriage, marriage by consideration and by exchange of presents, marriage rites, monogamy and polygyny, polyandry and group marriage, the duration of marriage, etc., instead of undertaking to present some sort of chronological picture of the evolution of marriage. It would of course be impossible to set up any rigidly progressive scheme, but the book as it is is hardly a history of marriage even though it contains representative historical material. The title might appropriately be altered to "Marriage as a Social Institution", as the author seems himself to recognize in the preface.

On the whole the book is hardly one that could serve as a gospel for an inexpert reader. On the other hand, it is a storehouse of valuable material for one that can discriminate and venture upon alternative or supplementary interpretations.

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN.

La Magie dans l'Égypte Antique de l'Ancien Empire jusqu'à l'Époque Copte. Par FRANÇOIS LEXA, Ph.D., Professeur à l'Université Charles de Prague. Three volumes. (Paris: Geuthner. 1926. Pp. 220, 235, and 71 plates. 200 fr.)

PROFESSOR LEXA, in gathering together and sifting the so-called magic texts of Egypt, has made a notable contribution to scholarship and has given to us, in easily readable form, a very valuable working instrument. To the student of comparative religion, to all those whose interest or whose work is linked in any degree with Egyptian thought and philosophy, and to the general reader who would know something of Egypt beyond its material relics, Professor Lexa has done a real service. The font is clear and the matter concisely laid out; the plates are very finished examples of the printer's art. Volume I. gives the general discussion; volume II. contains the texts; volume III. is the atlas.

Music is a universal heritage and we do not need to belong to the Catholic Church to appreciate Gregorian measures. When the problem involves the written word, or what corresponds to the written word in countries like Egypt, we are severely handicapped by language, and, although translation may indeed be but pouring honey from one jar to another, the flavor of the honey is a difficult thing to retain. Professor Lexa has had in mind the more general reader in giving freedom of translation, profuse illustrations, and a full index. It would be impossible, in the scope of these volumes, to work up an adequate background of Egyptian life, customs, and modes of thought to enable the reader to understand thoroughly the meaning and significance of these texts. Pro-

fessor Lexa has not attempted this task, though he has thrown in here and there an explanatory paragraph and ventured an occasional suggestion which is always helpful but, as such, is of course oftentimes open to question. The work is rather an encyclopaedia of Egyptian "magic" texts, properly classified and indexed.

I hesitate to repeat the word "magic", so degraded has it become in modern thought. The ancient Egyptians were a deeply devotional people and these texts are not to be thought of merely as sorcerers' charms and incantations. Many are prayers more or less formal: some are moving supplications direct from an overwrought spirit; others must be thought of as blessings accompanied by medicaments for the relief of sufferings. Naturally there are curses also, imprecations, exorcisms, attempts at coercion even of the gods. Magic in short is not a collection of rites and feats but rather of devotional exercises. It is impossible to read this work carefully without recalling well-known scenes from the Scriptures; Jacob wrestling with the Angel at Jabbok for a blessing and his name (Genesis xxii.); Jehovah's command to Ezekiel to prophesy against Egypt and "the dragon that lieth in the midst of his waters" (Ezekiel xxix.); the beautiful story of Elisha restoring to life the Shunammite's son (II Kings iv.). Yet Professor Lexa does not allow himself to be drawn into comparisons such as these.

Probably the general student would profit by having at his elbow, when he reads this work, the *Evolution of the Dragon* (G. Elliot Smith, University of Manchester Press, 1919). He would then realize more fully and clearly the significance of many of the medicaments, really drawn from avatars of the gods, especially from those of the Great Mother herself. Only rarely has the author deemed it wise to touch upon such explanations. In short the general reader will find here all he could possibly want of the devotional liturgy of Egypt; but for the setting he must have access to other sources.

The spirit of the "magician" can be summed up in the author's own words (I. 52): "The god of man is very like man himself. So the prudent magician promises nothing and threatens not at all, but acts in the same manner as the inferior spirits, conscious of their weakness; he wishes all possible good to his benefactor and curses his enemy."

Das Alexanderreich auf Prosopographischer Grundlage. Von HELMUT BERVE. Two volumes. (Munich: C. H. Beck. 1926. Pp. xvi, 357; vii, 446. 45 M.)

Of the two main parts, which correspond to the two volumes, the second is the Prosopographia proper, which in turn comprises two main divisions: abschnitt I.: *Personen welche mit Alexander nachweislich in Berührung gekommen sind*, containing 833 names; abschnitt II.: *Personen welche nachweislich mit Unrecht in eine Persönliche Beziehung zu Alexander gesetzt worden sind*, containing 82 names, both parts alphabetized according to Greek. Note the care with which the heading of the

second division is phrased. In this division are to be found persons ranging through all the various degrees from fiction to reality: fictions like Divinopater, no. 23; realities like Mithradates, no. 54, and Nectanebos, no. 56, the latter being Alexander's reputed father according to the Alexander Romance. In several instances the classification between the two divisions was difficult, but the reviewer is in agreement with Berve against Tarn that Heracles (I. 353), Alexander's reputed son by Barsine, was a reality; also that Jaddous (I. 381), Jewish high priest, actually met Alexander somewhat as related by Josephus, *Ant.*, XI. 8, 5. It was of course inevitable that the biographies of several important persons, as e.g. of Demosthenes, should be presented in truncated form. The Prosopographia is especially valuable in differentiating between persons bearing the same name, seven Ptolemies for instance, as well as in determining which is the superior tradition where in our sources the same act is charged to different persons. Thus the niece of Attalus who became Philip's fifth wife is made out to be Cleopatra and not Euridice. Similar cases are Anaxarchus (Arrian, *Anab.*, IV. 10, 5 ff.) as against Cleon and Agis (Curtius, VIII. 5, 8) mentioned as Callisthenes's opponents in the matter of the *proskynesis*. Berve has not, however, brought out with sufficient clearness whether it was Choerilus of Assos or Anaximenes who spoke up for the privilege to become Alexander's Homer. At the end of this volume are given the stemmata of the leading families, such as the royal houses of Macedon, of Epirus, and the later Achaemenids.

The minute examination to which Berve has subjected the persons of the Prosopographia and his general knowledge of the subject concerned has enabled him to supplement our knowledge of Alexander's empire in many ways, and in order to show the extent of these additions, he has reared ostensibly on the prosopographic foundation of volume II. the edifice of imperial institutions of volume I., an edifice which by the way is often constructed beyond the lines of the prosopographic base. In this volume the three main topics are the court, the army, and the imperial administration. We are shocked by the hypothesis that Alexander loved women less because through the force of circumstances he loved boys the more. Berve's treatment of the topic of religion, and his distinction between *Gottessohnschaft* and *Gottkönigtum* and the steps by which the former developed into the latter is to be commended.

Berve is master of the ancient, and of most of the modern literature on his subject. There are not a few contributions made by American scholars that he fails to mention. For instance, to the investigations of E. T. Newell on Alexander's coinage there should be added to the works mentioned at I. 318, n. 1, the following: Alexander Hoards, *Kyparissia* (1921), *Demanhur* (1923), *Andritsaena* (1924), also *Tyrus Rediviva* (1923). The bibliography near the beginning of volume I. should have been made more extensive, so as to include most, if not all, of the works mentioned in the text.

It is unfortunate that this work, which is one of the most valuable, and certainly the most informative, on the subject of Alexander, is marred

by some unnecessary defects. The author is prone to be uncharitable and at times arrogant in his tone toward scholars who disagree with him. The work should have been more carefully seen through the press, and such misprints avoided as Eike (for Eicke), Noeldecke (Noeldeke), Eislen (Eiselen), Derup (Drerup); and Ausfeld has been supplied with a middle initial he never had. The alphabetizing of the index (I. 354) is faulty, and volume I., page 93, note 2, shows unverified references.

ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON.

Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire. By M. ROSTOVITZ, D.Litt., Professor of Ancient History in Yale University. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. xxv, 695. 45 s.)

THIS work, by a scholar whose skilled interpretations of many sides of ancient civilization have long since put us in his debt, is the first attempt to fill a serious gap in our knowledge, for, with a few notable exceptions, students of classical antiquity have shrunk from the difficult task of interpreting the social and economic life of the Greeks and the Romans. The reasons are not far to seek. The ancients themselves did not ask Clio the same questions that we put to her, but they regarded social and economic questions, so far as they considered them at all, as a part of political history. Indeed it is only in recent years that we have begun to bemoan the failure of the ancient writers to deal with those topics that modern economics and social study have brought to the front. Again, the new matter which the past half-century has made available through exploration and excavation—papyri, inscriptions, material remains, etc.—is after all sporadic and scanty, in spite of its apparent mass when looked at as a whole. History must remain a series of guesses; and the best historian is he who, highly endowed by nature and trained in a rigorous discipline, develops his hypotheses with full knowledge of his data, of course, but also with a clear sense of their paucity and incompleteness. All this our author knows full well, and, if he is led too far at times by his desire to find possible answers to his questions, he does not fall into dogmatism. He more often raises a query than indulges in an *ipse dixit*.

Rostovtzeff begins his work with a sketch of the late Republic and those causes that led to the establishment of the Empire under Augustus. According to him, at this time Italy became the richest country of the ancient world, while the Hellenistic East suffered gradual and steady economic decay. Rome's victories over Carthage and the Eastern states brought enormous wealth, both in land and fluid capital, to the Roman state and to its aristocracy. The *ager Romanus* could not be adequately filled with Roman and Latin citizens on small holdings; hence arose great estates, worked by the cheap slave labor that conquest provided. A new class of successful business men—numerous and influential—arose between the aristocracy and the lowest class of citizens; and before the end of the second century B. C. a new equestrian order had been recognized in the

state. Although this class was often at variance with the nobility, the interests of the two were the same or similar at many points, for both won their wealth largely by exploiting the state's resources, and by means of the wealth so gained acquired their political supremacy. Their leadership was broken, however, when the Italian bourgeoisie and the proletariat were allied against them by politicians and military leaders; and the Republic passed into the Empire under the astute direction of Augustus, whose policy was to maintain a compromise between the several classes, each being given its own sphere of activity with fairly sharp lines of demarcation drawn between the groups. Under the Pax Romana internal discord largely disappeared, and prosperity was restored; so that for a brief time it seemed as if the age of Saturn had returned.

The successors of Augustus, down to the Flavian dynasty, by terrorism and oppression destroyed the hopes and influence of the former ruling classes, wishing to make the bourgeoisie in the cities throughout the Empire the foundation of the state. Like Augustus they fostered urban communities, both East and West, for in them society was more civilized and stable than in the country, and therefore a better buttress for the principate than the peasants on the land could be; the free classes in these urban centres enjoyed a more favorable status than the rural population, they acquired wealth, and with it conservative tendencies that led them to support the imperial régime. But the emperors depended directly on the favor of the pretorians. The civil war of the year 69-70 A. D. Rostovtzeff regards as "a protest of the provincial armies and of the population of the Empire in general against the degenerate military tyranny of the successors of Augustus". Vespasian valiantly attempted to restore the Augustan form of the principate; but his brutal son Domitian chose to play the autocrat once more. With Nerva and Trajan, however, began a century of internal peace during which the imperial power and the educated city bourgeoisie were in accord and the army was quiet. The principate corresponded fairly closely to the Stoic *βασιλεία* which was far removed from the earlier tyranny. The emperor was at once the first citizen and the first servant of the state. The new senatorial aristocracy was largely made up of men of provincial origin whose ability and service had won them their influence and position.

Yet a fatal antagonism arose between the city bourgeoisie, the backbone of the Empire, and the masses in the cities and the country. The conflict was stayed for a time by the efforts of the emperors, but after the Severi civil and social war broke out which was to degenerate into political anarchy. Rostovtzeff believes that this struggle was due to the rise of the lower classes, now represented by the army and supported by the emperors. The result was the destruction of the higher classes and the bourgeoisie, and the development of that Oriental monarchy which was the final form of the imperial rule.

Civilization and capital naturally centred in the urban communities of the Empire, as they have always done; but by the second century the well-to-do middle class had lost the initiative that earlier had developed

agriculture, industry, and trade throughout the Empire. Its ambition was to secure a certain income by safe investments without engaging in the active struggle of competition; therefore capital was largely invested in land which was to be worked by tenants and slaves. The bourgeoisie, in consequence, obstinately refused to admit the lower classes in the country or city to their social order, and in the end proved unequal to support the state.

Rostovtzeff's interpretation of the rôle played by the army in the three centuries under review is an interesting and, in some respects, a novel one. Under Augustus and his immediate successors the legions were made up of Roman citizens recruited largely in Italy; Vespasian apparently began the policy of drawing both legionary and auxiliary troops from the provinces, chiefly from the urban communities. The former were always citizens; the latter received citizenship on completion of service. By the time of the Antonines the provinces furnished almost all the soldiers, save the pretorians, while the higher officers were drawn from the senatorial and equestrian orders and the lower were Roman citizens from Italy or the Romanized western provinces. But apparently both the legionary and the auxiliary soldiers were mostly peasants from the country; the city-bred were disinclined to serve. Moreover, the legions were now filled by conscription, which in a crisis like that under Marcus Aurelius brought into the service a sorry lot of slaves and rascals. By the end of the second century the Roman army was no longer representative of the civilized urban population and no longer understood or sympathized with the bourgeoisie. In the third century this army, according to Rostovtzeff, represented "those large masses of the population that had no share in the brilliant civilized life of the Empire". The soldiers, with the burdened peasants and city proletariat from which they sprang, began to hold feelings of blind envy and hatred toward the more privileged classes—feelings which led to a civil war that destroyed the prestige and power of the higher classes, ruined the cities, and through anarchy and strife prepared the way for the reorganization of the government into an Oriental despotism by Diocletian and Constantine. The state was now no longer based on the civilized orders in the cities, but on the peasants and the country. Society became fixed in hereditary castes, each with its own privileges or burdens, or both. The only equality was that all were slaves of the emperor.

Most readers will eagerly turn to the latter half of the last chapter to see what solution our author will give to the persistent question as to what caused the fall of the Roman Empire. Rostovtzeff thus formulates the problem: "Why was the city civilization of Greece and Italy unable to assimilate the masses, why did it remain a civilization of the élite, why was it incapable of creating conditions which should secure for the ancient world a continuous uninterrupted movement along the same path which our modern world is traversing again?"

In answer he reviews the more important explanations and with justice rejects them in considerable measure. Political solutions, like those

offered by Beloch, Kornemann, the erratic Ferrero, and the sober democratic Heitland, are alike partial and defective. Still more worthy of rejection are the economic explanations which "reveal, not the cause of the decline of the ancient world, but merely one of its aspects". Insufficient, also, is the biological explanation with its theories of degeneracy, race-suicide, and destruction by the admixture of "inferior races". And, finally, Rostovtzeff rejects the view that Christianity was responsible for the decay of ancient civilization, for Christianity, as he wisely says, "is but one side of the general change in the mentality of the ancient world, and so is no explanation". And he gives us no formula of his own.

But he does close with a warning and a question which can bring little satisfaction to those who believe that democracy is the most civilized as well as the best form of society. "The evolution of the ancient world has a lesson and a warning for us. Our civilization will not last unless it be a civilization not of one class, but of the masses. The Oriental civilizations were more stable and lasting than the Greco-Roman, because, being chiefly based on religion, they were nearer to the masses. Another lesson is that violent attempts at levelling have never helped to uplift the masses. They have destroyed the upper classes, and resulted in accelerating the process of barbarization. But the ultimate problem remains like a ghost, ever present and unladen: Is it possible to extend a higher civilization to the lower classes without debasing its standard and diluting its quality to the vanishing point? Is not every civilization bound to decay as soon as it begins to penetrate the masses?"

This book is a contribution of the greatest importance to the study of the Roman Empire. Nothing has appeared for many years that can be properly named beside it. Naturally it would be easy to point out statements that will provoke emphatic dissent or at least doubt. Rostovtzeff's history and interpretations of the social changes in the armies, for example, are less convincing than his treatment of the economic changes under the Empire. But this is no place to pursue this vein; each must read for himself.

Sixty plates with explanatory text illustrate the work; but not the least valuable part of the book is the 140 pages of notes which follow and document the text. Here the author's extraordinary command of his material is clearly shown. These notes will long be a valuable treasure-house to which those who wish to differ with their author will be glad to resort.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes. Part I. *Archaeological Material*, by H. E. WINLOCK; *Literary Material*, by W. E. CRUM. Part II. *Coptic Ostraca and Papyri*, by W. E. CRUM; *Greek Ostraca and Papyri*, by HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE. [Publications of the Egyptian Expedition, vols. III., IV.] (New York: Metropolitan Museum. 1926. Pp. xxvi, 276; xvi, 386, and 103 plates. Paper, \$24.00; boards, \$30.00.)

The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn. Part I. New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius. Edited with an introduction by HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE. [Publications of the Egyptian Expedition, vol. V.] (New York: Metropolitan Museum. 1926. Pp. xlviii, 299, and 29 plates. Paper, \$12.00; boards, \$15.00.)

I. SOME fifteen years since, the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art was entrusted with the clearing of the site of the tomb of Daga (XIth Dynasty), at Sheikh Abd el-Kurneh, in the Theban Necropolis. This tomb was known to have been used in Christian times by Coptic ascetes as a dwelling and worshipping place and, judging from what had been discovered, the digging of the site proper and its immediate vicinity promised a fair harvest of archaeological and literary material. In fact the tomb and its fore-court turned out to be the monastery of a certain Epiphanius, of whom we knew but little and were eager to know more. The two volumes before us contain in a highly creditable form the presentation of the rich material gathered in the course of the two campaigns (1912 and 1914) in which the work was practically completed.

Part I. is divided between Mr. H. E. Winlock and Mr. W. E. Crum. In chapters I.-IV. the former treats of the topography of Western Thebes in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D., of the trades and occupations at the monastery, etc., with a concluding section on the technical and material innovations in Egyptian life during Roman times. All of which is most profusely illustrated by means of 51 figures in the text and 31 plates (excellent maps and plans and collotype plates). In chapters IV.-X. Mr. Crum deals with the literary material. These chapters might well be termed a *summa* of all that can be known of Christian topography, history, and hagiography as well as Coptic lexicography, phonetics, and grammar for the region of Jeme and its neighborhood, a stretch of about a hundred miles from north to south with Jeme in the middle. Not an ostrakon whole or fragmentary, not a bit of papyrus, not a graffito in an ever so inexperienced hand is without significance for Mr. Crum. Chapter IX. on Epiphanius and Pesunthius will prove of unusual interest to historians.

Part II. contains the texts (pp. 1-152), both Coptic, of course by far the more numerous, by Mr. Crum, and Greek by Mr. Evelyn White, of all the ostraca, papyri, graffiti, discovered by the explorers, and their translation (pp. 155-348). Some texts, because linguistically uninteresting, appear in translation only. Each document is carefully edited and commented upon as to its exact reading and import, not a single letter against which the student might stumble being left without an explanatory note. Three appendixes reproduce, both in text and translation, important documents referring to the monastery of Epiphanius, but discovered and published prior to the American expedition. Eight pages of facsimiles of graffiti and seventeen plates, mostly chosen on palaeographical grounds, complete the volume proper.

Both parts are furnished with copious indexes. We regret only that in part I. Mr. Crum has not thought it necessary to give the list of abbreviations of his references.

II. This is the first of a series of three posthumous volumes containing the results of the archaeological investigations on the architecture and history of the monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natroun, the Mount of Nitria and the Scetis of the patristic literature, carried out in 1920-1921, by the late Hugh G. Evelyn White, in behalf of the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York.

This volume, in stateliness of appearance and perfection of typographical execution, exactly matches the two volumes we have just reviewed. Its bulk consists of some 290 leaves or fragments of Coptic leaves, mostly parchment of the ninth or tenth century, retrieved by the author from the monastery of St. Macarius in the desert of Scetis, and here edited and translated by himself. Their contents run through the whole gamut of monastic literature from the Bible to lexicography. They have been arranged according to matter into 29 groups, each group being introduced with a note in which every manuscript represented in the group is described, every fragment analyzed and fully illustrated as to contents, with abundant references to the existing Coptic literature. The reading and editing of those texts was a long and tedious task owing to the deplorable condition of the originals, the refuse of the library, the bulk of which, as every one knows, was acquired in 1715 by the elder Assemani for the Vatican Library; and also because the originals, the property of the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo, were not allowed to remain in his hands long enough for Mr. Evelyn White to revise his copies as carefully as he would have wished. Despite those handicaps, and the fact that the author was an archaeologist and a Hellenist by training rather than a Coptic scholar, the result of his labors is highly gratifying especially when we consider that he did not live to see his book through the press.

The doubtful character of several of his readings and the lack of experience in dealing with Coptic texts, as evidenced by some of his attempts at filling lacunae, are more than compensated by the truly superior character of the introductory notes. Another redeeming feature, if indeed such be needed, will be found in the introduction, "The Library at the Monastery of St. Macarius and New MS. Fragments", a truly remarkable piece of constructive scholarship. It can not fail to interest the general reader, and as much may be said of appendix II., The Libraries of the Lesser Monasteries of Scetis, which supplements it.

The curious fragments in Arabic language and Coptic script (33 leaves, paper, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) so ably edited, transcribed, translated, and commented upon in appendix I., by Dr. G. P. G. Sobby of Cairo, will delight particularly those interested in the history of the pronunciation of Arabic.

The 27 collotype plates, most of them showing two specimens each, leave nothing to be desired.

The able editor, Mr. Albert M. Lythgoe of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as well as the authors, principally Messrs. H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, are to be most sincerely congratulated, and a tribute of thanks is due to Mr. Edward S. Harkness who generously sustained the cost of the edition.

H. HYVERNAT.

Economic History of Europe to the End of the Middle Ages. By MELVIN M. KNIGHT, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Columbia University. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. x, 260. \$3.00.)

THERE is a certain bravery in tilting against twenty-five centuries in 250 pages, and the feat has not been hitherto attempted in English. Behind these pages, however, lies much thoughtful reading (*teste* the bibliographies), and the presentation, though at times like a series of notes, is compact and to the point. The style, suffering from compression, is not easy. The author is naturally under no obligation to present new information. Only in a note does he once protest that, to the writer's knowledge, "virgates ranged all the way from 12 to over 60 acres". And even this is not quite new. His task is to condense, arrange, and emphasize.

One-third of the book is devoted to the ancient world, the remainder to the medieval. Its thesis, in general, is that the civilization of the former was transmitted to the latter by the Italian cities of the Middle Ages. These towns, especially Venice, kept in touch with Constantinople, which until the twelfth century maintained in a measure the economic life of antiquity. The Saracens played a similar rôle, transmitting to Spain an older civilization (the Persian and Indian elements in which are not noted). In contrast with the superior economic life of the Mediterranean basin, the area to the north of it lapsed into an agrarian barbarism. Eventually a thin stream of Italian trade, papal taxation (apparently antedated), and the "sweet memory of Roman centralization impelled northern rulers to introduce money and trade as rapidly as possible".

The point of view dictates the order of chapters. On leaving the Roman and Byzantine world we follow the achievements of Italian commerce, with a glance at Genoese finance and Florentine industry, return to the gloom of the feudal and manorial North, and end with a chapter on the guild and craft system of the North, with a glance this time at northern commerce. The editor of the series reflects that students of economics are coming to find that their important problems have to do with business administration which in turn is based upon commerce with its markets, money, and credit. Commerce, therefore, is the "particular 'thread of continuity' around which [this] well-proportioned account is organized". Despite Professor Knight's editor, however, and his own apparent acceptance of modernist principles, less than one-fourth of his medieval pages describe commerce. What matters rather more is that they do

not describe it always very accurately. They do not, for example, make clear that the Byzantine connection, maintained until the eighth century, was then pretty much severed by the Saracen conquest of the great sea, and had to be recovered in the eleventh century; and that, though this recovery owed a great deal to the Italian cities, it owed quite as much to the emotional and economic revival of Northern Europe. While the Flemish House and the Hanseatic League are briefly described, the reader does not get the impression that they, along with English merchants, were as significant for the new life of the Middle Age as were the Italian cities, and that this commerce revolved round a Constantinople in the north, the active, industrial county of Flanders.

It is the author's construction of his book on the framework of geography rather than temporal sequence which involves these consequences. Indeed, comparative disregard of the contrast between century and century or between significant groups of centuries is the feature of it most open to criticism. In this regard the treatment suffers from comparison with two admirable works which appeared just after it was completed. Professor Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, and Professor Pirenne's *Medieval Cities*, the one comprehensive, the other summary, evince their greatest skill in contrasting one century with another, showing advance or decline, and the causes thereof. If Professor Knight could have modelled his treatment on these two books he would have been more informing, lucid, and progressive.

Sometimes disregard of correct temporal juxtaposition not only confuses but misleads. One illustration must suffice. Beside the Flemish House, consolidated in the twelfth century to control trade with England, says Professor Knight, the English Staplers appeared in 1267, exporting wool and, a little later, meat, dairy products, leather, tin, and lead. For a time the two "worked together, the English controlling staple exports, the Flemings looking after imports". After 1350 the latter disappeared and in 1354 the former were "definitely organized to take care of the functions of both". With changing times, as the manufacture of English woollens increased, the Staple "sank to insignificance in the seventeenth century, the Staplers being replaced by the Merchant Adventurers", who "unlike the Staplers were all Englishmen". About the Merchant Adventurers we learn nothing further except that "in the fifteenth century the [Hanseatic] League was exporting some forty times as much English cloth as was sent out in English ships". Many of these statements are misleading. The Flemish Hanse were not active traders after the close of the thirteenth century. The German Hanse, the Italians, and the English non-Staplers shared with the Staplers in English trade from 1300 on. All Staplers were Englishmen. The Staple, as such, soon exported no commodities save wool and hides. Other English merchants, generally known as Merchant Adventurers, were from at least the early fourteenth century active exporters and importers. In the fifteenth century they shipped much more English cloth than did the Hanseatics, using English, Hanseatic, and Dutch ships. Though Professor Knight mentions the

Hanseatics as financing Edward III., he does not note that English merchants financed him still more.

In what concerns industry it would seem that the "modern student" might be interested in the rise of capitalistic undertakings. But the remarkable development of the Della Lana in Florence is contracted to a brief paragraph. (The Medici, by the way, had extensive industrial as well as banking interests.) While the Flemish emergence from the craft system is treated more generously, the English development of large industry in woollens from the fourteenth century is not noted.

The fourth of the book devoted to feudalism and the manorial system follows the rather hackneyed outlines of the English manor, with, however, brief descriptions of corresponding Continental phenomena. Some statements I do not understand, *e.g.*, this on page 167, "The example of their better methods [those on manors of Church and State] was all the more powerful because they stood ready to absorb private rights, title, and authority in cases where notorious failure to live up to their standards of prosperity and contentment paved the way". Was forfeiture ever pronounced on these grounds?

It is easy to find fault with a text of this type, but it might be difficult to write a better one. One would have to call upon, say, Professor Pirenne or Sir William Ashley.

H. L. GRAY.

History of England. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1926. Pp. xx, 723. 12 s. 6 d.)

NOT since the appearance of Green's *Short History* has so fresh, vigorous, and interesting an outline history of England been given to the public. Not very different in length from its predecessor, nor indeed from several others which have appeared in recent years, it differs from Green in reflecting a much more advanced scholarship and from most later works in being less of a text-book, more of an essay. For the uses of a text-book we can not prophesy it much success. Like the *Short History* it is too allusive, too literary in form, it takes too much for granted to serve very well for class-room use—at least for college students as we know them. Its merits are of a different kind.

Distinction of treatment is perhaps the most marked characteristic of the work. Mr. Trevelyan has a certain largeness of view; he evidently considers the history of England as a single whole, its early events looked upon as precursors of known later occurrences and conditions, its later periods constantly reminiscent of early times. His divisions are for convenience of treatment only, not to accentuate the succession of events nor to narrate detached episodes. Whether this results from the origin of the work in a series of lectures, the Lowell Lectures, given in Boston in 1924, or merely from Mr. Trevelyan's fullness of knowledge of his subject, there results from it an admirably clear, however brief, de-

scription of institutions and movements. The early boroughs, the common law, Parliament, the native language and literature, Tudor economic conditions, the industrial revolution, and many such general elements of English history are described in their origin and full maturity with skill, clarity, and interest. Personalities and individual occurrences, on the contrary, are often objects of allusion or reference rather than of direct statement or narrative. This "touch and go" process is unavoidable even with Mr. Trevelyan's training and skill; there have been too many events of significance in two thousand years of English history to give them more than passing mention, if the conditions that surrounded them are to be made clear. Moreover it is a good philosophy of history to treat the general as of more importance than the particular.

The second characteristic of the book that has impressed us is its swift, brilliant style. Constant freshness of expression, frequent epigram, bold and unexpected statements, and a certain warmth of feeling that runs through all of Mr. Trevelyan's work give it a charm and interest, even where personal incidents, the usual opportunity for brilliance, can play but a small part. The English language after the Norman Conquest described as an "underground growth and unconscious self-preparation of the despised island *Patois*"; Bosworth Field where "on a bare Leicestershire upland a few thousand men in close conflict, foot to foot, while a few thousand more stood aside to watch the issue, sufficed to set upon the throne of England the greatest of all her royal lines", and many other such passages furnish as much spirit and interest as do vivacious narrative or detailed characterization.

Third, is its substantial and critical knowledge. No student of English history can fail to be impressed with the care with which Mr. Trevelyan has either kept up with the progress of research or prepared himself for this special task. No historian can of course work from the sources over so long a period, nor can any scholar follow every detail of other men's work in all aspects and periods of his subject. Yet it is remarkable how often a test of any particular point shows that Mr. Trevelyan knows what has recently been done to clarify knowledge or correct earlier error on that especial subject.

With this fullness of knowledge and vivacity of style and suggestiveness of thought there is little doubt that this book will be much read and will exercise a strong impression. Whether that impression will be in all respects beneficial we have one or two haunting doubts. It is, in the first place, too brilliant. Many of its epigrams when soberly considered are not strictly true. Again it is ardently national—not simply with that gentle interest in his own people and country which suffuses Green's work, with which we have compared Mr. Trevelyan's, but with a more militant assertive sense of the superiority of English institutions and character over those of other nations that savors of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—the nationalism of the days before, during, and to a lesser extent perhaps since the Great War. This impression made upon the reader is in most cases general rather than specific,

it is implicit rather than explicit. The "splendid future", the "new and larger means of destiny" that appear and reappear in Mr. Trevelyan's prophetic narrative are perhaps only somewhat exuberant expressions of national self-consciousness. But we are also told that "English freedom, being rooted in insular peculiarities, required, if it was ever to reach its full growth, a period of isolation from European influences and dangers". France and Spain, though he acknowledges that they had at one time systems of estates, "failed to adapt them to modern conditions". The victory of England over France in 1760 "decided that free institutions instead of despotic institutions were to dominate North America". These are assertions not only that English institutions were characteristic and interesting and influential, but that they had an innate superiority over those of all foreign countries, that the English were in some sense a "chosen people" among the nations. This is not an historical or a worthy conception. It is dangerous for English readers to be filled with a complacency that blinds them to their own defects and to others' excellences. It is not desirable that readers of other nationalities should be either vexed or amused by an insular sense of superiority. Moreover such an attitude of mind on the part of the historian makes him credulous, or at least tempts him to exaggeration. Mr. Trevelyan antedates modern English commercial superiority by at least two centuries. He remarks that Britain in the sixteenth century "turned back the tide of despotism and elaborated a system by which a debating club of elected persons could successfully govern an Empire in peace and war". We were under the impression that the British Parliament had shown rather special incapacity to govern an empire. In the seventeenth century it was Parliament's "wise and salutary neglect", according to Burke, that allowed the colonies to grow and flourish. Government of the colonies by Parliament in the early eighteenth century was a chronicle of ineptitude; when it tried to govern them more rigorously after the middle of the century it lost the best of them, and in the nineteenth century it has only retained them by ceasing to govern them. It was rather the enterprise of English merchants, the occasional successes of English admirals and generals, and the fecundity of English and colonial mothers that extended English institutions, trade, language, and influence so widely through the world. Parliament's influence where it has not been injurious has been negligible.

With all his distinction, brilliance, and learning, Mr. Trevelyan sometimes reminds us of one of his own heroes. He has admirable knowledge and insight and sympathy for his own ship of state and it sails a brave course through his pages, but when he looks toward another ship, the characteristic institutions of another country, like Nelson he puts his telescope to his blind eye.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

Les Barbares, des Grandes Invasions aux Conquêtes Turques du XI^e Siècle. Par LOUIS HALPHEN, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire Générale.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1926. Pp. 393. 40 fr.)

THIS fifth volume of the new general history, *Peuples et Civilisations*, is written by one of the editors of the series. It surveys the first seven medieval centuries, which the author treats as a long duel between barbarism and civilization (p. 355), a struggle which had no definite beginning or end. The book begins with the first great German invasions, which really constitute the opening of a new historical period. On the other hand, it is not so evident that the close of the eleventh century marks the end or beginning of anything of very great importance, although M. Halphen believes that it was a lull in the storm. At that time the Byzantine Empire was reviving, and the new peoples of the West were ready to take the offensive against the Mohammedan world. Still, the barbarian groups had already been long settled in their places, and were well on their way in the process of creating medieval civilization.

The civilization which struggled with barbarism changed with the centuries. In the Arab empire and the Greek "fraction" of the Roman world it was the old culture which was preserved or revived. In the West barbarism had its way, and civilization had to be created anew. There, "ni l'organisation politique, ni l'organisation sociale des États fondés par les Germains à l'occident de notre Europe ne rappellent, dans leurs traits généraux, celle de l'Empire des Césars" (p. 76). The peoples most influenced by Roman ways succumbed first, while the Franks, who remained more stubbornly barbarian, played the great rôle in the West.

It is true that the western barbarians made conscious efforts to recover something of the old civilization. They regarded the empire of Charles the Great as a political restoration, a *renovatio imperii Romanii*, and the Carolingian Renaissance was a youthful effort to learn something of the old Roman culture. Nevertheless, it was really the first step toward the adaptation of the old ideas to the needs of a new society. "N'est-ce point, du reste, la loi de toutes les 'renaissances' de préparer la voie aux civilisations nouvelles?" (p. 257). The empire of Otto I., which may be called the last large-scale barbarian state, was intended to be a restoration of the empire of the great Charles, and the intellectual awakening of the tenth century was animated by purpose very like that of the Carolingian Renaissance. A new civilization, not the old, was triumphing in the West.

Throughout the book the barbarians are always before us. The stories of their movements and settlements are told in a skillful way, and the summaries of institutions and civilizations are interesting and useful. Nevertheless, the period is viewed too much from the top. The barbarian peoples did indeed create large states and even empires, but all

of these amateur attempts at state-building failed. The new society was forming at the bottom, where small groups of people were learning the elementary lessons of local government and economic life. The book tells nothing of the beginnings of feudalism.

It is unfortunate that a book which contains so many well-selected facts and events does not have an index. The bibliographical notes are brief and refer the readers chiefly to general works. In conclusion it may be said that the book is a scholarly and interesting survey of a confused period of history. It is well named, "the Barbarians".

FREDERIC DUNCALF.

Cambridge Medieval History. Planned by J. B. BURY, M.A., F.B.A., edited by J. R. TANNER, C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, and Z. N. BROOKE. Volume V. *Contest of Empire and Papacy.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xliv, 1005. 50 s.)

THIS volume is concerned with the events from 1050 to 1200 A. D. Inevitably, from the plan of the work, it can not cover all the history of that period and also some chapters discuss material of a much earlier or much later date. As the subtitle indicates, the Contest of Empire and Papacy is stressed, and about half of the volume is given to the Church and the German Empire. The history of Germany and Italy is carried through the reign of Henry VI. For France, the reigns of Louis VI. and Louis VII. are included; for England, from the Conquest through the reign of Henry II., with a preliminary treatment of the development of Normandy. The Crusades are covered, and as an introduction there is a chapter on Islam in Syria and Egypt from 750 to 1100. The communal movement, especially in France, and the Italian cities till c. 1200, are discussed from the political standpoint. The other chapters deal with monastic orders, Roman and canon law, schools, and philosophy.

The history of Spain, Scandinavia, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and other parts of Europe is reserved for a later volume, also "the economic history of the development and organization of trade and industry, as well as of agricultural conditions". The introduction, on the importance of this period, states: "We have to deal, then, with a period, on the one hand, of new movements and ideas—the appearance of new monastic orders, a renaissance of thought and learning, the rise of towns and the expansion of commerce; on the other, of consolidation and centralization." But the new movements and new ideas are very inadequately represented, especially as there is no chapter on the universities, no mention of the literary and architectural achievements of the twelfth century. Nor are the consolidation and centralization as well illustrated by the material in this volume as they would be if there had been a different division of the subject-matter to be included in this and subsequent volumes. In these respects the expectations aroused by the introduction are disappointed.

This is a Cambridge medieval history and in this volume twelve of the twenty-three chapters are written by Cambridge men. This is very different from the plan followed in securing authors for volumes I. and II. There are only three foreign contributors: Chalandon, for the Normans in Italy; Halphen, for Louis VI. and Louis VII.; and Balzani, for Italy. All of these are natural and excellent choices and the chapters are well done.

The work is, of course, uneven. Chapter I., on the Reform of the Church, by Whitney, covers the usual ground, but is not inspiring or easy reading; for example, one sentence reads: "Benevento, whence the citizens had driven the Lombard Princes, and which Leo now visited, was at Worms (autumn 1052) in a later visit to Germany given to the Papacy in exchange for Bamberg." Brooke, in addition to the general introduction, which is admirable, writes chapters on Gregory VII. and on Germany under Henry IV. and Henry V. which are real contributions, especially as they are well annotated. Corbett, whose untimely death is a loss to our profession, wrote on Normandy and England, and, as the editors state, "Even if his researches on Domesday should never now be published, his main conclusions will be found in the *Cambridge Medieval History*". Unfortunately these are very brief and only whet our appetites for more. Austin Lane Poole writes satisfactory chapters on Germany from 1125 to the death of Henry VI. As Balzani wrote the chapters on Italy which cover the same ground and to some extent the same material, there are repetitions and contradictory statements. "The story of the Crusades is described in this volume from the Western point of view, and it has already been told from the Eastern standpoint in Volume IV." (A hypercritic might question the wisdom of such a plan). It is interesting to note that the First Crusade is here described by Stevenson, who was especially fitted for the task, because he had already written a history of the Crusades, "from the Eastern point of view". Kingsford, in a brief chapter of nineteen pages, tells of the kingdom of Jerusalem to 1291; and Passant, in a still shorter chapter, the effects of the Crusades upon Western Europe. Previt -Orton treats of the Italian cities and Miss Lodge of the Communes; although neither was able wholly to omit any reference to economic condition, the limitation put upon them by the plan of this volume precluded such a treatment as we should have expected from them. Mrs. Stenton undertook the chapter on Henry II. of England "at short notice", and finished it promptly and creditably. The chapter on Monastic Orders by Thompson is very full of facts; the enormous range of time, from the Carolingian era to the Reformation, and quantity of material to be included were too extensive for satisfactory treatment in a chapter of thirty-nine pages. The chapter on Schools to c. 1300 is brief and thin; there are only two pages for the post-Carolingian period. The author, Miss Deanesly, is evidently not to blame, for she adds a note at the end of the chapter: "No description of grammar schools, other than those attached to cathedral or collegiate churches, has been here attempted, for reasons

of space. Between the rise of the universities, *c.* 1170, when grammar masters became more plentiful, and the end of the thirteenth century, such schools existed, and even in some numbers; but they were the same in character and method as they were in the next two centuries, when they became still more numerous. A full description of such grammar schools will be given in Vol. VIII." It seems a pity that the whole matter should not have been left till it could be treated adequately. I am not competent to criticize technically either the chapter on Philosophy or the one on Law; but the latter, by Hazeltine, seems to me wholly admirable. The treatment is clear, logical, comprehensive; it is the longest and I think the best chapter in the volume.

There are comparatively few mistakes, and most of them seem to be slips in proof-reading or else relatively unimportant. There are contradictory statements by authors who have to mention the same events. There are more foot-notes, mainly references to sources, than in the earlier volumes—a welcome change. But the practice varies greatly: two chapters have no notes; six others have four or less each; one has seventy-five; in all there are about five hundred. The volume is, as usual, supplied with a list (inadequate) of corrigenda and with a chronological table of events. There are nine maps, similar in execution to those in the preceding volumes. There are the usual bibliographies, varying in fullness and excellence; and as usual, the question of inclusion or omission arises in the reviewer's mind; it is mainly a question of judgment, but there seems to be no justification for omitting under the Military Orders (p. 919) Marquis d'Albon's *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre du Temple* and two or three of the other important works on the Templars such as Gmelin and Curzon, especially as some of the works included have little, if any, value.

DANA C. MUNRO.

The Franciscans in England, 1224-1538. By EDWARD HUTTON.
(London: Constable; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. 236. 7 s. 6 d.)

WITH the exception of a small brochure of some forty pages published in 1924 by the Franciscan fathers of Forest Gate, London, on the occasion of the celebrations at Canterbury in honor of the seventh centenary of the coming of the Franciscans to England, an excellent though unpretentious work, no attempt has been made since Father Anthony Parkinson, O.F.M., brought out his *Collectanea Anglo-Minoritica, or a Collection of the Antiquities of the English Franciscans or Friars Minors, commonly called Gray Friars*, in 1726, to write a continuous history of the Franciscans in England. That was two hundred years ago. It is only within the last fifty years that any interest has been taken in the subject. Following the publication of the *Monumenta Franciscana* in the Rolls Series and the classification and indexing of the state archives much has been written concerning the work of the First English

Province; but it has taken the form of essays and articles on particular aspects of their life and work. Mr. Hutton's book will then be welcome to those who wish to form some idea of what we know of the Franciscans before their ruthless suppression in 1539.

Though Mr. Hutton gives no bibliography he generally gives in the foot-notes, which are copious, the sources of his information. From these it appears that his book is in fact what the publishers call it, an *ouvrage d'ensemble*, a compilation in narrative form, interestingly written, of what has already been published concerning the Greyfriars in England from their arrival to their suppression. A casual glance through the book might lead to the impression that the work was exhaustive. This is by no means the case. His notes, for example, of the Northampton Friary could have been still further enlarged even from Eccleston who tells us (chapter IX.) that it was altered while Albert of Pisa was provincial. The state records mention that in 1280 A. D. permission was sought to divert the water from a spring at Thorp to the friary by means of conduits. (*Inq. ad quod Damnum*, 6 Edward I., no. 61(b); *Mon. Franc.*, II. 283.)

When treating of the introduction of the Observant Friars into England he shows that A. G. Little's paper read before the British Academy July 11, 1923 (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XI.), was unknown to him, or he would surely have given the exact date of the foundation of the friary at Greenwich. This, Mr. Little informs us, can be known for certain as July 2, 1482, from the notarial instrument drawn up by the notary, E. Grimely, who was present and from a letter of another eyewitness, Edmund Audley, bishop of Rochester, the papal commissary. Bouchier joined the Observants in 1566 and not 1557 as stated by Mr. Hutton (p. 240, n. 1), who has here however been misled by such authorities as the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Parkinson, Anthony à Wood, etc. (Cf. *Epistola Dedicatoria* prefixed to the Ingolstadt edition of Bouchier's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1583, p. 4.)

The work of the friars at Oxford is well described; but to devote a chapter each to Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham, forty pages in all, is perhaps over emphasizing one aspect of the friars' work for they always played a large part in the public life of the nation. A chapter might have been devoted to those other geniuses, Adam Marsh and John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury. This would have given a better idea of the activities of the friars, for it should not be forgotten that the pope often employed English friars in positions of responsibility. When Tyssington was provincial, two English friars were sent for to adjust the differences between the friars in Spain. The pope, however, found them very unwilling to accept the office of agent for the levying of papal dues during the reign of Henry III. They successfully claimed exemption from being appointed papal tax-collectors, unless special power was conferred on the legate to this end. The Bishop of Sabina, in 1263, and the legate Ottobon, in 1265, obtained such powers. To the friars fell the task of preaching the Crusades. In 1241 Dominican

and Franciscan friars were deputed by the council of bishops at Oxford to negotiate with Frederick II.; but their mission proved abortive. Friars accompanied the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he went to make peace between Henry III. and his regent in 1264. Their help was sought after not only by popes, bishops, and kings, but even by burgesses. The trouble between the townsfolk of Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports was amicably settled at the London Friary in 1290. When Edward I. was outraging Christian charity in his treatment of the Jews, it was the Franciscans who interceded successfully on their behalf.

It must not be thought that these great offices of trust prevented more homely services from being rendered. The friars were much sought after by the people themselves to make peace between neighbors, and sometimes even between husband and wife.

From Mr. Hutton's chapter on the Decay of the Friars it would appear that the order had lost its hold on the popular imagination. He might have given as a corrective to this view a list of wills in favor of the friars and requests to be buried within the precincts of the friaries which occur in large numbers even after the Black Death.

For our part we should describe the position of the friars when confronted with Henry VIII.'s pretensions somewhat differently from Mr. Hutton. The friars never thought that the enactments of the king in either political or even doctrinal matters would endure for any length of time. Many perceived that if they could hold on, the normal state of affairs would return, and they would be able once more to follow their vocation unmolested. There had been political trouble with the pope before, which had been subsequently settled. There was no reason at first for thinking that Henry's quarrel would be lasting. Later, when too late, they found that a cabal of unscrupulous politicians was making capital out of the king's vices and strong action would be necessary; but the time for corporate action was past. It became a question of *saufve qui peut*. It became a question for the conscience of each. The names of those who are known to have conformed are few; those who suffered imprisonment number over two hundred, while at least fifty sealed their faith with their blood or died in prison. However, all were not called upon to make the supreme sacrifice. Many fled the country and were to be found following their vocation abroad.

The author has taken much information from Davenport and Parkinson and in this, perhaps, he would not be followed by those who are now engaged in research on the subject. There is no doubt that both need careful editing.

Provided then that the book be not taken as anything more than a popular résumé of what is known of the First Province we can heartily recommend it. In our opinion the time has not yet come for the history of those three hundred years of Franciscanism in England to be reliably written and we think therefore that Mr. Hutton's work viewed from a scientific standpoint is premature.

The Valuation of Norwich. Edited by W. E. LUNT, Walter D. and Edith M. L. Scull Professor of English Constitutional History in Haverford College. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. xv, 870. 28 s.)

THE edition of the valuation of Norwich is an important addition to the material available for the study of the papal taxes in England during the thirteenth century. Heretofore anyone seeking for records of the assessment of such taxes has had to be content with the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV., A. D. 1291, and several fragments of earlier taxes published in out-of-the-way places. Though the present edition of the assessment of 1254 is unavoidably incomplete, it adds a number of new documents and corrected texts of those previously published. The records of the valuation in eight dioceses are given in full. These cover fourteen English and six Welsh counties and parts of two English and two Welsh counties. There are also the returns of the assessment of the incomes of twenty religious houses scattered through the country. The appendixes contain portions of the assessments of 1268 and 1276 and summaries of parts of valuations earlier than that of Norwich.

The introduction is the best historical survey of papal taxation in England to the year 1254 that has appeared. It is a careful piece of work by one who has been recognized for years as the leading scholar in that field of research.

Though the plan of taxing clerical income was first utilized by the kings of France and England, it was soon adopted by the papacy for its own purposes. After the levy of the fortieth of ecclesiastical revenues demanded by Innocent III. in 1299, there are a number of instances of papal taxes upon the English clergy. The strenuous, and occasionally effective, resistance of the same clergy forms an interesting part of the story. Especial attention is paid by the editor to the methods of assessing and collecting the taxes. The machinery of assessment, crude until 1229, was then centralized and made reasonably efficient. Even so, before 1254 too little emphasis was laid upon the personal investigation of the value of income by the assessors and too much upon the statements of the clergy who were to pay the taxes. Everyone interested in either lay or clerical taxation owes a debt of gratitude for the discussion of the terms *temporalia* and *spiritualia*. The statement (p. 73, note 3) concerning the position of temporalities acquired after 1291, and thus not annexed to spiritualities, needs however to be slightly revised, for such temporalities were assessed for the lay subsidies without reference to concurrent clerical taxes.

The chapter devoted to the characteristics of the valuation of Norwich is an able examination of a difficult problem. It is concerned primarily with the causes of the great increase, an increase of about one hundred per cent., in the valuation of 1291 over that of 1254. Professor Lunt's careful study of the various factors that may have brought about the increase leads to results that are somewhat at variance with those of some

previous writers on the subject. He finds that the increase in the value of spiritualities "was probably due in the main, partly to an increase of actual value, partly to an increase of the nominal assessed value, but it was due in larger part to the latter cause". The great increase in the valuation of 1291 over that of 1254 was, however, in the sphere of temporalities. The conclusion is reached that this was largely due "to the inclusion in the valuation of 1291 of property which did not appear in the valuation of Norwich".

The book is well indexed. In appendix VII. there is given a bibliography of books cited. Typographical errors are practically non-existent. In accuracy, sound scholarship, and completeness the edition of the valuation of Norwich leaves nothing to be desired.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: Rolls A1a-A9, a. d. 1323-1364. Edited by A. H. THOMAS, M.A.
[Printed by order of the Corporation under the direction of the Library Committee.] (Cambridge: University Press. 1926.
Pp. xxxvi, 334. 15 s.)

THIS volume continues the series of calendars of London records begun by Dr. R. R. Sharpe. From the Plea and Memoranda Rolls Dr. Sharpe drew many interesting facts for the first volume of his *London and the Kingdom*, and it is cause for rejoicing that the contents of the first ten of the 102 rolls are now made available by this full and well-edited calendar.

The period covered by the ten rolls includes the last four years of Edward II.'s reign and all but six of the years of Edward III.'s reign. At first the entries are few, but they clearly reflect the kingdom's rising indignation at the misrule of Edward II. and the Despensers. The opening entry shows the mayor and commonalty resisting a demand for troops to aid in ejecting from Wallingford Castle some adherents of the king's recently executed opponent, Thomas of Lancaster. So little confidence had Edward in his capital's loyalty that he summoned the city's magistrates to Westminster and deposed the mayor. This proceeding was not calculated to increase London's affection for the king, and soon after Isabella and Mortimer landed in Suffolk, the city mob murdered the Bishop of Exeter, supporter of the Despensers. The magistrates, after a moment's hesitancy, which brought forth a threatening letter from Isabella, welcomed the queen and her paramour, and upon the assembling of Parliament, united with the commonalty in inviting the great men assembled at Westminster to come to the Guildhall and swear to depose Edward. When Edward resigned his crown at Kenilworth, a delegation of Londoners witnessed the event and received from the city £50 for the expenses of their journey.

If London felt any remorse after the brutal murder of Edward, that was only because Mortimer turned out to be as bad as the Despencers. The city supplied a contingent for the campaign against Bruce and the Scots, but when, after a disgraceful peace had been made, Isabella, having undertaken to return the Coronation Stone to the Scots, ordered the sheriffs to send it to her, they replied that the abbot and convent of Westminster refused to surrender it. London had its own special reason for disliking the long Scottish war. The Exchequer and the Common Bench had been removed to York, and though the king was entreated to send them back to Westminster, he replied that their presence at York drew many people thither and helped to defend the north. More than a year passed before London secured a promise that the "King's places" should return home.

After the hanging of Mortimer and the beginning of Edward III.'s personal rule, the entries on the rolls become little more than legal records. Yet they reveal that the city furnished the king with men and money for his wars and on one occasion, though grumblingly, with ships. They also show that during Edward's absences on the Continent the magistrates did all in their power to guard the city and to maintain order within its walls. This did not prevent a "terrible affray" between the fishmongers and the goldsmiths, and another between the fishmongers and the skinners, during which one excited man seized the mayor by the throat, and was shortly after beheaded therefor.

It is evident throughout that London is the political capital of the realm and conscious of her dignity and responsibilities as such. It is equally evident that she is a great commercial city and conscious of her dignity and responsibilities from that standpoint as well. She looks after the interests of her merchants at home and abroad. She keeps a watchful eye on all goods made or bought and sold within her precincts. She tries hard to prevent forestalling; and after the Black Death, she shares in the vain effort to keep down prices and wages.

The editor's introduction consists mainly of a clear and interesting account of the development of the powers and duties of the city authorities as conservators of the peace. He has also supplied the full indexes so essential to the usefulness of such a book as this, and a list of unusual words found in the text.

CORA L. SCOFIELD.

John Wyclif, a Study of the English Medieval Church. By HERBERT B. WORKMAN, D.Lit., D.D., Principal of Westminster College, Senator of London University. Two volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. xl, 342; xii, 436. 30 s.)

IN these volumes Dr. Workman has given us an adequate and satisfactory biography of Wyclif, based on a thorough examination of both the sources and the secondary material. He describes in considerable detail the stage on which Wyclif played his part, and the other actors

who appeared in the same scenes; the hero has the title-rôle—as is in accordance with the best tradition—but he does not monopolize the stage, nor are the other members of the cast mere lay-figures or foils. The result is a work characterized by insight and acumen, sympathetic toward its main subject, yet discriminating, and unmarred by serious bias or prejudice; Wyclif's opponents are not portrayed as villains in the drama, and, if the author regards him as a saint, he never indulges in that fulsome eulogy that is the undoing of so much hagiography.

The work is divided into three books, "The Schoolman", "The Politician", "The Reformer", the third of which takes up, with appendixes and index, the entire second volume. After a consideration of Wyclif's importance in history comes an account of his birthplace and early surroundings. The little village of Wycliffe, near Richmond, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, was in an archdeaconry whose archdeacon was an alien absentee, very near the borders of the diocese of that most "Caesarean" of prelates, the bishop of Durham, and, after 1342, under the overlordship of John of Gaunt. Whatever bearing this may have had on his later career, it is not uninteresting to observe how early Wyclif learned something about non-resident and worldly ecclesiastics, that he grew up in a region more than amply provided with monastic establishments, and that for thirty years John of Gaunt was his overlord. Assuming him to have been born about 1328, Dr. Workman suggests 1345 as a probable date for Wyclif to go to Oxford (a year or two years earlier would seem more likely), and, of the three colleges that claim him as a student, he decides in favor of Balliol. Stirring events occurred in Oxford during Wyclif's student days, riots between town and gown and great academic issues, yet in these he shows no sign of interest, though later he threw himself eagerly into the struggle between the seculars and regulars. Because Wyclif's work as a reformer can not be rightly appraised without recognition of his position as a schoolman, Dr. Workman devotes much attention to the inner life of the university and the intellectual interests of its members, the conflict between Thomist and Scotist, and, more particularly, to the divers winds of doctrine that determined Wyclif's own course. "The reader would err greatly if he ascribed to Wyclif any revolt against current scholastic thought", says the author, and, later in the book, "Wyclif, judged as a schoolman, does little more than gyrate on a well-beaten path, often concealing with a cloud of dust and digressions that he is but moving in a circle."

In the summer of 1361 Wyclif, having resigned his position as Master of Balliol, which he had held for from three to five years, took up his work as rector of Fillingham, a college living to which he was presented in the spring of that year. Possibly he remained there for a year or more; in 1363 he obtained five years' leave of absence to study theology at Oxford and took rooms at Queen's College. He was now both absentee and pluralist, for in 1362 the pope had conferred on him a prebend in the collegiate church of Westbury on Trym, near Bristol, which he retained throughout his life. He was reported in 1366 for non-residence at West-

bury and failure to provide a chaplain in his stead. Three other of the five canons were reported at the same time, so his neglect was not unusual, yet Dr. Workman's excuses for Wyclif's inaction come dangerously near to special pleading. About that same time he was nominated by Archbishop Islip to be warden of Canterbury Hall. This was an incident in the contest of seculars and regulars; and Wyclif's tenure of office was brief, for the monks who had been ousted won their case, despite an appeal to the Holy See. "It is clear that, legally, Wyclif had little to be said in his favour." He returned to Oxford, had his leave of absence from his parish renewed, exchanged the living of Fillingham for that of Ludgershall, and kept on with his theological studies. In 1369 he took his B.D. degree, and proceeded D.D. three years later.

Shortly before attaining the doctorate Wyclif entered the service of the crown, a service inconsistent with his theories regarding absenteeism and the "secularization" of the clergy. In the summer of 1364 he was one of a deputation that met the papal nuncios at Bruges, on a rather futile mission. Far more important in his career as a politician was the alliance that he later formed with John of Gaunt, an alliance which gave him for a time the assistance of the friars and the support of the dominant court party and, till death, the protection of the duke. Referring to the memorandum on the subject of sanctuary, submitted by Wyclif to the parliament at Gloucester in 1375, Dr. Workman observes that "Wyclif made the mistake of mixing up shady politics with what he deemed to be the 'truth'", a judgment that applies also to much else in his career.

Limitations of space prevent more than a passing reference to the account of the Reformer, the portion of the biography that will probably be of most interest to many readers, but tribute must be paid to the author's evident mastery of Wyclif's theological writings, to his scrupulous fairness in dealing with Wyclif's adversaries, to the lucidity of his treatment. Mention must be made, too, of his account of the translation of the Bible. It was "the expression of a movement which would have produced a translation in the latter years of the fourteenth, or the opening years of the fifteenth centuries, altogether apart from Wyclif". Moreover, neither of the versions produced under his influence was Wyclif's work; his own contribution to Bible translation is in his *Sermons*.

Wyclif was a mass of glaring contradictions: a reformer mixed up in shady politics, a modernist entangled in medieval logomachies, guilty of some of the practices that he most condemns. He protests against the cultus of the saints, and says, "Worship we Jesus and Mary with all our might"; he resents authority in religion, and would place the Church in the control of civil government. Dr. Workman, realizing all this and much more, yet gives a sympathetic study of a great figure. The few *corrigenda* which the present writer would venture to suggest, did space permit, in no way detract from the general excellence of the book.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund. Von OTTO CARTELLIERI.
(Basel: Benno Schwabe and Company. 1926. Pp. xii, 329.
12.50 fr.)

VERY appropriately does Professor Cartellieri entitle his work "Kulturhistorische Bilder", for he has undertaken to present a series of separate cross-sections from "the unusually rich and brilliant culture of (the) court where a dying chivalry celebrated its last triumph", picturing the life of knights and ladies, the work of artists, the ambition of princes. His text is punctuated with dramatic descriptions, often of considerable length, of episodes such as the funeral of Philip the Bold, the marriage festivities of Charles the Rash and Margaret of York, and the Feast of the Pheasant, which make vivid the period under consideration. These are further enlivened by selections from contemporary poets, and by very well-chosen illustrations. Twenty years of study have given the author a mastery of his material, and students will find his notes of great bibliographical value, particularly for studies scattered in the diverse learned reviews.

Symonds and Burckhardt have so emphasized the Italian side of the Renaissance and the break between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages that every work which serves to neutralize their exaggerations will be most welcome. In the book before us the cultural independence of the North, and the natural growth of its Renaissance characteristics from its medieval past become clear. The absolutism of Philip the Good is a legitimate despotism modelled on the ideals of Philip Augustus and Philip the Fair, instead of a parvenu tyranny. This very legitimacy enables the duke to cloak his rule in the forms of the old chivalry instead of the more practical and cynical ones of Italian statecraft. John the Fearless is as Machiavellian as any of his contemporaries, but he turns to a schoolman to justify his political murders. Students of political theory will find useful the summary of Jean Petit's arguments for tyrannicide and their refutation. We see the development of the artist from the artisan, freeing himself through princely patronage from the cramping conventions and regulations of the gild, only to find himself still bound by the necessity of glorifying his patron. Literature at the Burgundian court still has something of medieval spontaneity and naïveté, in spite of a tendency to flattery. Yet in a flourishing literary period the Valois dukes seem to collect their books rather as handsome valuables than as works of literature. Instead of being captured by the classical enthusiasm of the Italians, they continue to regard the ancients in the romantic manner, and to draw moral lessons from the labors of Hercules.

Comparison with Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages* is natural since both scholars use the same sources. The Dutchman, however, attempts a philosophical interpretation of the age, while the German confines himself more to description. The incidents which Huizinga cites as typical of a point of view, Cartellieri uses in a discussion of Roger van der Weyden's portrait of Philip the Good. The one is concerned

with the characteristics of an epoch, the other with those of a court. The court represented the epoch. The clash of chivalry with reality is not overlooked, as for instance when Jacques de Lalaing, the ideal knight, is killed by a cannon-ball. But the emphasis is upon "the barbarous pagantry" of the ducal court, which seems to have been a combination of charades and vaudeville. The relation of this artificial magnificence to events seems remote. Even the Feast of the Pheasant appears to have been sumptuous allegory for its own sake, in which the real meaning was obscured by the pretentiousness of the setting. Very aptly the author likens it to Gothic architecture degenerating into baroque.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

The Danish Sound Dues and the Command of the Baltic, a Study of International Relations. By CHARLES E. HILL, Professor of Political Science in George Washington University. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1926. Pp. ix, 305. \$4.00.)

THERE has long been a need for a systematic presentation of the part played by the Sound dues in the diplomatic history of northern Europe. Since the appearance of the books of Scherer and Van der Hoeven more than seventy years ago, enough new material has been published to justify a new synthesis. The present work by Professor Hill is the first serious attempt to provide a modern account of this interesting chapter in international relations. The publication of certain notable collections has come to the scholar's aid. Fru Nina E. Bang's monumental *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Øresund*, the twenty-four volumes of the *Hanserecesse*, 1256-1530, the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Laursen's *Danmark-Norges Traktater*, the works of Gustavus Vasa and of Axel Oxenstierna, furnish a mine of valuable materials, of which the author has made effective use.

To attempt to tell the story of the Sound dues from their origin about 1430 to their abolition in 1857 in a single modest volume, and use all the available sources, printed and in manuscript, would be out of the question. The author does not claim to have done this. But he has presented a clear and interesting account that embodies the results of recent scholarship in the field and of his own independent investigation.

The Sound (*Øresund*) passes between Sjaelland and the Scanian coast of Sweden, and is the leading waterway connecting the North Sea with the Baltic. Denmark's success in maintaining its claim to treat this important highway of commerce as a Danish stream, subject to such dues as king or state might impose upon traffic, led of necessity to numerous attempts by maritime states to have the dues lowered or even abolished. The Hanseatic towns were frequent sufferers. The building of Kronborg castle at Elsinore in the 1580's is evidence of the importance then attached to the Sound dues as a source of royal revenue (p. 74). Frederick II. (1534-1588) had actually the audacity to protest to Queen Elizabeth against English ships passing between Norway and Iceland on their way

to Russia's port in the White Sea; and it is recorded that the queen agreed that her merchants should pay him for the privilege! (pp. 71-73). The focal points in the story are the treaties of Brömsebro and Kristianopol, made with Sweden and the United Provinces, respectively, in 1645, by which Christian IV. gave up his claim to dominion over the Baltic and North seas; and the treaty concluded with the Dutch in 1701. Soon after 1815, the Sound dues began to figure in the debates in the British Parliament, as they did in the negotiations with Sweden, Prussia, and the United States. A conference of all the interested powers was proposed by Denmark in 1855, and within two years redemption quotas were agreed to by most of the powers, including the United States.

A few omissions and errors in the bibliography ought to be noted. Bogislaff Philip von Chemnitz's great work on Swedish participation in the Thirty Years' War remains an important source for international relations of that time, though it closes with 1646. Six volumes of Laursen's *Danmark-Norges Traktater* have appeared, not five. *Gustav den Förstes Registratur* is not listed, but apparently the item, *Handlingar rörande Sveriges Historia*, is intended to designate it. Of this, there are 28, not 41, volumes, and the dates of publication are 1861-1916. *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* has appeared at least up to 1920. Seventeen volumes of Oxenstjerna's *Skrifter och Brefväxling* had come out by 1920. *Danmarks Riges Historie* appeared during the period 1896-1907. Nos. 8047-8079 of volume I. of Erichsen and Krarup's *Dansk Historisk Bibliografi* have several titles not listed by the author. Setterwall's *Svensk Historisk Bibliografi, 1875-1900, 1901-1920*, might have solved some of the bibliographical difficulties.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

Étude sur le Gouvernement de François I^{er} dans ses Rapports avec le Parlement de Paris. Par ROGER DOUCET, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger. Volume II., 1525-1527. (Paris: Champion. 1926. Pp. 321. 25 fr.)

WITH the second installment of this important work (of which the first was reviewed on pp. 106-107 of volume XXVIII. of this journal) M. Doucet reaches the heart of his subject—the period directly following the battle of Pavia, during the first part of which King Francis was a prisoner at Madrid. The Parlement de Paris was therefore most favorably situated for a renewal, with added vigor, of its efforts to widen the scope of its authority; indeed a parallel at once suggests itself with the years after Poitiers, when King John was a captive in England, and the États Généraux attempted to control the government during his absence. But the Parlement was unable to achieve anything approaching even the temporary success which the États had won in 1357; and M. Doucet's volume is largely devoted to an explanation of the reasons for its failure.

The monarchical spirit of the age was, of course, the fundamental cause. The "rights" which the Parlement demanded, and which would have been indispensable to success—such as, for instance, the irremovability of its counsellors—were totally without legal foundation; the États Généraux was the only body which could lawfully pretend to any measure of real authority in the government—and even their claims were practically limited to periods of crisis and financial stringency. Some few of the "parlementaires" seem to have realized how much their hands would be strengthened by a convocation of the États, and made a move to bring this about in March, 1525; but the majority of their colleagues failed to support them, and Louise de Savoie found no difficulty in thwarting their plans. The efforts of the Parlement to solidify its position by the creation of the so-called "Assemblée de la Salle Verte"—an amorphous organization composed of certain members of the Chambre des Comptes and the representatives of the clergy and municipality of Paris—in the hope of enlisting more supporters for its programme, was also a dismal failure; the regent played her cards with consummate skill, and the "Assemblée" soon dwindled away. The Parlement was in fact too much interested in the assertion of its own authority, and too little alive to the general welfare, to enable it to win the cordial alliance of any other portion of the body politic in the prosecution of its plans. Its activity was indeed ubiquitous. Not only did it seek to limit the legislative power of the crown; it attempted to intervene in the administration of the northern provinces; it strove to extirpate heresy and invalidate the Concordat; it even pretended to play a part in the determination of the foreign policy. But none of its different efforts to assert itself was successful; and the edict of July 24, 1527, marks the triumph of monarchical reaction. By it the Parlement was definitely notified that it was an exclusively judicial body—a court, not a council, nor a political assembly; and moreover that even as a court it was henceforth to regard itself as distinctly subordinate to the more recent judicial offshoots of the Cour du Roi, and particularly to the Grand Conseil de Justice. The monarch, in other words, was the supreme judge.

M. Doucet is really giving us a constitutional history of the reign of Francis I., and all students of the sixteenth century will be profoundly grateful to him.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Ignatius Loyola, the Founder of the Jesuits. By PAUL VAN DYKE, Pyne Professor of History in Princeton University. (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1926. Pp. vi, 381. \$3.50.)

THAT Professor Paul van Dyke is a thorough scholar and an accomplished writer had long been known to all students of the Renaissance

and Reformation. His latest work, though important, brings much less new material to the subject treated than did his biography of *Catherine de Médicis*, in fact very little that was altogether unknown before. But it is based on a wide and painstaking study of the original sources. In it is incorporated, in a new and excellent English translation, most of Loyola's autobiography, that "wunderbare Erzählung, wie sie nur aus langjährige Selbstbeachtung hervorgehen kann", as Fueter has called it (*Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, p. 282). Notable also is the source-work in the chapter on the corruptions of the Church, and in the chapter on foreign missions. On the other hand, when he wanders away from his immediate subject, Professor Van Dyke's treatment suffers by reliance on secondary works. Erasmus is quoted several times, once through Pastor, once through Bailey's loose translation of the *Colloquies*, and several times through the unreliable Froude, but never from his own works in the original. (The reference on p. 159, transferred from Froude, is corrupt). Much more might have been learned about the College of Montaigu than is given by Van Dyke, and this is important not only because Ignatius studied there but because the statutes of that college considerably influenced the *Spiritual Exercises*.

More notable than the author's generally satisfactory mastery of the sources is his novel point of view. He is right in claiming that, with the exception of Mr. Sedgwick's popular biography, his is the first sympathetic treatment ever accorded Loyola by a Protestant. To explain the ill odor in which the name of Ignatius has long been held not only by almost all Protestants and rationalists, but by many Catholics as well, Professor Van Dyke advances several reasons which hardly seem adequate. The greatest barrier to an understanding of Loyola he finds in the embittered controversies attending the suppression of the order in the eighteenth century. But the war on Jesuitry, even within the Catholic Church, had opened long before this time; indeed long before the *Lettres Provinciales* of Pascal gave it a powerful impetus. Every reader of Fouquieray knows that the Company of Jesus had excited the bitter hatred of many French Catholics even in the sixteenth century.

Nor can we explain the almost universal Protestant dislike of Ignatius by saying that he was a Catholic, for many great Romanists, as St. Francis and Sir Thomas More, have their warm Protestant admirers. Nor can we agree with the author that one reason for this dislike is that Loyola was a conservative and a reactionary, for many conservatives, from Clarendon to Disraeli, have their apologists. The real grounds for the almost instinctive antipathy to Ignatius felt by most fair-minded men at present are two not discovered by Professor Van Dyke. The first is that his religion was of a type which no longer survives among the educated, whether they be Catholics or Protestants. In the minds of even the most pious men at present an involuntary rationalism not only dampens credulity but chills emotional sympathy with the ecstasies of the visionary and the revivalist. Loyola was an "enthusiast" in the older meaning of that word; and most of our contemporaries have come to agree with

the Anglican bishop who declared enthusiasm to be "a very horrid thing".

In the second place, more than any equally great and good man who ever lived, Loyola was the spiritual "arriviste". Sincere, as Professor Van Dyke repeatedly urges, Ignatius undoubtedly was; but sincere in his own passionate resolve to make himself a great saint and to found a successful order. His biographer marvels that he should have shown reluctance to accept the office of general of his society, for he esteems him too frank to repeat a merely conventional "nolo episcopari". Of ordinary conventions Loyola showed himself sufficiently contemptuous, when they stood in his way; but here was a convention commonly taken as the very stamp of sanctity. If Dominic, to whom he was always comparing himself, had shown notable meekness, Ignatius must abase himself in an even deeper humility. So, in his directions to prefer recruits of high rank, in his insistence on obedience, in his constant jealousy of other orders and of his nearest friends and subordinates, we see the same purpose to succeed at all costs. Loyola was above all men the professional saint; and the professional saint has always made the gorge of the unregenerate rise.

Occasionally Professor Van Dyke attributes to the idiosyncrasies of his hero things that were common to his age. The biographer comments on the fact that among the aims of the Jesuit colleges the discovery of new truth is nowhere mentioned. But this failing was common to all the universities of the time. Francis Bacon noted it as a universal fault; nor was it remedied until the foundation of Halle at the end of the seventeenth century. Again, Professor Van Dyke asserts that Loyola's view of the world as "the scene of a continuous active combat between God and Satan was rooted in his early experience". But it was also the typical world-view of the age. Dr. Van Dyke is so sorely puzzled by Loyola's mystic experience of feeling transient indignation and disgust with God, that he "cannot even remotely imagine" what it means. Not only, however, could he have found close parallels to it in Luther's early monastic struggles, but he might have learned from students of religious psychology that it is a very common phenomenon. (A. N. Whitehead, *Religion in the Making*, 1926, pp. 16 f.)

For an important contribution towards the understanding of a great historical figure we are indebted to Professor Van Dyke. But, though he writes "sine studio" as well as "sine ira", he is too desirous of saying all that can be said in favor of his hero to paint a really convincing picture of him. In this respect Böhmer, both in his study of Loyola's early life, and in his fine work *Die Jesuiten*, which Dr. Van Dyke does not mention, is his superior.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Forests and Sea Power: the Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862. By ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Princeton University. [Harvard Economic Studies, volume XXIX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xv, 485. \$5.00.)

THIS exhaustive study of certain factors generally neglected by naval historians covers chronologically the period between the First Dutch War, when the shortage of naval timber first became acute, and the engagement in Hampton Roads which brought sharply to the attention of the British Navy Board the fact that the era of wooden war-ships was over. Chapter I. deals in a semi-technical manner with the demands of naval architecture upon the forests—a highly specialized requirement as to size, durability, and, in case of “great” and “compass” timber, curved and knee pieces cut from oaks which were freaks of nature or artificially trained. Aside from original construction and replacement of lost ships, the ravages of storms, enemy guns, and the insidious dry rot necessitated constant repairs.

The timber problem was two-fold. England, rich at first in a peculiarly durable variety of oak, grew no suitable timber for tall masts and was largely dependent upon foreign or colonial products. A prejudiced, even sentimental, preference for English oak led to continuous exploitation of native forests. “Oak, like oil to-day, was a natural product very abundant at the outset but liable to ultimate exhaustion.” The oak needs a special soil and a century or more of growth to satisfy the requirements of naval shipwrights. Replacement for use of succeeding generations involves a foresight and consideration rarely noticeable in the Navy Board or even in private owners of timber land unmindful of Cicero’s advice to “plant trees to serve another age”. The quaint picture of Admiral Collingwood strolling about on shore leave with his pocket full of acorns to replenish the diminishing forests relieves a somewhat tedious narrative of neglectful, hand-to-mouth policy which characterized the Navy Board, not to mention the familiar tale of bribery and corruption which even countenanced a virtual “Timber Trust”.

The mast wood problem was solved by importations from the Baltic countries and the American dependencies, and, when these sources were cut off by war, by a frantic search over the whole world; but the worry over oak continued until the end. The treatment of timber shortage ranges over several extra-naval fields: civil service, diplomacy, colonial and foreign relations, maritime commerce, and the development of an effective forest policy at home and overseas. The author indicates as the chief value of his treatise the correlation of these various aspects of the timber problem and of their interrelationship. Six chapters dealing with the practical results of official shortsightedness take the reader behind the scenes, revealing anxieties and makeshift measures never fully sensed by the British public and affording a perfect example of the “muddling through” on the part of the government which time after time might

have spelled disaster had not superior British seamanship, the genius of a Nelson, or the weakness of the enemy averted the catastrophe. Britannia continued to rule the waves and on the whole to justify Ruskin's extravagant enthusiasm for the ships-of-the-line.

The discursive and repetitious character of Professor Albion's narrative may be justified to some extent by the difficulty of co-ordinating a mass of material drawn piecemeal from innumerable brief documentary sources and by the attempt to cover under one title so many aspects of a complex subject. In a book dealing with a more controversial thesis this chronological disjointedness and lack of cogency would be a serious detriment. The caption of the last chapter, on "Trafalgar and Dry Rot", is somewhat misleading, as only ten pages out of over forty deal with dry rot.

In spite of these defects of organization the book opens up a mine of auxiliary information to students of the naval history and foreign policy of the period and it should be of special value to those interested in economic geography and generally in the economic interpretation of history. There is an exhaustive, carefully annotated bibliography of the published and unpublished sources upon which the study is based, as well as of contemporary and recent secondary works. The half-dozen illustrations and maps and the statistical appendixes add value to the text.

ELEANOR LOUISA LORD.

The British Navy in Adversity, a Study of the War of American Independence. By W. M. JAMES, C.B., R.N. (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1926. Pp. xvi, 459. 25 s.)

ENGLAND has at last produced her own authoritative account of the naval side of the American Revolution. It was natural that the first thorough naval study of the contest should come from France with Chevalier's work in 1877, followed by Lacour-Gayet's lectures. Even Clowes called on an American, Mahan, to describe the major operations of the war for his co-operative history of the Royal Navy.

Captain James's analysis of the Admiralty correspondence gives us the British point of view with a thoroughness and fairness which should make it the standard work on the subject. The narrative of the whole conflict is clear and detailed, and he has included excellent character studies of the leaders. What is most important, perhaps, he has attempted to find the lessons of the war in studying the spirit and workings of the rival navies.

One wonders what might have been the fate of American independence if England could have blockaded the French and American coasts with the thoroughness which the Royal Navy showed in other wars of the century. The chief causes found by Captain James for the British failures were faulty strategy, inadequate equipment, and partizan rancor. The prime value of concentration of effort seemed lost upon Sandwich and Germain. The splendid legacy from 1759 had fallen into decay with

rotten ships, empty dockyards, and scattered personnel. Finally, the bitterness between Sandwich and the Whigs alienated some of the best admirals. Howe, Hood, and Rodney, while they were in command, saved the navy from worse consequences, but many important missions were trusted to incompetents. Altogether, Sandwich becomes the scapegoat for much of the failure.

Under such circumstances, one would have expected the French navy to take greater advantage of the British weakness than it did. Captain James reiterates that the great French drawback was the defensive spirit which permeated their regulations and actions. They also scattered their efforts and wasted the opportunity to keep England busier at home with their great Channel Armada. The Spaniards, however, were almost worthless as allies.

The military operations in America are described in detail to show the advantages which sea power could give in mobility and choice of objectives. The reader is impressed more than ever with the opportunities which Graves threw away in the Chesapeake before Yorktown. The perennial question of Rodney's failure to pursue after the Battle of the Saints is laid to gout and Captain James points out that the battle did not end the West Indian crisis.

The author's style is very readable, short paragraphs being a noticeable feature. The lucid battle-descriptions are enhanced by 28 "diagrammatic sketches" representing the actual ships in significant formations, much easier to visualize than the usual diagrams resembling rows of water-bugs. Fifteen excellent maps clarify the strategic situations, though the map on page 62 is deceptive in scale, bringing Philadelphia too near New York. The appendix contains 26 lists of fleets and squadrons, differing in a few minor details from the lists in Clowes.

There is no formal bibliography, the book being based principally upon the Admiralty instructions and admirals' despatches. These have been supplemented by the printed collections of the Barham, Hood, and Stopford-Sackville papers, by Chevalier and Lacour-Gayet for French material, and by details from Beatson's memoirs. Mahan is not mentioned in the work. One could wish that page-references had been included in the foot-note citations.

The Navy Board papers could have thrown some light on the interrupted mast supply which led to the scattering of Byron's squadron, delayed the projected relief of Yorktown, and hampered various admirals in all four theatres of the war. Aside from such minor slips as those on pages 45 and 310, the presentation seems to be accurate and thorough. The book is of a nature which should appeal to the general reader as well as to the specialist and the Royal Navy is fortunate to have the period of its "adversity" treated in such a competent and interesting manner.

ROBERT G. ALBION.

Correspondance de Maximilien et Augustin Robespierre. Par GEORGES MICHON, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris: Alcan. 1926. Pp. 334. 30 fr.)

IN 1910, the *Société des Études Robespierristes* began its ambitious programme of publishing the complete works of Maximilien Robespierre. Two volumes, containing his literary and forensic efforts, appeared before the war. Now, after a twelve years' lapse, comes this third volume, and more is promised for the near future.

The four hundred and seventy letters in this collection of correspondence have been arranged in chronological order, and tabled and indexed in the back of the book. They readily fall, however, into four groups. The group that can the most easily be dismissed, though it is by no means the least important, is one of about fifty-five letters sent by Maximilien Robespierre as a member of the Committee of Public Safety to the deputies on mission and by Augustin Robespierre as a deputy on mission to the Committee of Public Safety. With a few notable exceptions, they have almost all been published already in Professor Aulard's *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public*. Then, there are about fifty letters of a more or less personal nature written by Augustin Robespierre. They uncover nothing astonishing—simply that he was a faithful brother, a good patriot in the Jacobin sense, a brave, active, and unbending deputy on mission. The third group comprises almost one hundred personal letters of Maximilien. They reveal him as a studious youth, not without a sense of humor and the ability to turn a phrase to please the ladies, who grew up somewhat suddenly into a representative of the people, took himself and his duties very seriously, and soon found himself so important and popular that he could give small attention to personal correspondence. After May, 1793, there are only two letters of his of a personal nature; and for 1794 we have nothing but official instructions written by the member of the Committee of Public Safety. The letters of both brothers to their friend and neighbor Buissart furnish an interesting means of watching the events of the early Revolution with the eyes of important observers.

The remainder of the correspondence (more than half) consists of letters sent by others to the two Robespierres—for the most part to Maximilien. In certain respects these are the most important, since they paint a picture very different from the legendary Robespierre. There are letters from Madame Roland, Pétion, Treilhard, Mirabeau's sister, Hoche, Laharpe, and many others, expressing varying degrees of admiration. There are letters from groups and individuals among the imprisoned Girondins, thanking him for having interceded in their favor. There are appeals to his sense of justice and mercy (thirteen from Chabot alone) from victims of the Terror awaiting trial. For each of the three or four letters that threaten Robespierre, there are about a score that promise him love and devotion. The very last letter recorded is from an agent of the Terror justifying himself against Robespierre's reproaches

of overzealous severity. And this is the "sea-green monster" whom contemporaries and posterity were taught to regard as the incarnation of the Terror!

The great majority of these letters have been published in various places before and commented upon. Some of them, though generally only the ones sent to the Robespierres by unimportant correspondents, are here merely summarized or barely mentioned. Of the new letters, a few deserve special mention. There is one to Lambert, controller-general of finances in 1790, from Maximilien denying that he was the author of an incendiary letter attributed to him (pp. 59-63); a series of letters of the spring of 1790 dealing with the opposition to Robespierre in Arras led by Beaumetz (pp. 73-83); another series from Guffroy to the brothers, dating from August, 1791, on, describing events in Arras (pp. 120-123, 140, 232, 298); a group of several from Augustin to Maximilien (November and December, 1791, and April, 1792) on the former's activities and opinions (pp. 131-133, 143); a long letter of Maximilien to Gorsas (March 30, 1792) explaining his attitude upon war with Austria (pp. 140-142); another group to Maximilien from Pétion showing the friendships of the two men before the close of 1792 (pp. 114, 115, 147, 148, 152); a letter of condolence to Danton from Maximilien on the occasion of the death of Danton's first wife (p. 160); an appeal to the army (in Robespierre's hand) from the Committee of Public Safety that is worthy of Napoleon (pp. 202-203); instructions to Hentz, deputy on mission with the Army of the North, urging him to save Lille and Dunkirk and to avoid revolutionary excesses (pp. 224-225); a long report of Augustin to the committee on his activity in the department of the Haute-Saône as deputy on mission (pp. 255-261); a similar one of Fréron to Maximilien on Marseilles (pp. 263-265); and another from Mallarmé to Robespierre and Billaud-Varennes on Nancy (pp. 277-278).

The work of the *Société des Études Robespierristes* is being admirably carried on. They have a *parti pris*, but it is not necessarily an *idée fixe*. If Robespierre does not emerge from their studies with a halo, however, it will be his own fault and not theirs. The present volume shows splendid co-operation on the part of both of them toward this end.

LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK.

Battleships in Action. By H. W. WILSON. Two volumes. (London: Sampson, Low; Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1926. Pp. xiii, 384; xiv, 337. 42 s.)

OVER thirty years ago Mr. Wilson published the first edition of his *Ironclads in Action*, the very appreciative Introduction to which was written by the greatest of all naval historians, Admiral Mahan. The work was called by its author "A sketch of naval warfare", but it has been accepted as a sound and standard analysis of naval fighting tactics by naval experts the world over. It carried the history of ironclads from their beginning in 1855 until 1895, or just before the Spanish-American

War, and was afterward supplemented by the same author's *Downfall of Spain*. In his own Author's Note to *Ironclads in Action*, referring to Admiral Mahan's opinion, that for future guidance one should look rather to the experience of the past than to the experiments of the future, Mr. Wilson remarks that, "Without a great European war, an appeal to history alone can throw light upon these questions which agitate the naval world". It was therefore logical that he should wish to bring his treatise up to date, and this he has done in the present two large volumes, the compiling of which has been wisely delayed until the author was in possession of data, as for example, the volumes of the extremely important German official history, which were not available to earlier writers, such as Sir Julian Corbett. Mr. Wilson remarks that "the reports, journals, logs, and despatches on which the official histories are based are as yet, with some rare exceptions, inaccessible to the historian or to the public; but it may be hoped that sooner or later the splendid example of the United States Navy Department, in issuing the *Official Records of the Civil War*, will be followed here".

The first volume of the present work covers the period before the outbreak of the World War, but everything which appeared in the author's two former works "has been re-examined critically in the light of fresh evidence, and almost every page has been completely rewritten. A high degree of compression has been employed, yet it will be found, I think, that all the really important points are adequately dealt with". Without doubt this "high degree of compression" is the stumbling-block in the way of those writers who endeavor to do justice to a long and complicated series of events within the covers of a volume of three hundred or fewer pages. Fortunately for Mr. Wilson, while his book contains enough history and strategy to describe adequately the events leading up to, and the environment of, the actions he analyzes, nevertheless his theme is not sea-power or its effects, but tactics and the result of tactics and its allied themes, the effects and development of armaments, ammunition, and all manner of old and new naval instruments of offense and defense. And in general he has been entirely successful in his effort. Only occasionally does he traverse the limits he has so wisely set himself; as when he, no doubt justly, suggests that the United States might have utilized, at a much earlier date than it did, its excellently well-prepared naval forces, by throwing them into the war at once, instead of holding them back for political reasons, and thus saving the Allies immense suffering and loss, with a possibility of preventing the crisis of 1918, since Germany might have collapsed early in that year. Opinions such as these, whether true or false, have nothing, it would seem, to do with a technical work on naval fighting, and might with advantage be eliminated from future editions of this excellent work.

Mr. Wilson traces the introduction, growth to importance, and greater or less decline on account of counteractive inventions, of old and new engines of war; and the bitter and interesting battle between gun and armor is waged throughout the book, its last and perhaps most dramatic

phase being the sinking with all hands by the well-armed German battle-cruisers of the less heavily protected British battle-cruisers, *Queen Mary*, *Indefatigable*, and *Invincible*, at Jutland. Very clearly appears from this detailed account of the tactics of the various actions the condition of tradition-bound lethargy which possessed the British Admiralty from the beginning of the war. Not only did the curious but ever-present fear of attacks on the British littoral destroy the initiative which should have manifested itself in savage and repeated offensives against the German naval bases and communications, but the apparent lack of any authoritative advisory body at the Admiralty, such as the American General Board of the Navy, or of any planning-section, such as was established later at the American naval headquarters in London, placed a burden upon the First Lord and his chief advisor, the First Sea Lord, which led to inevitable delay and indecision. This became tragically evident in the muddled management of the Dardanelles operations and the vacillation and waste of precious time spent on Lord Fisher's pet scheme of opening the Baltic by means of a fleet of especially built vessels, as well as in smaller incidents like the torpedoing, all within an hour's time, of the British cruisers, *Aboukir*, *Hogue*, and *Cressy*, which, on account, as Mr. Wilson says, "of faulty dispositions, defective tactics, and grave Staff blunders", were left at the mercy of enemy submarines, the potentialities of which were singularly unappreciated at the time, in spite of many warnings. This deficiency in the British navy is clearly recognized by an author when he says (p. 322), "Almost every incident of the war demonstrated the need for a carefully organized staff, studying, not gunnery nor machinery nor fleet-tactics alone, but the science of war, in all its bearings, as an active, living and above all as a growing science". (Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers* (U. S. Civil War), p. 234.) In spite of Mr. Churchill's explanations (*The World Crisis*), Mr. Wilson agrees that Cradock was sent by the Admiralty to certain defeat at Coronel, much as Cervera was in the waters of Cuba, with the difference that Cervera's cruisers were Spain's best, while the assembling of a force sufficient to destroy von Spee's squadron was in the power of the Admiralty, as the victory off the Falklands afterwards proved. Coming to the greatest sea battle of all history, Jutland, the present work again shows, while expressing a high appreciation of the seamanship of the German commander-in-chief, how the latter, after inflicting much greater damage on the British than he received, extricated himself from what should have been complete destruction by the execution of a manoeuvre, the audacious "swing-round" of all ships engaged, which British naval oldfogyism had declared too hazardous to attempt. Again, at 6 P. M., when the opportunity for "a stunning blow, dealt by an enormous force arriving unsuspectingly, seemed to offer", the British scheme of tactics was not equal to the situation. Beatty had failed to report to Jellicoe the position and course of the Germans, though our author is inclined to blame rather the British system of tactics than the

commander of the battle-cruisers. The battle of Jutland was both a tactical and a strategical victory for the German High Sea Fleet, the practical destruction of which, well within Jellicoe's power, would have doubtless shortened the war by at least a year.

The lessons of the World War, the first fought "in three dimensions", on, above, and under the surface of the water, were many, but in general it may be said that, astonishing as were certain technical developments, the war was but the logical unfolding of the elements already in existence. Radio and aircraft have made scouting easier and prevented surprise attacks by large forces. The need of adequate armor, thicker decks, and bulges (blisters) on battleships for torpedo defense; sufficient aircraft, both with the fleet and on the coasts; a large number of light cruisers; besides an officer personnel in constant training—all these are obvious essentials, as our author points out. Significant also is the fact that he offers nothing to combat the classic formula, still held by most naval experts, that "the battleship is the backbone of the fleet".

EDWARD BRECK.

Imperialism and World Politics. By PARKER THOMAS MOON, Ph.D., Associate Professor of International Relations in Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 583. \$4.50.)

IMPERIALISM as the dominant factor in the international relations of the past half-century has been ably presented in this graphic survey of recent world politics. Fair-minded in a field unusually full of controversy, with a broad grasp of a wide range of facts, a scholarly use of material, and a clear and pleasing style, the author has given a well-organized and stimulating analysis of the causes and motives, and a history of the development and effects, of modern imperialism. The volume will be welcomed by instructor and student as a helpful guide in the effort to understand one of the most important and yet most perplexing of our world problems.

The opening chapters describe the decline of mercantilism, an earlier form of imperialism, and the following period of five or six decades, in the middle of the nineteenth century, when European statesmen no longer believed in the supposed benefits of colonies and dependencies. The causes which led Europe to return to its colonial ideals, and the development of this movement in each of the leading countries, beginning soon after 1870, are well portrayed. The greater part of the volume gives the history of the recent extension of the control of strong nations over the territories of the weak and the backward—in the main, a survey of the political and economic expansion of Europe. The last chapter, one of the best, gives an analysis and summary of the various aspects and problems of imperialism: the good and the evil, the conflicting interests and ideals, and the possible development in the future. To remedy the evils and to meet the problems of modern imperialism the author

presents no specific proposals, but he believes that the solution will be found through the gradual development of a more internationally-minded public opinion, and the creation of more effective forms of international co-operation.

It is to be regretted that in this admirable discussion there is no consistent definition of the subject discussed. In the opening pages imperialism would appear to be "appropriating the backward lands of Asia, Africa, the Balkans, and the Pacific" (p. viii); "imperialism . . . means domination of non-European native races by totally dissimilar European nations" (p. 33). But later on we read of "the more peaceful and subtle methods of economic imperialism, of investment and trade" (p. 364). Imperialism, it would seem, may be practised by one European state or its nationals in another European state. France is carrying out in Poland "a new imperialism of financial, economic and military patronage" (p. 465); "the scramble for concessions in Russia, beginning in 1921, may fairly enough be regarded as imperialism" (p. 466); while even the Dawes plan "perhaps . . . may be called imperialism" (p. 472). Somewhat surprising is the suggestion that the investments made in Europe by Americans since the war constitute "a very subtle and rarefied imperialism" (p. 471). As the term is used in this volume, imperialism has almost no limits; it is not restricted to the action of governments, nor to forms of control enforced upon an unwilling state, but it includes normal economic transactions carried on by private individuals at the urgent request of those in another country. Imperialism is indeed such a vital problem, and its discussion is usually attended by so much misunderstanding, often involving bitterness of feeling, that a clear definition of what the term means would be most helpful. It is certainly misleading to describe by the same word, imperialist, both the European statesman who plans cold-bloodedly to seize 1000 square miles of territory in Africa and the university instructor who invests \$1000 in a French government bond.

The need of a precise terminology is recognized when American imperialism is discussed. The United States, it is pointed out, has not been, and is not now, imperialistic in the European sense. Had it been so, it would long since have appropriated Mexico and the Central American republics. But during the past three decades there has developed in some measure, especially in the Caribbean, "a tendency to dominate for economic, patriotic, and humanitarian purposes lands unsuited to white settlement, lands already occupied by colored populations" (p. 413). In dealing with the perplexing problems of the Caribbean attention is centred so largely upon certain aspects of recent history that it is doubtful whether the picture of the aims and purposes of the American government will command general approval. Such an implication as the following will be challenged by many: "Huerta was regarded in Washington . . . as a tool of Lord Cowdray (Pearson), the British oil baron. . . . And accordingly Wilson decided not to recognize Huerta as president of Mexico" (p. 442).⁴

Some slips are to be found, as is natural in a work covering such a broad field and presenting such an array of facts. France did not obtain a promise from China, in 1898, never to cede or lease the three southern provinces "to any power other than France" (p. 340)—although the statement is frequently so made—nor did any other great power receive "a similar pledge" (p. 340); China merely declared its intention not to lease the regions in question to any power. The United States did not "assign her share of the [Chinese] indemnity as a fund for the education of Chinese students in America" (p. 343), but only a part of this indemnity. The French delegate at the Washington Conference, 1921-1922, did not promise "to relinquish Kwangchow Bay" (p. 356), but only offered to do so provided the other powers should return all of their leased territories in China. Japan and China do not lie on the "eastern borders" of the Pacific Ocean, nor the United States and Canada "on the west" (p. 373). Germany did not purchase the Marshall Islands in 1899 (p. 389) but took them by occupation in 1885. The New Hebrides Condominium does not exist as of 1906 (p. 392) but has been altered by an Anglo-French agreement signed in 1914 and ratified in 1922. There were not five (p. 389) but three cables at Yap. The statement that "China may one day be . . . gigantic . . . as an industrial power" (p. 358) is not in accord with the most recent estimates of Chinese mineral resources.

Viewed as a whole, however, this volume may be regarded as one of the few outstanding works in the general field of international relations.

GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE.

Wilhelm der Zweite. Von EMIL LUDWIG. (Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt. 1926. Pp. 485. 4.80 RM.)¹

THIS book is not the formal history of a man or of an epoch. It is rather a distillation of impressions created in the brain of a poet and philosopher by a process of speculation upon fragments of information gathered from a great variety of sources. The author is far from being a historian in the German sense of the word. He owes nothing to the professors of historical methodology. He is not unmindful of the necessity of documentation, and he makes plentiful use of it; but the subjective and merely personal character of much of its substance leaves a conviction in the mind of the reader that the writer has chosen his colors to paint a picture that was already in his mind.

As a writer Emil Ludwig belongs to post-war Germany, that Germany which we of the older time find it so difficult to comprehend as possible. No German before the war would or could have written this book. In 1903, at the age of 20, Ludwig found his themes in such subjects as "Tristan and Isolde" in the realm of poetic drama. Wagner, Goethe, and Bismarck in succession attracted his interest, and their personalities furnished the material of his analyses and interpretations.

¹ A translation into English, *Wilhelm Hohenzollern, the Last of the Kaisers*, has been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Napoleon I. has appealed to him as a wonderful incarnation of the tides of influence we call destiny, and he has presented a portrait of the Emperor of the French far more complimentary to his character and genius than the estimate of the average Frenchman.

The author of this book is well aware of what he is doing, and frankly warns his readers that his writing is intended to be neither a general account of William's epoch nor the whole story of his life and influence. It is only a truthful portrait of William the Second which he aims to produce. He has represented him as a being unbalanced from his birth and further distorted by his education, predestined by the forces which shaped him to be an abortive ruler.

The flood of memoirs and the revelations of the Foreign Office supply the author with a plenitude of material for his purpose, the purport of which, he thinks, would be only slightly modified even by such a book as Prince von Bülow might write.

In truth, as he says, we know of William II. not too little, but too much. From the Kaiser's opponents, he declares, it is his purpose not to cite one word. In painting this portrait the colors have been taken wholly from the palettes of William's relatives and friends, his chancellors, his ministers, his generals, his courtiers, and his officials.

Regarding his method Ludwig is as explicit as he is about the sources of his data. He wishes to develop out of the personal characteristics of a monarch their necessary consequences in world politics. In the substratum of William's being he reads the fate of his people; and, to use his own expression, shows us what can happen when a mentally talented, bodily weakened youth, inspired with the best purposes, suddenly emerges to power from a life of hard experience, and finds no one to tell him the truth.

The three books into which this volume of 460 pages is divided, I., *Berufung*, II., *Macht*, and III., *Vergeltung*, picture a young man, badly educated, prematurely elevated to supreme power as he comprehended it, asserting his will against forces he does not understand, and fatally visiting upon his people the consequences of a stupendous error, in which they are not wholly without the fault of complicity.

We leave the book with the feeling that we have been in a dissecting room, and not without an irrepressible sense of pity that the autopsy had to be performed while the subject was still alive.

DAVID JAYNE HILL.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Edited by G. P. GOOCH, D.Litt., and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Litt.D. Volume XI., *The Outbreak of the War, Foreign Office Documents, June 28-August 4, 1914.* Collected and arranged by J. W. HEADLAM-MORLEY, M.A., C.B.E. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1926. Pp. xl, 389. 10 s. 6 d.)

THE long awaited British Documents on the diplomatic crisis of July, 1914, contain 677 documents as compared with the 161 in the British

Blue Book of 1914. They include, in addition to the official correspondence, some very illuminating private letters of Sir Edward Grey, Sir Arthur Nicolson, Sir Eyre Crowe, and the British ambassadors abroad, as well as the marginal notes or "minutes" made on the documents at the British Foreign Office. The documents are edited with admirable precision and helpful notes and cross-references by Mr. Headlam-Morley.

From this new edition, it appears that most of the documents published in 1914 were paraphrased, presumably in order to preserve the secrecy of the cipher, and some two score were altered by the suppression of important phrases or paragraphs, aside from the documents which were omitted altogether. On the whole, one is impressed by the honesty and ability of the paraphrasing, considering that it was done under pressure within a few hours. It often consists merely in the alteration of the order of the words or sentences. Only in a few instances was the meaning essentially altered. For instance, Buchanan telegraphed July 25, Russia "secure of support of France, will face all the risks of war" (p. 94); the paraphrase introduces a doubt which Buchanan did not convey: Russia, "if she feels secure of the support of France, will face all the risks of war". This change of wording was probably made because the Blue Book of 1914 has suppressed a number of passages which show England's knowledge of the early Russian military preparations and the French determination to support her ally unreservedly. In this same telegram of July 25, Buchanan announced that the Tsar "had sanctioned drafting of Imperial Ukase, which is only to be published when Minister for Foreign Affairs considers moment come for giving effect to it, ordering mobilisation of 1,100,000 men. Necessary preliminary preparations for mobilisation would, however, be begun at once". Paléologue had said he had received a number of telegrams from Paris and "that no one of them displayed slightest sign of hesitation, and that he was in position to give his Excellency [Sazonov] formal assurance that France placed herself unreservedly on Russia's side". Paléologue had also "remarked that French Government would want to know at once whether our [British] fleet was prepared to play part assigned to it by Anglo-French Naval Convention. He could not believe that England would not stand by her two friends, who were acting as one in this matter". Buchanan concluded: "For ourselves position is a most perilous one, and we shall have to choose between giving Russia our active support or renouncing her friendship. If we fail her now we can not hope to maintain that friendly co-operation with her in Asia that is of such vital importance to us." Similarly, on July 30, about 6 P.M., Russia ordered general mobilization. Buchanan apparently sent the news of it at 6:40 P.M. (p. 218), that is, sixteen hours before the German ambassador learned of it. Though Sir Edward Grey was thus fairly fully informed of the Russian moves which would make a general conflagration inevitable, he did practically nothing to restrain Russia. He made many peace proposals and very carefully avoided saying anything which would encourage Russia and France, but he

refrained from exerting any moderating influence on them, such as Germany—too late—tried to exert on her ally. Had he done so, it is possible that Russian general mobilization might have been delayed and some peaceful solution been found. But the "minutes" of Sir Eyre Crowe and Sir Arthur Nicolson show that from the beginning they cast their influence against putting any pressure on Russia. Crowe wrote on July 25:

It is clear that France and Russia are decided to accept the challenge thrown out to them. Whatever we may think of the merits of the Austrian charges against Servia, France and Russia consider that these are the pretexts, and that the bigger cause of Triple Alliance versus Triple *Entente* is definitely engaged.

I think it would be impolitic, not to say dangerous, for England to attempt to controvert this opinion, or to endeavour to obscure the plain issue, by any representation at St. Petersburg and Paris.

Downing Street was unwilling to say anything which might in the least jeopardize England's understandings with Russia in Asia or the solidarity of the Triple *Entente*.

Another group of interesting passages or documents which were suppressed relate to Anglo-French relations. When Sir Edward Grey, informed beforehand of the probable nature of the Austrian ultimatum through confidences of Count Lützow (pp. 39, 44), suggested that "it would be very desirable that Austria and Russia should discuss things together if they became difficult" (p. 54), President Poincaré in Russia rejected this suggestion for preserving peace: "A conversation *à deux* between Austria and Russia would be very dangerous at the present moment" (July 22, p. 62). Many communications from Sir Francis Bertie, the British ambassador at Paris, indicate his disapproval of M. Poincaré's policy of supporting Russia: "I do not think that if Russia picks a quarrel with Austria over the Austro-Servian difficulty public opinion in France would be in favour of backing up Russia in so bad a cause" (July 25, p. 99). The French government "should be encouraged to put pressure on the Russian Government not to assume the absurd and obsolete attitude of Russia being the protectress of all Slav States whatever their conduct, for this will lead to war" (July 27, p. 133). The French, however, appear to have counted confidently on British support, and they were sorely troubled when they found Sir Edward Grey adhering cautiously to his oft-repeated attitude of "hands free". M. Paul Cambon did not urge that there was any obligation of honor, but argued for Britain's self-interest. Aware of Sir Edward Grey's embarrassment on account of the uncertainty of the British Cabinet and British public opinion, the French announced their famous ten-kilometre withdrawal from the frontier, and M. Cambon admitted to Grey that it was "for the sake of public opinion in England" (p. 260). Even as late as the evening of August 1, after Germany had ordered general mobilization, Grey told Cambon "that France must take her own decision at this moment without reckoning on an assistance that we were not now

in a position to promise. M. Cambon said that he could not transmit this reply to his Government" (p. 253). Grey waited until the German violation of Belgium and Mr. Bonar Law's assurances of support from the Conservative Party made it possible for him to follow his own conviction that, in view of the actions of Austria and Germany, England ought to pledge military assistance to France.

Attention may be called to more extended reviews of these British Documents by Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt in *Current History*, March, 1927, and by other scholars in *The Saturday Review of Literature*.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Naval History of the World War: the United States in the War, 1917-1918. By THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM, Captain, U. S. R. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xii, 310. \$3.75.)

THIS is the third and presumably the last volume of Captain Frothingham's naval history of the great war, which may confidently be pronounced the best popular account of the naval activities of that colossal struggle, and the ideal work to place in the hands of anybody but a military expert. This is in no way to suggest that the volumes lack either technical information or any other feature necessary to give the reader a correct account, politically, strategically, and tactically, of the World War at sea; but it goes without saying that, in three volumes of three hundred pages each, a full account of such a protracted and world-wide conflict, even the naval side of it, can not be written unless it be filled with such a mass of drab detail as to make it unreadable for the average person. As an example of the omissions no doubt demanded by a lack of space, attention may be called to the activities of the American bases at Gibraltar and the Azores. These are indeed mentioned in this volume, which gives mere lists of the vessels stationed at each, but the book does not contain even the name of Rear-Admiral Niblack, who commanded forty-five vessels at Gibraltar, or of Rear-Admiral Dunn, who commanded at the Azores, omissions the more surprising because in the case of the Planning Section at the London headquarters, a minor bureau, even the names of the officers comprising it are especially mentioned.

Otherwise, there is little to criticize in this account of the American participation in the naval warfare of the World War, which tells in a very readable manner the interesting story from the standpoint of the American headquarters in London. Its strongest points are its sound judgment of strategical and tactical questions, and its omissions are no doubt made in the endeavor to provide the average reader with a clear and easily understood story of the conflict at sea.

In the author's second volume he made clear that the failure of the British to accept the given opportunity at Jutland of destroying the German High Sea (Battle) Fleet, and with it her sea-power, gave the

German leaders sufficient prestige to dominate thenceforth the whole military and naval situation in Germany; and while the destruction of the High Sea Fleet would have opened the Baltic, thus supplying Russia and preventing Swedish supplies from getting to Germany, and very likely would have prevented the development of the U-boats and thus shortened the war; on the other hand the preservation of the High Sea Fleet provided the physical ability to carry out the submarine campaign, which from that time on became the one great hope of the Empire. In this volume the author points out the unripe judgment of conditions, the overconfidence in their own traditional formulas, and the breakdown of their intelligence department, which led the Germans to risk the active intervention of the United States, and consequent certain defeat, at the very moment when Russia was on the verge of collapse, the revolution there actually breaking out in March, 1917, less than two months after the date set for the renewal of the U-boat campaign, February 1. Yet Hindenburg wrote concerning this period, "No intelligence had come through to us which revealed any striking indications of the disintegration of the Russian army" (*Aus Meinem Leben*). This ignorance of the fact that Russian resistance was practically nonexistent resulted in the maintenance on the Russian frontier of strong Austro-German forces which might have been of decisive influence elsewhere.

That in adopting the unrestricted submarine campaign Germany was simply gambling with fate was recognized by the civilian element, as is shown by the words of the German Chancellor in 1917: "The blockade must succeed within a limited number of weeks, within which America cannot effectively participate in the operations." But the military element, backed by the naval leaders, was blindly confident. "If matters came to a breach", said the chief of the German Great General Staff, Falkenhayn, "it was not to be assumed that America would make her influence felt in the war before the submarine campaign had taken effect" (*The German General Staff and its Decisions*). The chief of the Naval Staff promised that England would be ready for peace after six weeks (Admiral Tirpitz).

The Germans were not only unaware of the real spirit of the American people, but they shared with the bulk of the American people, including the press, ignorance of the fact that, at the end of 1916, the American navy was in exceptionally efficient condition, its leaders constituting almost the only element in the country which clearly foresaw participation in the war and had strenuously prepared for it, within the financial limits set. This readiness of the American navy as the war-clouds darkened is historically significant and too little known. When a popular scientific periodical complained publicly (1916) that the American battle-ships were supplied with fewer torpedoes per ship than the British, the actual fact was that the American ships carried ten each, while the British had but eight. It is true that the exigencies of the loyal co-operation of the American navy with the British caused the partial dislocation of this fine organization, which, before some of its elements were distributed,

would have been more than a match for the German High Sea Fleet itself. The navy's intelligence office also proved to be an efficient organization, and its representative in Berlin was able to keep the American ambassador so well informed that, many months before the renewal of the undersea campaign, the State Department received word that "the rulers of Germany would at some future date . . . take up ruthless submarine warfare again, possibly in the autumn (1916) but at any rate about February or March, 1917", a most correct prophecy.

The first shock of the unrestricted U-boat campaign was so violent as apparently to justify German confidence. Admiral Jellicoe and Mr. Balfour were full of forebodings. Admiral Lord Charles Beresford almost despaired. The Allied Shipping Control has thus summed up the situation: "The opening success of the new campaign was staggering. . . . The continued rate of loss would have brought disaster upon all the Allied campaigns, and might well have involved an unconditional surrender." The first lists of sinkings were indeed staggering: February, 1917, 540,006 tons; March, 593,841 tons; April, 881,027 tons. It meant a loss in ocean-going vessels of one out of every four leaving the United Kingdom. Defeat might have come if the critical situation had not forced the adoption of the hitherto opposed system of convoy, which, greatly helped by the American naval units, eventually made possible the transportation to Europe of the American armies. Captain Frothingham well says that: "threatening as was the menace of the U-boat campaign, it was not the crisis of the World War. The actual crisis was destined to come when the collapse of Russia allowed the Central Powers to concentrate all their forces on the Western front, and to establish a military superiority that would have won the World War, if it had not been for the military reinforcement provided by the United States" (p. 25). The part of the United States navy in this reinforcement is well known. Besides taking over the patrol of all distant waters, thus greatly relieving the British, and playing leading parts in such important enterprises as the great ocean barrages and the convoying of supply vessels, it shared with the British in taking to France the American soldiers, 900,000 of whom were transported by the United States navy without the loss of a single man through an act of the enemy. The effect upon the Allies has been placed on record by Mr. Lloyd George: "I will tell you about America. She came into the war at a time when the need for her coming was most urgent. Her coming was like an avalanche. The world has never seen anything like it. Her great army of all ranks gave service that no man would, in 1917, have believed possible."

The volume is provided with six maps and three appendixes. A number of inaccuracies are regrettable, such as the repeated printing of the name von Hötendorf as Von Holtzendorf.

EDWARD BRECK.

Die Geschichtswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen.

VON DR. SIGFRID STEINBERG. Band II. (Leipzig: Felix Meiner. 1926. Pp. iv, 222. 12 M.)

THIS is the second of a series of projected volumes of professional autobiographies written by some of the leading historians of Germany and other countries of Europe. (Notice of the first volume was given here, XXX. 860-861.) The title is deceptive, for there is nothing either of historical criticism or method that the student can gather from a reading of these brief autobiographic memoirs. One can imagine the natural repugnance which certain men might feel to discussing their historical writings critically in a volume of this kind. This will go far toward explaining the random list of historians represented in this volume. While the first volume was composed entirely of German historians, the second includes sections written by G. P. Gooch of England and N. Japikse of Holland. The other collaborators in the present volume are: Karl Julius Beloch, Harry Bresslau, Victor Gardthausen, Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, and Felix Rachfahl. Among these Japikse, Beloch, and Pastor easily stand out as having taken their task most seriously, the others offering little more than a scanty discussion of their published works. The book is illustrative of a regrettable shift of interest in historical studies in recent years, three of the seven historians having abandoned creative work in earlier periods for second-rate studies on pre-war diplomatic history. Rachfahl, who died since the publication of the book, will always be remembered for his monumental work on William the Silent, which, because of his later interests, remains a torso, and not for his jejune and diffuse studies on Germany and international politics since 1871. And who does not prefer G. P. Gooch's *Germany and the French Revolution* to the premature *History of Modern Europe, 1878-1919*? In this volume Dr. Gooch clearly writes for a German audience; he adds nothing which students of English-speaking nations do not already know of his work. The late Harry Bresslau, author of the *Jahrbücher* for Henry II. and Conrad II., long one of the principal collaborators in the publication of the *Monumenta*, discusses his long career spent in collecting documents, medieval chronicles, and manuscripts in numerous archives of Europe, but never venturing to set his hand to a more comprehensive task of historical writing. An indefatigable collector and editor of documents, he proudly calls himself the "last student of Ranke". The only contributor to this volume frankly critical of his own work is Karl Julius Beloch, the historian of Greece. A German by birth, Italian by education, Beloch has been professor of Greek history in the University of Rome for many years. The reader of his memoirs will be surprised to learn that his chief interest is in the history of population statistics in modern as well as in ancient times. He is now preparing a comprehensive study of the history of population of western Europe. The Dutch historian Japikse makes some illuminating comments on the state of historical writing in Holland in the last decade of the nineteenth

century when Fruin dominated the field. Since 1918 director of the bureau for the publication of Dutch historical sources, he has been editing the resolutions of the States General since 1576, thus continuing the work of the Belgian Gachard, and the correspondence of John de Witt. His claim to be considered as an historian rests principally on his study of John de Witt, the soundest study yet published on that great statesman, even if it is heavy and far from being perspicuous. After the war Japikse became a member of the Dutch delegation to the international commission of neutrals for the study of the "Kriegsschuldfrage". The failure of this commission to accomplish its task he attributes to the political motives which inspired Dr. H. H. Aal of Oslo to desire a revision of the Treaty of Versailles as a result of the study. Upon discovering this Japikse and the Dutch delegation withdrew from the commission.

The most instructive portion of the book is that written by Ludwig Pastor, who has consecrated the last fifty years (he conceived the project in 1873) of his life to his *History of the Popes*, which places him among historians such as Sorel and Gardiner who combined minute documentary study with writing history on a grand scale. Since 1886 he has been professor in the Catholic University in Innsbruck, a city geographically so located that he lived within half a day's journey of all the important archives of Italy. He was the first modern historian to explore the rich stores of the Gonzaga archives in Mantua and the Vatican archives in Rome. Since Augustin Theiner's breach of confidence in 1870 the Vatican archives had been hermetically sealed against all intruders without distinction. When Pastor made his first formal request to examine certain manuscripts Cardinal Nina replied that cardinals themselves were forbidden on pain of excommunication to enter the Vatican archives. Leo XIII. granted the request in January, 1879, in the face of the opposition of archivists and many cardinals. It was some years later that Leo XIII. remarked to Pastor in a private audience: "Non abbiamo paura della pubblicità dei documenti." No one could have made a more honest and fearless use of the permission thus granted to Pastor; his use of the shady private correspondence of Pope Alexander VI. may serve as a single example. No historian treading over the ground that Ranke and Creighton had trod before him has gathered so much significant material from practically all the important archives of Europe. Since 1920 Pastor has been Austrian ambassador at the Holy See and, as his duties are not burdensome, his *History of the Popes* is progressing more rapidly. The last volume, on Sixtus V., has just appeared. In his autobiography he assures us that a considerable portion of his *History of the Popes* until the year 1800 is already in manuscript.

WALTER L. DORN.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

America in Civilization. By RALPH E. TURNER, Assistant Professor of History, University of Pittsburgh. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1925. Pp. xiv, 411. \$5.00.)

LAST December a letter appeared in the *Cornell Daily Sun* signed "Five Bewildered Freshmen". The freshmen said that although they had been in college more than two months, presumably engaged in the intellectual life, they didn't yet know "what it was all about". They wished someone to tell them. They merely expressed the cry of the bewildered in colleges generally, which, for some years now, has been growing more insistent; and as a result many colleges have established special courses designed to "orient" their incoming students. Professor Turner's book is designed as a text-book for such a course. Its aim is "to introduce the student to life as life has been disclosed by the natural and social sciences; to make him conscious of his relations to other people in society; and also to indicate to him how these relations happen to be what they are, and what the processes and forces affecting them may be".

To realize this aim the author attempts to make a real "synthesis" of present-day knowledge; a synthesis, not from a cosmic point of view, but from the point of view of American students, or others, now living. It is as if he had put himself in the place of a bewildered freshman. The freshman asks the professor: "What am I? Where do I come from? Why do I do as I do?" The professor then tries to answer these questions. To begin with there is a chapter which tells the student in some detail that no man lives to himself alone. Each one is part of many groups, all of which make up "society". Assuming that the student knows where he is, he is then told where he came from. It is explained that all animal life, of which human life is but the highest form, comes to be what it is through "evolution"—a process of adaptation to environment. This process, as biological evolution, explains how the individual comes to be the animal he is, and, as social evolution, explains how the groups of which he is part came to be what they are. What then are the general underlying forces that determine social evolution? They are three: (1) the physical environment; (2) the original nature of man; (3) the social heritage. Of these the first two are relatively fixed. The first provides the permanent conditions, while the second "sets the first needs and exacts the final satisfactions". The third is the essential variable; so that it is to the "social heritage" that we must look chiefly for an explanation of the various forms which civilization has taken in different times, and of the great progress which has been made since pre-historic times.

Thus the early chapters explain in general terms what the student is and where he came from. It remains to explain why he, being an American, acts as he does act. This is attempted in six chapters which take up, in order, the family, economic organization, education, religion,

political organization, and social values. The student learns why each of these is essential in social organization, and how each has historically developed into the particular form which is the American form. For example, in the chapter on the family, the student will learn something about the origin of the family, the matriarchal and the patriarchal family, the polygamous and monogamous family, marriage and divorce, the Christian sacrament, the civil contract, romantic love, the rôle of woman, the woman's movement, social hygiene, the child-welfare movement, eugenics, and much else besides. The other subjects are treated in the same way, from the point of view of their natural origin, their historical development, and their bearing upon modern society, especially American society. The author is widely read (so far as I can judge) in all these matters, he has reflected much, and he presents his matter judiciously, and in a style that, without being very easy, is yet not drily academic.

A course for freshmen based upon this book would naturally depend for its value chiefly upon the ability of the instructor. With a good instructor the freshman should learn much that it is worth while to know. He should, I think, be better "oriented" in life as it is revealed by the natural and social sciences. He might also be better prepared to enter later courses in many subjects. On the other hand, I should not be surprised if many freshmen, and those especially who are in any case most bewildered, would be even more at sea than before. The chief trouble would be that while the student would acquire scraps of knowledge about the history and present status of economics, government, education, and the rest of it, he would have a most vague and confused notion of the relations of these things at any time or place, not excluding America at the present moment. Take any chapter, such as that on political organization. Read by one who is familiar with the politics and history of Europe, it is intelligible enough, and may even be suggestive and illuminating. But read by a freshman who knows nothing of all this? I much fear it would strike him as a series of statements conveying but little meaning in themselves and scarcely more taken together. Besides, the student would have, I should suppose, a greater difficulty still in coordinating what he has learned in separate chapters about economics, politics, education, etc. Having studied the book to the end, his view of American society to-day would be, I should suppose, extremely vague and unsatisfactory. What a good teacher might do to help the student coordinate all this diverse information is another matter. I should guess, after reading the book, that Professor Turner would do a great deal.

I sometimes wonder whether it wouldn't be better to give an orientation course to seniors than to freshmen. The chief difficulty of orienting a freshman in the modern world of thought is the difficulty of orienting him in a country with which he is wholly unfamiliar in detail, or nearly so. To orient him in the country as a whole we necessarily take him to a high place. We say to him: "There you see the principal city; round about are other cities and many hamlets; connecting them all are various roads, leading thus and so; and yonder you see a rapidly moving van—

probably carrying hooch." But the freshman may say: "Hooch I know, but what is a city? What is a hamlet? What are roads?" We try to explain this. We tell him what a city is like. Not any particular city, but a city in general. Perhaps after all it would have been better to take him to the principal city itself and let him explore it for a while, and then find his way out into the roads. To be sure he might be run down by a taxi. But who knows a modern city until he has been run down by a taxi?

CARL BECKER.

Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860. By AVERY ODELL CRAVEN, Ph.D., Associate Professor of American History, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. XIII., no. 1.] (Urbana: University of Illinois. 1926. Pp. 179. \$1.50.)

THIS book is much more than a study of soil exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland; it is a history of agriculture in those states covering the first two and a half centuries of their existence. The work is scholarly, the style good. Dr. Craven has filled, and filled exceedingly well, one of the many gaps in Southern history.

The book lays to rest the old belief that the blame for soil-exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland must be placed on the inherent shiftlessness of the men of the Old South. The remarkable advances made in the periods from 1790 to 1815, and from 1830 to 1860, he says, "indicate a degree of intelligence, energy, and capacity for progress that absolves the individual planter from a major part of the blame".

The planter was the victim of economic and political forces over which he had little control. The dearth of labor and the lack of capital in early days made it necessary to throw the burden of production upon the land. The problem was one of rapid spending, not of conservation. It was necessary to place an exaggerated emphasis upon the crop which first furnished the surplus by which exchange with other countries was established. The situation was made worse by the burdens of the Navigation Acts, and the high cost of indirect marketing and buying.

Dr. Craven, having pointed out the causes of soil-exhaustion, proceeds to describe the desolation which it produced—the decline in the tobacco trade, the impoverishment of the planters, the abandonment of farms, the lowered price of land, the migration to the West. He then takes up the story of recovery—the efforts of gentlemen farmers, with George Washington at their head, to introduce new methods of cultivation; the increased use of manures, the experiments with marl, lime, and guano, the purchase of better plows, the founding of agricultural societies and the publication of agricultural journals, the periods of failure and depression, the final success and the restoration of prosperity. "In no section of the nation and in no period of its history", he says, "were greater agri-

cultural advances made or greater difficulties overcome, than in Virginia and Maryland " in the years from 1790 to 1860.

Dr. Craven, usually sound in his conclusions, is upon unsafe ground when he cites the size of the land grants in Virginia in the seventeenth century to show the extent of the plantations. The land grants at this period were made almost exclusively in return for headrights. They were small if the patentee offered few headrights, they were large if he offered many. The statement that the small land "transfer often indicated the sale of the small holding to the great planter" needs verification. A careful study of the county records would almost certainly show the tendency to be in the opposite direction—toward the break-up of extensive grants into small holdings, as indentured servants became free and sought to establish themselves as independent planters.

But this is a point which to Dr. Craven's study is not of major importance. The work as a whole is admirable, and will be welcomed by all who are awaiting impatiently the time when Southern history can be rewritten in the light of careful investigation and sound scholarship.

THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER.

George Washington, the Image and the Man. By W. E. WOODWARD.
(New York: Boni and Liveright. 1926. Pp. 460, xxxv.
\$4.00.)

HERE is a book that will arouse interest and controversy. It is fascinating from cover to cover. There is dash in the volume, brightness of expression, not rhetorical eloquence, but a style that is direct, clear, incisive, with such suggestive expressions as remind one of the clever French style of historical writing.

As to controversy, there are passages in the volume which, if they can not be disproved, will be warmly disapproved by those who have such conceptions of the "Father of his Country" as are entertained by many of the conventional chapters of the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution. Mr. Woodward does not attempt to reconcile these conceptions with the truth of history as he has found it in his evidence. The author anticipated that his book might prove to be sensational, but if this is so, he maintains that it is because a wholly false picture of Washington has been held up before the world for an hundred years, and that Washington has been lied about more persistently than has any other great American. If the author had followed that bent he might have produced a commonplace book, but he chose rather to play the iconoclast and produce a biography out of the usual order, which dispels illusions by portraying the failings and the mistakes of his hero.

Let us notice a few of the unfavorable, if not unsavory, phases of Washington's life here revealed.

The reader is informed that Washington married Martha Custis for her money—he loved her not. He was actually in love with Lady Fairfax, but as Sally Fairfax was married—the wife of one of his best

friends—the case was hopeless there; so Washington took a “practical” view of life and became happy with Martha, her children, her money, and her lands.

Washington was not a good general. That is, he did not know how to organize America for war. He favored the wrong kind of fighting force. He favored artillery too much, and pitted a poor infantry against a much better one. He had no initiative, all he tried to do was to prevent the British generals from doing what they attempted; for Trenton and Princeton, General Greene should have as much credit as Washington. Washington ought to have gone in more for cavalry and a bushwhacking warfare, such as Sumter and Marion carried on in the South.

Washington was dealing in “bunk” when he assured the Indians (in the French and Indian War, 1754–1755) that the very end the British have in view is to “secure your rights and recover the whole country for you”. Did Washington really think this—that the war was “to make the whole country safe for the Indian”?

Washington was not a man of ideas, like Jefferson or Franklin. He read but little, as little as the big business man of to-day, and was as much out of touch with the leading thought of his time. His leisure was given to hunting, card-playing, balls, the races, or the breeding of his hounds, horses, and mules.

Washington's mind, like that of a modern captain of industry, ran to lands, moneys, values. In the dark days of Valley Forge he wrote to John Parke Custis, “Lands are permanent, rising fast in value, and will be very dear when our independency is established”.

The author rejects, or explodes, the myths, as a matter of course. The Parson Weems cannot-tell-a-lie story of the cherry tree and the hatchet is “a brazen piece of fiction”. Weems's *Life* “is stuffed with this and similar fables”. The Isaac Potts story of his having heard Washington at prayer while kneeling in the forest at Valley Forge is dismissed with even less sympathy or reverence. “To any one who knows Washington the idea of this two-fisted fighting man going about bellowing in the woods is grotesque.” This is rather harsh, not delicate enough. It lets the pious patriot down with too much of a thud. Then he rudely brings up his evidence that Washington did not live at Potts's house at Valley Forge, as Potts claimed; that the headquarters account-books show the rent was paid to a Mrs. Hewes; that Washington was never known to pray in church; that his own pastor said Washington never knelt when there were prayers; that he never took communion in the church of which he was a member. This Valley Forge story was too crude, “a pietistic attempt to prove that Washington was a deeply religious man”. It succeeded, however, to the extent of getting itself on several bronze tablets.

There are satirical and caustic references to some of the heroes and heroic actions of the American Revolution. John Hancock was the prince of smugglers, with his warehouse full of uncustomed tea; and tea smuggling is put in the class with boot-legging. The author compares the

"Sons of Liberty" with the Ku Klux Klan—"alike as two peas". The K. K. raiders on the *Gaspee* were angered at the commission appointed to investigate. If a free people are not to be allowed to shoot a naval officer and burn a ship without being pestered by a commission, what is the world coming to? Friends of shabby Samuel Adams bought him a new suit, so that he could go in proper garb to the meetings of the Continental Congress. The Revolutionary soldiers were a rag-tag army in which the men talked back to their officers, a lieutenant was found doing the duty of a sergeant, and another shaving one of his men. Such soldiers represented one of the two classes in revolt, not the merchants, planters, lawyers, shipowners, distillers, but the common kind, the small farmers, the mechanics, the voteless and landless, those who later turned into the western upland democracy.

All this tends to make the Revolution appear as not a very heroic epoch. These phases of life tell but one side of the story, and if one sees these alone, or overmuch, he gets a distorted view of the times. One might sing a nobler strain of arms and the hero.

Mr. Woodward holds that Washington's political philosophy is simply that of the typical present-day banker; "he is for property first and humanity second". He gives lively character sketches of Jonathan Edwards, Benjamin Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Jay, the last of whom Mr. Woodward describes as a "third-rate statesman in a first-rate position". He tells how Hamilton wrote the Farewell Address. Of Hamilton's funding process he says he "paid the debt to the wrong people and turned the whole affair into a mere swindle".

In matters of judgment, interpretation, emphasis, and proportion differences of opinion may be expected, and there need be no quarrel. But in matters of fact we have a right to precision. The author would lead his readers to infer that Washington presided during the discussions of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and, for that reason, took no part in the debates. The convention debates took place chiefly in committee of the whole, Gorham presiding. The President presided no more than the Speaker presides while the House is in committee of the whole. He speaks of the Northwest Ordinance as being put through by Jefferson in 1784, which prohibited slavery forever north of the Ohio. He mistakenly says that John Adams received a majority of the electoral votes for vice president in 1789. He did not need a majority. A searching critic may find other statements to which exception might be taken.

Certain shady incidents the author seems to enjoy rolling like a sweet morsel under the tongue. Franklin is instinctively a ladies' man, of the kind to whom women tell their troubles on first acquaintance—then comes more of that and worse. He makes much of mistresses and prostitutes with the army. He repeats some old gossip about Washington and Hamilton's illegitimacy, which he says is "a preposterous yarn without the faintest trace of evidence". Why repeat it? If such stories are false why not let them die? The Psalmist tells us that he who would stand in the delectable hill is one who will not *repeat* a slanderous tale.

That applies to a biographer. The writer deals too much with the seamy, ugly, unlovely side of life. It is not the function of the biographer or historian to preserve all matters of fact as if they were of equal value. Some facts are the "dross of history", of no more importance or significance than the battles of the kites and crows.

We find here a summary of Washington's qualities, as Mr. Woodward sees them. Courage was his most significant trait; he was honest, but he was shrewd, too, and while he would not cheat a man in any downright way, he would out-trade him if he could; he enjoyed the air of obeisance, liked to be haughty and reserved; he was undemocratic—a typical American in this, as our country is the most undemocratic of all the great free nations; he was vain, fond of adulation and power, disturbed by criticism, ashamed of his vanity and concealed it with an appearance of modesty; he was generous toward his enemies; he was of the executive type; he thought in material terms, and his spiritual life was dim; the inner significance of people and events was beyond his range; there was in him no humanitarianism—he let go his opportunity to rebuke South Carolina in the convention and speak against the slave trade. With all these defects the author concludes that while Washington was not a man of first-rate ability he was yet a "great man, not only great but very great. He held the Revolution together by his force of character."

Despite these words in recognition of Washington's greatness Mr. Woodward's book will provoke protest, because its pages are given more to revealing the weaknesses of Washington than his elements of greatness. The vitality and cleverness of the volume will add to the protest. The book will be useful in correcting unintelligent adulation, and it is one that American hero-worshippers need to read. It will not, however, affect the place in history of this greatest and most sagacious of the early Americans.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

New England in the Republic, 1776-1850. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, LL.D., Litt.D. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 438. \$5.00.)

THIS is an interesting and provocative book. In the preface the author defines the main theme of his book as "the continual struggle of the common man to realize the doctrines of the Revolution in the life of the community". And "a secondary topic throughout is the gradual growth of sectionalism, culminating at the time of the War of 1812, and its subsequent decline until New England became genuinely merged in the Union in the slavery struggle of the Civil War". It is impossible for a thoroughly inbred New Englander to accept whole-heartedly the conclusion found in a valedictory paragraph (p. 423) that "the section has always maintained a certain aloofness from national interests and the national life". At times this aloofness has certainly been noticeable in New England just as it has been in other sections. In so far as one rises from

a reading of Mr. Adams's book with a feeling that this attitude is peculiar to New England the impression is as false as the "old point of view which regarded all Puritans and all Revolutionary soldiers and agitators as saints and patriots".

Mr. Adams performs his best service in emphasizing the difference between the democracy of the Revolutionary period and that of the 1830's and 1840's, the latter being an "insistence on the rights of man as man, and not as a member of a class", in comparison with which "the doctrinaire equality-philosophy of the Revolutionary period seems narrow and coldly intellectual". This is accomplished in the first part of the book, the earlier chapters, especially, making a valuable study of the growth in true democracy and of its slowly changing character. The review of the political and social conditions following the Revolution is particularly satisfactory. The debt Mr. Adams owes and acknowledges to the manuscript thesis of Dr. Joseph Warren on the Shays Rebellion would seem to point to the publication of this document as highly desirable.

The last three chapters of the book deal with what may be considered as a history of manners and morals—a subject at all times full of peculiar perils because of the temptation to draw too sweeping conclusions from insufficient and too narrowly localized data. Judging from the extent and character of the sources quoted by Mr. Adams for these chapters one must render a verdict of "not proven". His charges of backwardness of New England in educational and industrial conditions and in connection with the slavery question leave much to be desired in fairness. No one can question the truth of the individual statements Mr. Adams makes on these matters and yet the impressions are on the whole misleading, for he seems to hold that New England's failures were due to unregeneracy and unenlightenment rather than to poverty, poor communications, and other material considerations. No doubt many little red schoolhouses were aesthetically uninspiring and no doubt the pupils then, as always, learned many undesirable things, but that "many teachers were low, vulgar, obscene, intemperate", etc., is an unjust imputation on thousands of faithful servants and on the public which supported them. That the rapid spread of machine production in the 1830's and 1840's united with a great influx of cheap foreign labor to produce unsatisfactory conditions in certain industries and localities is true, but that these conditions were anything like universal is not true whether of employers or employed. Mr. Adams draws a much too gloomy picture of New England industrialism as a whole. Finally as to New England's attitude towards the slavery question Mr. Adams seems to have depended almost entirely on extremely biased source-material and that relating to Boston and a few other localities, apparently giving little consideration to the inarticulate masses so soon to become articulate. One gets the impression that Mr. Adams thinks there was no anti-slavery opinion in New England except among the militant followers of Garrison. One is tempted to tell him of the action of the student body of Amherst College in 1837 when the institution was, next to Yale, the largest college in New England, in

voting to support the anti-slavery movement and being required by the faculty to rescind their vote. A two-year struggle ensued and was ended by the faculty acknowledging the righteousness of the student view. These students were mostly drawn from back-country families and it would be a fair assumption that they echoed in some degree the opinions prevalent in the communities from which they came. Furthermore it seems probable that Mr. Adams could have found record of other similar incidents if he had not been so determined to convict New England of extreme pro-slavery leanings. There is no doubt that earlier writers on New England have shown a tendency to magnify our virtues and minimize our vices, but should a thorough scholar in these enlightened days reverse the process? It is difficult to acquit Mr. Adams of the charge of bias in these matters, or to soften the judgment, even when he confesses (p. 423) that "perhaps at times in a reaction against the old point of view . . . we may have been tempted to stress the shadows rather than the lights". Because a generation of historical scholars less meticulous than our own has erred is certainly no excuse for us consciously to follow its example.

FREDERIC L. THOMPSON.

Pinckney's Treaty, a Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800. By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS, Ph.D., Professor of History, George Washington University. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1926.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1926. Pp. xii, 421. \$3.00.)

THE author of *Jay's Treaty* has produced a companion volume that fully maintains his reputation for scholarly research, mastery of technique, and sprightly writing. Together the two books present a readable, well-documented, logical review of our early national diplomacy from the standpoint of material now available. We hope that the author intends to pursue with equal care the course of our negotiations with France for the same period. We should then have a fairly complete survey of our diplomatic beginnings, based on adequate data.

As in his earlier book, Mr. Bemis offers in this volume a suggestive subtitle: "A Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800". In the course of his work the author frequently repeats this thesis in a convincing manner. As an instance his discussion of the Treaty of 1795 (chaps. XII. and XIII.) both in the text and in the footnotes shows that the signing of the treaty and its ratification two and a half years later proceeded directly from the fear on the part of Spain that her intimacy with France would bring upon herself the combined vengeance of Great Britain and the United States, unless the latter were persuaded to remain neutral through some substantial concession.

For the average reader a still more pertinent suggestion will be the proposed alliance between Spain and the United States. This proposed pact—to which France might also be a party—was frequently mentioned

by the Spanish diplomats during the later stage of the negotiations, and always with the proviso that the United States guarantee the rest of Spain's possessions in America. Possibly the self-denying features of this proposal alone would have made it unacceptable, but neither the Spanish representative in Philadelphia nor William Short, our minister in Spain, bestirred themselves to advocate it. In fact the latter took occasion to express a sentiment (p. 274) that might be added to the catalogue of warnings against entangling alliances. Mr. Bemis maintains with considerable plausibility that Washington had such proposals in mind when in his Farewell Address he warned his fellow-citizens against such commitments.

The Prince of the Peace, as the author conclusively shows, signed the treaty with Pinckney under the impression that the Jay Treaty either definitely established or distinctly foreshadowed an alliance between Great Britain and the United States. This he calls Godoy's initial mistake. The Spanish minister was no great diplomatic genius and any other incident might have served equally well to start him on the downward track. In this controversy, with the complications growing out of the Indian and frontier situation, Godoy was dealing with forces that were too much for him and for the government that he served. His yielding of the Natchez district was unavoidable and equally inevitable was the acquisition by the United States of Louisiana, the Floridas, Texas, and California. In the pioneer spirit of the American frontiersman was a force far more potent than the machinations of European diplomats.

Mr. Bemis lightens his study with many telling phrases and apt character-sketches. Wilkinson, "the conjurer of self-heroics", and the penman of "smooth-quilled vocabulary", is a case in point. The "peripatetic and leisurely Spanish court" will also appeal to one who has followed the long-drawn-out and tortuous course of Hispanic diplomacy. "Patience and Persuasion", which must both be employed in full measure in such negotiations, fittingly serves as the heading for two chapters. One is grateful for mention of Mrs. Jay along with her better-known but susceptible husband and of Gardoqui's elaborate but apparently not useless entertainments, and of his douceurs of live stock, including a jack for Washington's stables. Through the writer's skillful sketching Aranda, Godoy, Floridablanca, Jaudenes, and others become interesting and understandable personages and even the shadowy Carmichael takes on human, if not commendable, traits. Pinckney plays his titular rôle with becoming dignity, whereby he eclipses the heart-breaking efforts of Short. Nevertheless the latter co-operates loyally with the man who displaces him. In view of the really good work that Short had done it would have been permissible to associate his name with that of Pinckney in the title rôle.

The author has made extensive use of monographs covering his field. Possibly he might have been a little more generous in mentioning some of these in his foot-notes. Occasionally, as in the description of the so-called "Spanish Conspiracy", he still follows too closely Gayarré and

Green, instead of using the manuscript material that we should expect. Generally, he depends on manuscript material and his foot-notes show the value of Spanish transcripts in the Library of Congress. His judgment of George Rogers Clark in the period after the Revolution is evidently too harsh, although it is the conventional one. His conclusions with respect to Wilkinson and Sebastian will be confirmed but there is need for further investigation in archival material before attempting to determine the true status of other companions of this maladroit pair. However, he shows that disloyalty to an imperfect union was not unusual among contemporary Western leaders.

There are five excellent interpretative maps, an appendix of fifty pages (including a valuable bibliographic note), and an adequate index. The book appears in the tasteful form in which the Hopkins Press has clothed the other volumes of the series, but there are many unfortunate typographical errors. Letters are lacking in words or are transposed, or there are errors or misspellings on pages 7, 112 (twice), 115 (twice), 124, 153, 174, 191, 291, 345, 368. The preferable date for the admission of Kentucky (p. 196) is 1792. "Deserted ally" (p. 260) should obviously be "deserting", "James Sevier" (p. 156) should be "John", and the "Pope's Bull of Tordesillas" (p. 175) represents a misplacement of the prepositional phrase.

ISAAC J. COX.

The Public Life of Thomas Cooper, 1783-1839. By DUMAS MALONE, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in the University of Virginia. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1926. Pp. xv, 432. \$4.00.)

WHAT a man! "Watta life!" Such a bundle of paradoxes! Thomas Cooper, always interesting and stimulating, was too frequently irritating, with the result that probably but few of his contemporaries who knew him or merely knew about him were lukewarm or neutral in their opinions regarding him, for he was one of those men who have only ardent supporters and bitter enemies; to-day a student of his career, even with the advantage of being removed from Cooper by a century of time, is torn by conflicting reactions—at times entirely sympathetic, at times quite the reverse. Certainly no fair-minded student can dismiss Thomas Cooper with a slurring remark about fanatical wild-eyed radicals who simply make public nuisances of themselves, for even admitting his temperamental limitations and the tactical blunders in his political career, there is too much that is prophetic and permanently valuable in his political writings, to say nothing of his scholarly productions in so many fields of knowledge.

Putting together his writings and other activities as a manufacturer, student of law and legal education, judge, scientist, educator, religious controversialist, philosopher, writer on governmental theory and practice, humanitarian, professor, college president, economist, political scientist,

martyr, chemist, editor, mineralogist, geologist, physician, professor of rhetoric and belles lettres, and general scholar, the power and energy of his mind seem almost incredible. Probably no man of his generation had read more widely or could make greater display of erudition. Of course he could not show great creative originality in each of so many fields of thought and activity, but one can only marvel at his intellectual acquirements, his productivity, and his prophetic insight into the future course of thought in so many fields.

Always in trouble, in any community, Cooper is not of the type to make heavy drains on one's store of sympathy; he rather enjoyed a controversy in which he could enlist as a defender of *Truth*. No one so active and vigorous both mentally and physically, with so much egotism, self-assurance, and irrepressible combativeness could avoid or even desire to avoid serious controversies; to Cooper's credit, however, it should be recognized that nearly every controversy to which he devoted any considerable amount of his time and energy was one in which an important question of principle was involved. In such a long and always active life in so many different communities and environments in Europe and in America, it is not surprising to discover changes in viewpoint on even fundamental questions of principle; however, many inconsistencies in Cooper's thinking and activities which at first seem clear cut and damaging may upon closer study have their seriousness reduced by explanation, even to the point of saving the principle.

The author, Professor Malone, has done very well all that he professes as to his aims. We can only express gratitude for what he has accomplished and not complain that he has not done more, because the materials he had to use are so scattered, diverse, and, even though numerous, so tantalizingly incomplete. Of necessity this work is largely a series of reviews of Cooper's writings and the writings of his contemporaries to and about him; each review is well written and presented in its proper historical setting. The author confesses himself unqualified to discuss the more technical philosophical, scientific, and legal treatises by Cooper, but has described most of his political, economic, theological, and personal writings, in connection with the various movements and controversies of which they form a constituent part. At some points the reader may think that the book is not properly balanced, because some bits and phases of this varied career are better presented and evaluated than others; this impression, however, is perhaps in large part due to the character of the available material rather than to defects of the author's judgment. Though a few sections are dragged out to unwarrantable length, the periodic summaries and the conclusion at the end of the book are excellent.

The author has succeeded very well in depicting Cooper as his contemporaries saw him; indeed, the picture of the man himself has been made remarkably vivid, and the reader feels that he has learned to know a most fascinating personality—not always a delightful personality, but one whose uniqueness would be spoiled if the pleasing and annoying

characteristics were not compounded in just the proportion in which they are found.

C. S. BOUCHER.

The American in England during the First Half-Century of Independence. By ROBERT E. SPILLER. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 416. \$4.00.)

"IN almost every line of culture or economic thought the supposedly radical—almost savage—American was more conservative than his English brother." In these words Professor Spiller characterizes the point of view of American travellers in England during the first half of our national history.

Broad as this generalization is, it would seem substantiated by the memoirs, letters, and diaries of envoys and artists, students and philanthropists, business men and devotees of literature who sojourned for periods both long and short in England. Some were, indeed, displeased at the reception which they met with, others were highly critical of English manners and of Englishmen; but for England, the country, the home of their ancestors, and the origin of their culture, there was widespread admiration.

Despite the difficulties of travel many Americans made the voyage. Students were particularly numerous. The vogue of Benjamin West as a painter attracted young artists. To London and Edinburgh the American youth flocked for chemistry, medicine, and theology, the university in the latter city being particularly well attended. Apostolic succession drew many of the early bishops of the Episcopal Church to England for consecration. Quakers, philanthropically minded, toured England on evangelical missions. Business men sought to glean information in regard to the new industrial life centring about Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham. And to the old country came also many men of letters.

The comparatively high state of material culture existing in England was the subject of much commendation, the commodiousness of the inns, the excellence of the highways, the extent of the shipping, the magnitude of manufacturing enterprises. But what pleased the Americans more were the monuments of England's past and the living lions of her literary present. It was not, however, Shelley, Keats, or even Byron whom they sought to meet, but Coleridge, Wordsworth, Hannah More, and, above all, Sir Walter Scott.

These Americans were, perhaps, not typical of their country. Our early envoys came almost exclusively from Virginia or Massachusetts, with an aristocratic tradition behind them. They might have been, and frequently were, violently republican; but socially they were more at home in London than in the Pittsburgh and Cincinnati of their day. And this was true also of men of letters such as Cooper and Irving. The former, it is true, violently assailed English manners, but he seems to have preferred them to those of his own countrymen; and "the com-

parative crassness and vulgarity of the American culture was even more abhorrent to him than the glossy hypocrisies of the old world aristocracy". As for the author of *Bracebridge Hall* and the *Sketch-Book*, England was a perpetual delight to him. But as Professor Spiller states: "The England which Irving described and made the permanent possession of his countrymen was an England which never existed outside the storehouse of his own whimsical imagination." He idealized the country before he ever saw it. It was to him *classic ground*.

A less visionary traveller was Benjamin Silliman of Yale. Science was his great interest, particularly geology. This drew him to the mining districts, which he thoroughly explored. As a teacher he also visited the Lancastrian school and noted with approval "the substitution of ear pulling and moral suasion for whipping". The traffic conditions in the London streets interested him more than the Abbey. He did not find the reserve of the English displeasing, but their ignorance of, and prejudice against, America annoyed him much. George Ticknor, afterwards professor in Harvard, also wrote extensively on his English travels. "Statesmen, actors, literary men and women all sat for his pen." The descriptions which he gives of Brougham, Hazlitt, Wordsworth, and Southey add greatly to the value of this book.

Certain Americans, less well known to fame, were far more critical of England than Silliman or Ticknor. English travel literature in America, having portrayed that country in none too glowing colors, met with a counter-attack, the leaders of which were William Austin, Mordecai Noah, and John Neal. These three laid about them with vigor, particularly in regard to English haughtiness and reserve. But in each instance certain things were found to praise in England—scenery, at any rate, if not men. And authors such as these were the exception.

We have Professor Spiller to thank for giving us a delightful and scholarly book.

WALTER P. HALL.

The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates. By THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL, Ph.D., Professor of History in Washington University. Two volumes. [Publications of the Missouri Historical Society.] (St. Louis: the Society. 1926. Pp. ix, 346, 343. \$10.00.)

THIS attractive publication covers in part the same field as the *Austin Papers* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX. 839). It treats of the early builders of the Middle West, as exemplified in the career of one whom fate and the field of effort left in a secondary place, but whose task and methods of performance help us to comprehend the early development of the region.

Frederick Bates (1777-1825) came into the westward movement, as did so many of his contemporaries, by way of military service in the Old Northwest. He resided at Detroit for a brief period, during which he engaged in business and held the positions of judge, receiver of public

monies, and land commissioner. In 1807 he became secretary of Louisiana (later Missouri) Territory, and he held this position until Missouri became a state. He combined with his secretaryship the work of land commissioner and recorder of land titles, continuing in these last-named functions until his election as governor of Missouri in 1824. He died in office the following year.

It was part of Bates's task to unravel the tangle of Spanish land grants and settle the bitter and occasionally bloody disputes over lead mines. Three times during his service as secretary he was also called upon to act as governor, just before the incumbency respectively of Meriwether Lewis, Benjamin Howard, and William Clark. In this dual capacity he had to deal with controversies left by the Wilkinson régime and the Burr Conspiracy, with general Indian problems and particularly with the difficult question of Indian trade, with the organization of militia, and with the establishment of local government.

Some of the letters and those of least importance are with departmental heads in Washington. The bulk of the collection is concerned with local routine affairs and the letters are detailed enough to afford considerable insight into prevalent conditions and methods. There is relatively little mention of momentous events or characters. The letters afford a few side-lights on the Burr Conspiracy, the War of 1812, relations with the Spaniards, and the election of 1824. They explain some phases in the local administration of Meriwether Lewis, whose course as territorial governor Bates emphatically condemns. There are random notices of Hull, Pike, Wilkinson, John Pope, and others who were incidentally connected with national happenings, but local land and mining disputes, petty territorial politics, and personal family letters fill much more space.

In the settlement of these numerous irritating questions, Bates, despite an occasional loss of temper, seems to have had uniform success. He administered affairs with absolute integrity, and at the same time shrewdly laid the foundation for an ample fortune. He knew how to deal with frontiersmen and, although frequently at variance with them and with his fellow-officials, he seems to have maintained his popularity, as is shown by his triumphant election as governor over General William H. Ashley. He maintained a peculiar attitude towards duelling, and his failure to greet Lafayette at the time of his famous visit seemed highly discourteous. Both incidents reveal an unfortunate rigidity of temperament, but nothing worse.

Professor Marshall has divided his material into sections corresponding to Bates's administrative activities, and begins the work with an excellent biographical sketch. The text is fully, not to say meticulously, edited and there is an adequate index. The editor, the Missouri Historical Society, Mr. William K. Bixby, whose generosity made possible this publication, and the others whose co-operation is acknowledged, are to be congratulated upon the production of this substantial contribution to the early history of an important section.

ISAAC J. COX.

Origins of the Whig Party. By E. MALCOLM CARROLL. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1925. Pp. viii, 260. \$2.50.)

THIS monograph is a useful study of one of the most chaotic periods of American politics. It undertakes to trace from 1824 to 1840 the forces that combined to check the triumphant march of Jacksonian democracy. The text is well proportioned and based upon careful research. The author has utilized the standard printed source-material for this period, a fairly representative selection of newspaper files, and various of the available manuscript collections of contemporary correspondence. For certain phases the author's task has been lightened by available monographic material.

In the main the volume traces the political fortunes and manoeuvres of the ringleaders of the opposition to Jackson—first Adams, and then Clay, Webster, and the rest. An effective analysis is made of Clay's presidential candidacy in 1832, complicated by the peculiarly strong claims in certain quarters of Judge McLean, whose manuscript correspondence has been used with effect in this and other parts of the volume. There is a skillful presentation of the interplay of forces that threatened to detach Webster from the opposition immediately after his endorsement of Jackson's nullification policy. From 1834 on, the story, meticulously told, is the more familiar account of a heterogeneous opposition party, undertaking in its first presidential campaign to rally its full support about a group of candidates who made specific appeals to the various local Whig factions, undergoing further reorganization in 1837, and, under the lead of General Harrison, marching to victory in the famous "hurrah" campaign of 1840.

In this account the enigmatic Calhoun is assigned a minor and obscure rôle. This submerging of Calhoun probably explains the inadequate treatment of the forces that produced the "compromise" tariff of 1833. But the conspicuous weakness of the volume is to be found in the author's failure to trace the forces that stirred the average voter of this period, to tell how the rank and file of the Whig party felt about the various developments engineered by fate or by the ringleaders of the party. One regrets that the 227 pages of text could not have been expanded to cover some of the points that seem to fall within the province of such a study.

Thus, while the chapter on the period from 1824 to 1828 is an excellent analysis of the political forces—largely personal—that revolved about Adams and his Cabinet, it fails to meet the real need for a study of these same developments in their relation to the social and economic currents in the various sections of the nation, especially in the South. For example, references to the tariff from 1824 to 1831 assume that the forces that opposed Jackson were largely protectionist. A splendid opportunity was passed to trace the alignment of Southern planters with reference to the support of Jackson's candidacy from 1824 to 1832. Men like Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina in 1824 looked aghast at the political pretensions of the crude Tennessean, in 1828 joined the mob

that hailed him as a champion, and in 1832-1833 renounced their allegiance and became his most bitter opponents. There was all the more opportunity for a distinct contribution on the period before 1832, for which there was little matured research by others upon which one might lean. The present reviewer is all the more sensitive to this need because circumstances compelled him to begin his own study of the Whig party in the South with the year 1832.

ARTHUR C. COLE.

An Autobiography of Abraham Lincoln, consisting of the Personal Portions of his Letters, Speeches, and Conversations, compiled and annotated by NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1926. Pp. 501. \$5.00.)

"AN autobiography of Abraham Lincoln" is an arresting title. Mr. Stephenson, author of *Abraham Lincoln and the Union* and of a provocative study of Lincoln's personal life, uses it in a volume of 468 pages, exclusive of index and tables—and justifies its use. The book is modelled, so the preface frankly tells us, after Napoleon's autobiography, by R. M. Johnson.

Mr. Stephenson had rich material from which to make his compilation. There is Lincoln's captivating autobiography carrying him up to 1860, his many letters, his state papers and public addresses beginning when he was but twenty-three and continuing until his death, when he was fifty-six. Mr. Stephenson has added a few well-authenticated conversations and stories. The result is the man's own effort to account for himself, to express his feelings and views, to set forth his thinking, his hopes and fears, his faith and his mistrusts.

The book is helped materially by explanatory lines, separating the quotations at intervals and having the effect of titles in moving pictures. They not only carry the story intelligently to the reader but they give Mr. Stephenson an opportunity to hint at his own interpretation of the man. Through them he emphasizes his favorite theory that Lincoln first found himself in July, 1862, when he determined to use his authority over McClellan, that up to this time he had been a suppressed and hesitant character. But Mr. Stephenson has already quoted documents which show Lincoln dominating Seward, defying the important body of radicals by overruling Fremont, defying Congress by appointing a Democrat instead of a Republican as head of the Army of the Potomac, and holding himself in stern check while he gave McClellan the chance to prove whether or not he was the man to lead the army to Richmond. This is not a record of hesitation. The writer believes that Lincoln's exasperating delay in acting at this period was due to the conviction that a civilian executive should not interfere with a military commander until that commander had proved, both to him and the country, his inadequacy.

The method of handling personal material succeeds better than any biography in giving a vivid sense of the real state of the man's mind at

critical periods. Thus, at the opening of 1841 Lincoln was in deep depression over the breaking off of his engagement with Mary Todd; though he sets himself down as being "the most miserable man living" he is not too miserable to discuss politics in the same letter, to record that he had set his heart upon a certain appointment, and to fight hard and well against the passage of a bill that he did not like.

The multitude of questions which, throughout the Civil War, struggled for attention in his mind at every critical moment, comes out impressively in this handling. Take July of 1863:—Shall he let Alexander Stephens come to Washington? Why had Meade let Lee escape into Virginia after defeating him at Gettysburg? Is there treason at work? Is Grant the coming man? At all events let us give thanks for our victory at Vicksburg. He must consider the new draft, the bad political situation in Missouri, how to placate a general who had gone from the White House in a huff because the President did not see him at the moment, where to find postmasterships for widows whose husbands had fallen, how to keep Mrs. Lincoln in good temper, the complications that the Emancipation Proclamation has brought, where to explain, how to interpret. There was no rest for his mind.

The book is impressive. Few men have written so little that is mean or common. Lord Charnwood's comment that Lincoln's letters prove him a gentleman is admirably supported by Mr. Stephenson's autobiography. There is one letter in it which challenges this judgment, a letter which he wrote to his friend, Mrs. Browning, in regard to Miss Owen, who, after a completely disinterested courtship on Lincoln's part, had declined his offer of marriage. It is a crude and unworthy letter. Mr. Stephenson has wisely included it, as he has everything that we have of Lincoln's that can be criticized. That is, it is an honest, not a hero-worshipping book, and a book which is not only a convenience but an illumination for Lincoln students.

A repetition of material occurs in one case, the same quotation being used on pages 10 and 78. One begrudges the space when there is so much of interest left that might fill it.

The Overland Mail, 1849-1869. By LE ROY R. HAFEN, Ph.D.
(Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1926. Pp. 361. \$6.00.)

THE title of this book suggests post-riders, stage-coaches, highwaymen, and Indian depredations. The book has a good deal to say about all of these things but it is not to be associated with Visscher's *Thrilling and Truthful History of the Pony Express*, Mulford's *Bar 20* stories, or other Wild West literature designed for consumption along the Atlantic seaboard. Mr. Hafen has treated the Overland Mail as a "promoter of settlement" and as the "precursor of railroads" and he has brought out a serious and instructive book.

The *Overland Mail*, as the author conceives his subject, is the story of the transportation of the mails on all available routes to the Pacific Coast

in the twenty years before the completion of the transcontinental railway. The ocean mail, by way of Central America, to the Pacific Coast, 1848-1858, is the beginning of the story, and the overland stage service on the central route by Fort Bridger and Salt Lake City, to 1869, is the end. It is a narrative of rivalry between northern and southern routes, of expansive frontier confidence not always accompanied by sound business judgment, and of courage and determination in overcoming physical obstacles.

The most instructive chapter, in so far as the main currents of American history are concerned, is that dealing with the Butterfield Overland Mail through Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona to California, from 1858. This was the first serious attempt to establish an overland service, and it registered the success of those who denounced the ocean mail and the Panama Railroad as gigantic monopolies which could be broken only by the establishment of a competitive route. The author sees in the selection of the southern route from St. Louis and Memphis through El Paso, Tucson, and Los Angeles to San Francisco, an example of the dominance of the South in national affairs. The northern or central route through South Pass, Salt Lake City, Carson City, and Sacramento to San Francisco was followed by most of the emigration and it was hoped by many that it would be selected as the principal stage route to the Coast. The adoption of the southern route was the occasion for abuse, derision, and lamentations, but the contractors initiated and maintained a successful stage carriage to the Pacific Coast.

The history of the Overland Mail would not be complete without an account of the Pony Express from 1860. The story of this spectacular and interesting enterprise is well told and is told in proper proportion. Exception might be taken to the conclusion that the Pony Express "demonstrated the practicability of the Central route and marked the path for the first trans-continental railroad". The path was there and various factors contributed to the selection of the route of the first transcontinental railroad.

Not the least valuable contribution is an excellent map of the overland mail routes in the period under treatment. The bibliography, while not critical, is useful and instructive. The book as a whole tells a straightforward story and contributes not a little to a clear understanding of transcontinental communication before the coming of the railway.

J. P. BETZ.

Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925. By MARK SULLIVAN. Volume I. *The Turn of the Century.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1926. Pp. xviii, 610. \$5.00.)

MR. SULLIVAN'S book is the first volume of a projected four-volume history of the United States during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Although entitled *The Turn of the Century, 1900-1904*, it compares and contrasts many aspects of life in America in 1925 with similar events and tendencies during the twenty-five years following 1875.

Despite the fact that Mr. Sullivan's main interest is in social and economic events, a considerable fraction of the book is expended upon the usual details of political and constitutional history. Here the novelty of his treatment consists of a somewhat racy and journalistic style and development, and in bits of gossip and opinions from "insiders" on affairs of state. It is apparent that the author has taken great pains to have many of the chief political actors read his manuscript, with the result that his treatment has a refreshing reality. (See for example the note concerning the effect of Bryan's personality on his followers, p. 111.)

By all odds the most characteristic portions of the book are those relating to the economic, and, more particularly, the social history of the period. Into this portion is packed a mass of miscellaneous information. There are accounts of shifting styles in sport clothes for women, illustrated by pictures from the *Ladies' Home Journal* of 1890 and 1899; the artistic work of Gibson and Remington; the best sellers in American fiction; the sayings of Mr. Dooley; the works of Laura Jean Libbey; Beadle's Dime Library; the stage in the '90's, and so on. Here may be recovered "Casey at the Bat", the high bicycle, "Daisy, Daisy" (with the music), and a picture of the, now obsolete, cigar-store wooden Indian.

A suggestive chapter is XVI., on Some Contrasts and Changes—1900 to 1925, contrasting styles in bathing suits, hair, dogs, and other necessities. Chapter XVII., on a Modern Warrior, emphasizes the part of Gorgas and other pioneers in the work of suppressing the yellow fever and malaria. Chapter XII., on Admiral Dewey, perhaps gives more space to that worthy (thirty-five pages) than is strictly his due.

Mr. Sullivan meets the same difficulties that confront all writers of social history. One such difficulty is a scale of evaluation. Admitting that the changes in styles of women's hats are great, are they important? The answer which Mr. Sullivan gives is as follows: "Consumers who were drummed and herded into fear of being out of style as to clothes and hats, came to fear to be out of style in thought. Individualism, strength of personality, came to be more rare. . . . It is little wonder if the spirit of quick change from style to style came to affect some of life's spiritual and aesthetic aspects" (pp. 409-410).

The other chief difficulty in handling social history is the task of relating facts to one another and to the rest of the account. In many cases Mr. Sullivan is able to string his facts on threads, although in general not relating one string to another. In the last fifty pages, however, he merely lists "Other Events" in 1901, 1902, and 1903. Typical items in these lists are the death of Queen Victoria, the triumphal progress of Carrie Nation, the records of trotting horses, Roosevelt's luncheon for Booker Washington, Mark Twain's attack on Christian Science, and the employment of women ushers by the Majestic Theatre in New York.

Mr. Sullivan would probably be the first to admit that his volume is suggestive rather than final, path-breaking rather than road-building. As such it is both entertaining and important. Less valuable as a text-book for use in college classes, it will prove to be a stimulating book of reference

to which students may be sent for a variety of subjects which have commonly received too little attention. (And in this connection, it is to be hoped that the publishers will produce a "student edition" at a lower price than \$5.00.) Not everybody, perhaps, would agree to the justice of giving more space to

Off agin, on agin,
Gone agin—Finnigin

than to an election of Congress; perhaps there are people who would not agree with Mr. Sullivan in questioning whether Mr. Harding was as important a figure in American history as Mr. Ford; or whether the discovery of a remedy for diabetes promoted human happiness as much as the thirty-one years of Henry Cabot Lodge in the Senate; or whether the acquisition of the Philippines was of less consequence than the increased effectiveness and abundance of fly-paper and window screens. But whether historians agree with Mr. Sullivan or not, they ought to be forced to consider those questions at least. A reading of this book will compel that much—and that is doubtless Mr. Sullivan's purpose.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

The Letters of William Roscoe Thayer. Edited by CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. xii, 441. \$5.00.)

IN 1881, only six months after graduating from Harvard College, Thayer wrote to a friend that he was making a special study of Italian history from 1848 to 1870, and added (p. 25), "I mean to make myself master of it sooner or later". In 1888 he wrote, again in a letter, that victory, meaning one thing in war and politics, means another in life, namely (p. 59), "a habit, not any particular achievement". With Thayer the life-long habit of work, generally under heavy handicaps, was synonymous both with victory and with particular achievements.

Although this collection of his letters, assembled in a sympathetic and illuminating setting by Professor Hazen, holds specimens that seem, in their importance, hardly to justify inclusion, it holds also, and in far greater number, those intimate, personal expressions of Thayer with respect to the interests, literary, social, and political, from which the responsive reader may construct a faithful image of the writer and the man. "An historian without prejudices", wrote Leslie Stephen apropos of Macaulay, "has always hitherto meant a writer without imagination". Thayer, who began his authorship as a poet and continued through life to long for fuller poetic expression of himself, was certainly not "a writer without imagination". His letters reveal him as a painstaking searcher for the facts of history and biography. But "the Ph. D.'s standard" was repugnant to him. "I believe", he declared (p. 192), "as earnestly as any of them in the need of thorough research,—only I make the collection of material the *beginning* and not the *end* of the historian's task."

If he did not invariably appear as "an historian without prejudice", he believed himself sincerely impartial. An ardent temperament made him as intensely a Mugwump in his earlier days as he became a follower of the Republican leaders after 1916, when, for the first time in his life, he voted the Republican ticket (p. 286). Possibly nothing less impelling than his opposition to President Wilson's policies would have brought him to such a step; but, once he had taken it, he exhibited the proverbial zeal of the convert. When some of his war-time papers were collected in a little book, *Volleys from a Non-Combatant*, he could look upon them, slightly cooled, and confess (p. 366), "When I wrote—when the volcano was in eruption—I had to wear an asbestos shirt". Burning within, he accepted without question the prevalent beliefs in Wilson's "vindictive degradation of Wood", and in Senator Lodge's having "floored a Pacifist who had struck him in the face". In the interest of history it could be wished that foot-notes had set the reader right in these two matters, the second of which can not be adequately covered without a reference to the article, "Not Strictly Accurate", in the *New Republic* of May 24, 1919. Minor matters of editorial oversight are apparently to be found in the printing of Mayor for *Meyer* (G. von L.) on page 176, and John Muirhead for *James F. Muirhead* on page 278.

The book as a whole presents an indomitable figure, winning notable victories over the handicaps of disabled nerves during the long preparation of the *Cavour*, and of gravely impaired eyesight from 1915—when the biography of John Hay was nearing completion—until the end of Thayer's life in 1923. The courage and spirit of it all were worthy of a later Prescott or Parkman. The manner in which Thayer turned from his disappointment as a Harvard teacher of one year only into a long-continued service of his college as editor and interpreter commands equal admiration. If his handicaps impaired the permanent value of his later work, the habit of victory in the man was confirmed by them, and a profound respect was added to the affection of his friends.

M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

A History of New Mexico. In three volumes. By CHARLES COAN, Ph.D., assisted by a Board of Advisory Editors. (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, Inc.¹ 1925. Pp. xlviii, 586; 523; 506. \$25.00.)

In the preface of this work the author states that he deemed it of paramount importance to adhere closely "to a plan which would give proper emphasis to the Indian, Spanish, and American phases of New Mexican history". He therefore "divided the space in proportion of two, three, three, between the subjects". This division of subject matter, however, applies only to volume I., which alone of the three volumes is historical in character. The last two volumes contain biographies of living New Mexican citizens. The reviewer has, therefore, confined his observations to volume I.

¹ Not to be confounded with the American Historical Association. Ed.

The subject matter of volume I., irrespective of consecutive chapter-divisions, falls into four distinct parts, or divisions, each of which contains a comprehensive bibliography. In the first division, comprising only chapter I., the physical features of the Land of New Mexico are described. In the second division, comprising chapters II.-IX., inclusive, the culture of the sedentary Indians of New Mexico; the historic and pre-historic pueblos; the nomadic Indians of New Mexico; and the Indian policies of Spain and the United States are discussed. In the third division, comprising chapters X.-XVIII., inclusive, the history of New Mexico is narrated from the time of the earliest Spanish explorers until the establishment of United States military government in 1846. In the fourth division, comprising chapters XIX.-XXXII., inclusive, the history of New Mexico under military rule, during the Civil War, and as a state since 1912 is narrated; its economic, cultural, and political development since 1846 is discussed; and the system of Spanish and Mexican land grants and the governments of New Mexico down to 1925 are described. An unfortunate arrangement consists in having the bibliography for this fourth division near the middle, instead of at the end of the division.

The author makes no pretense to having made any notable contributions through original research to the literature relating to New Mexico, and his name appears in only one bibliography as the author of a brief monograph on "The County Boundaries of New Mexico" (page 437). On the other hand he has summarized with commendable proportionate emphasis the recognized standard authorities on New Mexico in the light of recent scholarly investigation in the fields of archaeology, ethnology, and history. Volume I., as a result, supplants earlier similar efforts in this direction as the most reliable general summary to date of the cultural, historical, and economic development of New Mexico.

While the author in his narrative has taken into account the contributions of the recent outstanding monographic studies relating to New Mexico, occasional ones have been overlooked. For example, the reviewer takes issue with the statement on page 194 that the "false nature" of the Freitas *Relación* of 1662 "is not an established fact". The alleged expedition of Peñalosa to Kansas in 1662, which the Freitas *Relación* purports to narrate, is, in the light of documents collected by Bandelier and made known within the last few years, clearly demonstrated never to have been made, an earlier quoted statement by Bandelier to the contrary notwithstanding. In the bibliography for New Mexico under the United States, 1846-1924, omission is noted of the *Papers of James J. Webb*, edited by Professor Bieber. In the light of these papers it seems that the brief paragraphs on pages 379-380 might be expanded to an advantage. For the earlier period it is the author's misfortune and not his fault that the recent monographs of Professor Mecham relating to the Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions, and those of Professor Hammond, now being published in serial form, which relate to the Oñate expedition, were not available at the time when he was writing.

In the last chapters, particularly those dealing with the economic and educational developments since 1912 and the establishment of counties since 1879, the author was, in many respects, pioneering. An abundance of detailed statistical tables and facts in the latter chapters add to their usefulness for reference purposes but decrease correspondingly the readability of the chapters. The mechanical work upon the book is exceedingly poor. A number of pages are printed twice, and that the index immediately follows the table of contents strikes the reviewer as a most irregular arrangement.

Despite some deficiencies, the judgment used by Professor Coan in the selection and use of his authorities is such that there will be no occasion to write another such general summary of the cultural and historical development of New Mexico until much more scholarly research has been made relative to that interesting and romantic state.

CHARLES W. HACKETT.

A History of C. Brewer and Company, Limited, 1826-1926. By JOSEPHINE SULLIVAN. (Boston: Walton Advertising and Printing Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 193.)

A History of Hawaii. By RALPH S. KUYKENDALL, with introductory chapters by HERBERT E. GREGORY. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. x, 375.)

IF, for purposes of this comparison only, we think of the Hawaiian Islands as a colony, it may fairly be concluded that no other colony in all the modern world of colonies has been so fortunate in the character of its settlers and citizens. All sorts of people went there. The struggle for existence was fierce but in an astonishingly short time there emerged a substantial group of people notable for their public spirit and civic sense. By easy stages they assumed the economic, social, and political leadership, greatly to the benefit of the people generally. Perhaps there is no better proof of the quality of the older generation than that their children to the third and fourth generation delight to conserve the records and honor the memory of their forbears. A healthy historical interest, something far wider and deeper than the mere enthusiasm of the genealogist, has developed. The result has been the assembling in Honolulu of some remarkable collections of historical records. There one finds, in addition to the government archives, the George R. Carter Library (now the property of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society), the library of the Hawaiian Historical Society, and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

The private papers of individuals and commercial houses supplement these larger collections, the effect being to make an island village out in the Pacific Ocean prospectively an important centre for historical study not only of the Hawaiian Islands themselves but also of several larger historical themes such as the history of the Northwest and California

Coast, international policies in the Pacific Ocean, and even some phases of the Far Eastern question. It is these collections which have made possible the two books under review.

C. Brewer and Company, Limited, starting at about the same time as Russell and Company of old Canton, is comparable with the more famous firm for its importance in shaping the growth of American economic and political development in the Pacific. Russell and Company in time bled to death, but Brewer and Company, for reasons very interesting to analyze, grew stronger with each new generation. The story is told in an interesting manner in a book which, though printed privately, ought to find its way into historical libraries. The chapters on the development of the sugar industry and its relation to the question of reciprocity with the United States are especially useful.

The *History of Hawaii* has a double interest for historical students. It replaces Alexander's *Brief History* which was first published in 1891. The second interest lies in the fact that it is designed to be a text-book for the public schools and that as such it was prepared under the direction of the territorial government, which owns the copyright. The obvious intent of the book is to leave undisturbed the dying embers of old racial, political, and economic animosities and to develop what might be called "Hawaiianism". This purpose, entirely proper and necessary though it may be, leaves the historical student often with too slender clues to the underlying causes of the political and social upheavals which followed one another so rapidly through the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the book is very useful. There are three introductory chapters on the geography and ethnology of the islands by Dr. Herbert E. Gregory of the Bishop Museum, and twenty-seven chapters on the history from 1778 to date by Ralph S. Kuykendall, executive secretary of the Historical Commission of the territory. Mr. Kuykendall had the benefit of a knowledge of the archives of the Department of State and while the scope and purpose of the book offers little or no opportunity to use this material the reader may have the assurance that the writer wrote from a full knowledge of the facts. The illustrations in the text are especially to be commended. They comprise reproductions of many little known pictures of the highest interest and give to the book an added historical importance.

TYLER DENNETT.

Documents relating to Canadian Currency, Exchange, and Finance during the French Period. Selected and edited with notes and introduction by ADAM SHORTT. Two volumes. [Board of Historical Publications, Canadian Archives.] (Ottawa: Public Archives. 1925. Pp. xci, 1127. \$3.00.) [Another title page reads:]

Documents relatifs à la Monnaie, au Change, et aux Finances du Canada sous le Régime Français. Choisis et édités avec commentaires et introduction par ADAM SHORTT. Two volumes. [Bureau des Publications Historiques, Archives du Canada.] (Ottawa: Public Archives. 1925. Pp. xci, 1127. \$3.00.)

IN these two volumes Canada, through Dr. Adam Shortt and the Bureau of Publications of the Historical Archives, has set an example to scholars and to other countries which they may well emulate and will find it difficult to equal. They have furnished an example of that "spade-work" by which alone can adequate history be produced. In this case the documents cover the experience of Canada with money, exchange, and finance from the beginning to the end of the French régime; indeed, they convey important material for the monetary history of France herself. What France did in the New World was only a part of her policy at home in regard to coins, paper money, and banking.

Although the documents begin with 1654, Dr. Shortt sketches the economic history before that date in the first part of his introduction, which in 57 pages presents an outline of the period down to 1764. The Indians, the fur trade, the sporadic colonial settlements, the Company of One Hundred Associates, Champlain, the founding of Quebec and Montreal, the lack of coinage, and the development of bills of exchange to avoid the risks of loss on the seas, are described before the ordinances of the council began in 1654. At that time in France, when there were no fixed ratios between gold and silver, and foolish attempts were made to keep both metals in circulation under the idea that money was scarce and trade needed both metals as well as foreign coins, the coinage was completely disorganized. Meanwhile the value of silver was falling, and adding to a monetary confusion not understood by the authorities. They tried to solve the difficulties by endless and futile attempts to adjust the ratios between the gold and silver coins. They did not know that the damage was being done by Gresham's Law. The end of these futile edicts came nominally, but not actually, on October 7, 1755, an edict permitting metallic exports; but mercantilism and the fear of exports of coin still prevailed. These conditions in France explain the many ordinances put forth in Canada trying to change the ratings of the money since 1654. But, in addition, the scarcity of coins in Canada led to an increase of their ratings far above those in France.

The natural scarcity of a medium of exchange (apart from the absence of a stable standard of prices) in a new country led to the use of beaver skins, moose skins, wheat, and the overrated copper coins, the sol and liard. Some money came in with the troops, but, as Canada owed France, coin tended to leave the country. The conditions, therefore, were ripe for the introduction of some currency that was unfit for exportation. Louis XIV. was engaged in costly wars and no great sums could be spared for Canada. Hence the birth of the card money, the characteristic monetary evolution of Canada. It was, however, only a form of fiat money so

often resorted to by bankrupt governments in all ages in all parts of the world. When King Perdiccas of Macedon, at war with the Chalcidians, having no silver money, made a supply of cheap coins with a copper core wherewith to pay his troops, he was setting an example to the Intendant Demeulles, of Canada, who, in 1685, unable to buy food for his troops, resorted to the issue of card money as a temporary means for paying his small army. He was not a financial expert; he was not providing a medium of exchange. There was no paper, no printing materials, but playing cards were abundant and thus became a "sport" in the many kinds of forced issues. They occasioned surprise and were condemned in France; but in 1690, when supplies again fell off, they were again issued. It is the first step that costs. In 1691 they were put out as a medium of exchange. Temporary treasury notes were then first issued to take up the paper money; but card money continued. Being irredeemable, the cards depreciated, and prices, of course, rose. Champigny (1700) was reprimanded, and replied that he would gladly withdraw the card money, would the king supply a substitute. Then romantic Acadia issued card money. Raudot defended it in 1706: the cards being worthless, and their credit depending on the good-will of the king, they kept the people attached to the crown! By 1712 the finances were in wild confusion (*cf.* vol. I., p. 223). At the close of the war, ended by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the card money amounted to 1,600,000 livres. The national credit had virtually disappeared, and promised redemption of the cards by the home government remained unfulfilled. One attempt to redeem the cards at one-half their face value in 1715 failed. (For various proposals see vol. I., pp. 235-263.) Finally, on July 5, 1717, through the General Council of Marine, a declaration of the king brought about a redemption of the cards at one-half their value in three annual installments, 1718, 1719, and 1720. All card money not presented after the last date was declared worthless. Thus ended the first period of a picturesque experiment in paper money. Poisoned by the virus of inconvertible money, however, Canada had repeated outbreaks of card money from time to time even unto the end of the French régime. Orders drawn on the colonial treasury at Quebec, together with bills of exchange and card money made three different kinds of media of exchange. Strange to relate, card money even replaced coined money. Later the notes were regularly printed on paper (vol. II., p. 768).

To one interested in money and banking the Canadian material relating to John Law (1671-1729) is important. His Banque Générale, founded on the principle that prosperity varied with the abundance of money, controlled the Company of the West, to which was given in 1717 the monopoly of the fur trade in Canada. On December 4, 1718, Law's bank was converted into the Banque Royale, administered in the name of the king. For a time the Canadian bills of exchange drawn on the treasurer-general of marine, if accepted by Law's bank, became current in France to the great relief of Canadian commerce. In 1719 Law was at the height of his power. Realizing began at the end of that year, and the end came

when Law was obliged to leave France in December, 1720. His schemes might have temporarily aided Canada, but one can hardly say that "The basic features with reference to both the bank and the company were quite sound and worked admirably" (vol. I., p. lxiii). The documents covering Law's relations with Canada (see index) are worth careful attention. Indeed they, with the thorough notes added, become necessary literature for the history of Law in addition to the work of A. McFarland Davis and Levasseur.

Especially noteworthy are the numerous biographical notes on every man of importance during this period, such as Bigot, Bégon, Champigny, Aigremont, Frontenac, Gaudion, Hocquart, Law, Raudot, Vaudreuil, and many others. The index is worthy of all praise. There is a reproduction of a bill of exchange, 1758, as frontispiece, six of card money and printed notes, and Murray's proclamation, 1766.

The documents, the introduction, and the notes, all are presented in both French and English, on opposite pages.

J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN.

MINOR NOTICES

Religionsgeschichte Europas. Von Carl Clemen. Erster Band, *Bis zum Untergang der Nichtchristlichen Religionen.* (Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1926, pp. viii, 383, paper, 17 RM., cloth, 19 RM.) At last we have in comparatively small compass a bird's-eye view of the religions of Europe in their historical development from earliest times down to the supremacy of Christianity and the disappearance of the earlier faiths. The book is divided into three parts, (1) The Pre-historical Period, (2) The Forerunners of the Indo-Germanic Peoples, and (3) The Indo-Germanic Peoples. The prehistorical period is broken up into its several sub-periods, and from the archaeological remains coming from these an attempt is made to determine what may have been the nature of the religion in each of the several periods. Here the author is working in what is practically a virgin field, and speculative as his conclusions must be, they are in no way bizarre, but founded on a very thorough study of the material at our disposal. Amongst the forerunners of the Indo-European peoples, we have a discussion of the religion, not only of the Aegeans and Etruscans, but of the less-known Ligurians, Iberians, and Finno-Ugrians, which is another field that has been little worked. Here, however, the author has been able to add little to our knowledge. The major part of the book is naturally devoted to the religion of the Indo-European peoples, both in its earliest form with the ancestors of these peoples, and in its later expression with the Greeks, Romans, Scythians, Thracians, Celts, Germans, and Slavs. At the head of each division of the book is a fairly complete bibliography, not only of German writings, but of French, English, and Italian as well. The author has done a prodigious amount of reading in the preparation of his work and shows an acquaintance with English and American writings that is unusual

with German scholars. Apart from the bibliographies there is frequent reference to the literature on the subject in numerous foot-notes, and over a hundred illustrations add very much to the value of the work.

By way of criticism there is little that can be said. The subject-index is too slight to be of much use, and this is to be regretted. In a work of this kind a complete index with cross-references would have greatly enhanced its value. In the bibliographies one wonders at times why certain books are included and others omitted. Most of those that one would expect in the bibliographies and does not find there are referred to in the foot-notes, but a number find no mention in either place. For example, in the discussion of the Greek religion there is no reference to the writings of Gilbert Murray and Jane Harrison. In a work covering such an immense field one can expect little more than an outline, but a better introduction to the subject could not be found. The whole field is placed before the reader, much new ground is broken, parallels with other religions are noted, and the subject in all its aspects is handled in most scholarly fashion. A second volume covering the religions at present existing in Europe (exclusive of Christianity) is promised for the near future.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

Emporos, Data on Trade and Trader in Greek Literature from Homer to Aristotle. By Heiman Knorrunga. (Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1926, pp. 144, 2.90 gulden.) This dissertation on ancient trade and traders is in the main a compilation of citations from Greek poets, philosophers, and historians. Its fifteen chapters, ranging from Homer to Aristotle, contain a mass of material not easy either to systematize or to check. There is a running commentary, summaries of recent books and articles, and discussion of the various problems involved. To bind the whole together we have an index and frequent cross-references.

Among other things, the author attempts to "ascertain the nature and extent of trade as well as the circumstances under which it was carried on". As a collection of material from specific authors the work is valuable, but the very limitations of the material ought to have kept the author from generalizations about points such as Athenian relations with the Pontic region. His attempt to formulate a middle position between Beloch's and Bücher's conflicting views on the nature of Greek trade, though sane, lacks conviction because of incompleteness of the evidence gathered by him. The historical fragments, I think, are not cited once; and epigraphical and archaeological material, even if not included in the scope of the work, might well have been used illustratively.

Mr. Knorrunga is at his best when he discusses the attitude of his selected group of writers toward trade, and the meanings of words like *ἐμπορος* and *κάπηλος* in their works. He concludes (pp. 114 ff.) that the word *ἐμπορος* means either traveller, as in Homer, or "trader to foreign parts", and on page 67 he protests against the translation "wholesale dealer", which he thinks is the one ordinarily given.

I have noted a number of typographical errors, both in the Greek and in citations, three of which are on page 25; but on the whole the book is reasonably free from mistakes of this sort. On the other hand, the laudable attempt of the Dutch author to make his Utrecht dissertation available for study by foreign scholars has resulted in many and varied peculiarities in the English.

This collection and interpretation of material on the foreign trade of the merchant and the local trade of the *κάπηλος* is welcome. Mr. Knorringa neither adopts nor formulates extravagant theories. He sees the necessity of close study of the sources, and he is ready to form his own conclusions.

ALLEN BROWN WEST.

Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University. Edited with translations and notes by William Linn Westermann, Professor of Ancient History, Columbia University, and Caspar J. Kraemer, jr., Assistant Professor of Classics, New York University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. xx, 287, \$10.00.) Fifty-six papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods are included in this volume. They consist of business documents (including three new Zenon documents), census documents, and letters. Three of them have previously been published: no. 1, a record of lamp oil, by Westermann in *Classical Philology*, XIX. (1924) 229-260; no. 9, a contract with castanet dancers, by Westermann in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, X. (1924) 134-144; and no. 20 a, a declaration of land for the census of 302 A. D., by Goodspeed in *Mélanges Nicole* (1905), pages 187-191, and again in Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I. ii., no. 229. In all three cases the present edition should supersede the previous ones, by reason of improvements which it offers in text, translation, or interpretation. The papyri included in the volume throw light upon the organization and methods of the Egyptian bureaucracy, the taxation system, census-taking, money-lending and business organization, the system of land-ownership and leases, transportation charges on the Nile, agricultural methods and agricultural products (one document settles the question as to the existence of sheep-raising in Egypt), wages, prices, etc. There are some interesting data on page 112 regarding the spread of literacy in Egypt in 302 A. D. A fact of interest to New Testament lexicographers is the occurrence of the noun *ἀμφιβολεύς*, in the sense of "fisherman", in no. 46. The editing is on the whole excellent, barring a few obvious misprints and imperfect citations of references. There are thirteen indexes of the type usually found in papyrological publications, but the historical student would welcome just one more, an index to the points discussed in the very full and excellent introductions and notes with which each document is provided. Almost any investigator in the field of ancient social or economic history will find something to interest him in these introductions.

D. McF.

The Historia Augusta, its Date and Purpose. By Norman Baynes. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. 149, 7 s. 6 d.) According to Mr. Baynes, the *Historia Augusta* is not, as the dedications of some of the lives to Diocletian or to Constantine seem to indicate, an early fourth-century composition, but is in fact disguised propaganda intended to further the policies of Julian the Apostate (361-363 A. D.). Thus the "good" emperors are especially praised for the virtues and measures most characteristic of Julian, or of his administration; and prominence is given to the real or fictitious ancestors of individuals conspicuous in his age. Moreover many perplexing passages in the *Historia Augusta* can be explained as references to conditions in this period.

Mr. Bayne's arguments are learned and ingenious, but they hardly possess sufficient probative force to win acceptance for a theory that seems on *a priori* grounds improbable. A fundamental objection to his thesis is that he assumes that Dessau, in the famous article (*Hermes*, vol. XXIV.) in which he asserts the *Historia Augusta* to be a Theodosian "forgery", succeeded in proving it to be later in date than the early fourth century. But even if we suppose with Mommsen that the *Historia Augusta* has suffered a later re-editing and retouching, a strong case can be made for the view that it is in the main what chronologically it appears to be (*cf. Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and the other publications of Hermann Peter). So many of Dessau's supposed anachronisms have been satisfactorily explained by Mommsen, Klebs, Lécivain, and others, that the suspicion arises that the rest could be as easily disposed of, were our source-material and our knowledge more complete. Until the entire *Historia Augusta* has been thoroughly tested by the archaeological evidence, it will be wiser perhaps to maintain a conservative attitude toward its "higher criticism".

WILLIAM D. GRAY.

Essai sur l'Histoire Antique de l'Abyssinie. Par A. Kammerer, Ministre Plénipotentiaire. (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1926, pp. 198, 60 fr.) The kingdom of Abyssinia, little known to Europeans a century ago, has, with gratifying results, been made an object of study and research among an ever increasing number of scholars. In consequence of this broadening interest the need is now felt for some books, free from the technical apparatus of scientific investigation, which will offer a somewhat popular outline of the present condition of knowledge in this particular field. Such is the aim of the *Essai sur l'Histoire Antique de l'Abyssinie*. Mr. Kammerer states quite frankly that he writes, not for specialists, but for the educated layman who desires to satisfy his intellectual curiosity about Abyssinia without being obliged to delve into intricate reports published in various languages, often inaccessible, and generally very expensive. His purpose was to compose for the reading public a brief, though complete, manual of ancient Abyssinian history from the first century B. C. to the beginning of the Mohammedan Empire, and he has performed his task in a very creditable manner. He

groups together the principal data from which conclusions may be drawn; he shows that a few names and dates have been definitely established, that solid hypotheses have been built about others, and that, in some cases, a meagre hint from a coin, an inscription, or other source, suggests a valuable guess. He has very conscientiously sifted all the available material and successfully condensed it within a few short and interesting chapters. The bibliography is exhaustive and up to date, including books and articles as recent as the spring of 1925; yet no mention is made of M. Chainé's *La Chronologie des Temps Chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie* (Paris, Geuthner, 1925), which, in part, covers the same field.

In five annexes Mr. Kammerer quotes at length and discusses classical texts referring to Abyssinia and Arabia; he describes the 29 Aksumite coins in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and he outlines the important archaeological discoveries made in the regions south of Aksum by the Capuchin missionary Father Azäis, 1923-1925. The reference value of the book is enhanced by a very complete alphabetical list of proper names, an analytical table of contents, four excellent maps, and 45 beautiful reproductions of photographs. We regret, however, to meet with an occasional historical conclusion hastily inferred from insufficient evidence; here and there, too, a slight confusion or crowding prevails in the grouping of data. Again, the exact place of the illustrations in the text is nowhere indicated. But these are minor defects; altogether, the author has contributed a valuable reference-book which should appeal to every student of Ethiopic lore. The specialist, too, will be delighted to have at hand a very readable and trustworthy compendium of the early history of Abyssinia, the land of the Negus who claims descent from King Solomon and styles himself the Lion of the Tribe of Judah.

The Origin of the Right of Fishery in Territorial Waters. By Percy Thomas Fenn, jr., Assistant Professor of Political Science in Washington University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1926, pp. xiv, 245, \$4.00.) The chief merit of this doctoral dissertation is to suggest that current theories as to rights of sea-fishery were fully stated in the controversies of the seventeenth century and to indicate the literary sources of the theories enunciated in those controversies. The study is, however, planned on the premise that theories of law and politics can be profitably studied as such and without reference to the related political issues or the legal procedure. To this premise the reviewer can not accede; in the present instance it seems to have vitiated the perspective and value of the author's work.

Thus, confining reference to the first two chapters, dealing principally with the Roman theories, the confident assertions of the author on pages 3 and 11, supported by unprobative evidence, that the doctrine that the sea was *communis* was a traditional Mediterranean view, are accompanied on page 7 by the assertion that in the legislation of the Greeks there was no doctrine on the point! On page 9, the Edictum Perpetuum is de-

scribed as containing edicts relating to maritime commerce and navigation of the "usual" sort, but no effort is made to define or justify the cryptic epithet. On page 7, it is stated that a claim to jurisdiction could not involve a claim to ownership; on page 11, the jurisdiction of the Roman state over its harbors and rivers is said to be based upon ownership. On page 15, it is asserted that, according to Gaius, all things within the territory of the state are, in a loose sense, *res publicae*—a probably unsound view despite the random generalization of Poste. The definitions given to the term *res nullius* on pages 16 and 20 are quite inconsistent. The statement on page 26, that the use of the term "public" in connection with harbors and rivers indicates its synonymity with the term "common", is unwarranted. On page 25, the reference in note 4 to Buckland's text-book does not apply to the cases for which it is cited in the text.

The proof-reading seems to be of a piece with the substance; the first note on page 3 gives an incorrect reference; on page 6 Paulus is referred to instead of Plautus; on page 22 a portion of the text is run as a quotation; on page 24 Moyle is cited instead of Sandars. The author is obviously unfamiliar with the more recent and careful studies on his topic by authors such as Czyhlarz and Pernice.

The author's treatment of the medieval and early modern literature upon his subject illustrates further the reviewer's point that legal theories can only be adequately studied in their context. It is only just to add that this, the more extended and important portion of the work, will be found distinctly useful despite its apparent limitations.

HESSEL E. YNTEMA.

A Bibliography of Early English Law Books. Compiled by Joseph Henry Beale, Royall Professor of Law in Harvard University. [The Ames Foundation.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1926, pp. viii, 304, \$7.50.) My experience of the bibliographical chaos existing some dozen years ago, when I began to compile a bibliography of one type of sixteenth-century law tract, makes me keenly appreciative of the novelty and importance of Professor Beale's achievement for the period 1480 to 1600. Except in a few admirable special bibliographies like Soule's Year-Book article, and in the old law booksellers' catalogues, fairly bristling with errors, legal titles had to be sought in bibliographies of general literature and history, inevitably weakest on the legal side. The difficulty was not overcome by Professor Holdsworth's valuable bibliographies; nor by the *Bibliography of English Law to 1650*, recently published by the law booksellers, Sweet and Maxwell. In many ways a useful volume, it is avowedly based largely on the old catalogues and therefore perpetuates ancient errors.¹

That the difficulty no longer remains is evident as one examines Professor Beale's threefold arrangement. First, under Statutes (SI—

¹ The new *Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640*, was not available to me in time for a thorough examination.

S307), Decisions (R1-R491), and Treatises (T1-T501), comes the bibliographical description of each edition. Then the titles, in chronological order, are rearranged under printers, and are followed by fifty woodcuts, not found in McKerrow. Lastly, the same information, together with the distribution of copies, is condensed in brief tables.

Although some libraries are necessarily omitted, we now have approximately the total legal output of each printer, and a conjectural dating of undated works, a brilliant feat for Tottell's Year-Books. Pynson's priority in nearly every legal publication becomes apparent, also his Year-Book activities—91 editions *vs.* seven assigned him in the *Handlists*. Judged by frequency of editions, Littleton's *Tenures* leads in popularity among treatises, with manuals for justices of the peace a close second; as a collection, John Rastell's six tracts met more needs than did his son's twelve. Statutes were clearly in great demand; do not Statutes on Liveries, etc. (pp. 145, 149), belong with them rather than with treatises?

As the preface indicates, copies outside the Harvard Law Library are sometimes omitted; *e.g.* the Museum copies of Pynson's *Diversity of Courts* and Rastell's *Table to Fitzherbert*. A few mistakes in detail are cited as examples. Berthelet's 1530 (?) *Boke* is not in University Library, Cambridge; the numbering for "Magna Carta", page 4, does not correspond with page 261. Pynson's editions of *Surveying* are neglected; R 47 is given three different dates, nor is it *Liber Assisarum*, but an abridgment. Natura is a slip for Returna (T 152), Sandhurst for Stonyhurst (p. 260). But a great merit of this bibliography is that the mistakes are peculiarly easy to correct. The lasting impression left is of the innumerable new and important conclusions now possible on the history of law and law printers.

BERTHA HAVEN PUTNAM.

Abhandlungen und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Schweiz. Von Alfred Stern. (Aarau, Sauerländer, 1925, pp. 254, 9 M.) This is a collection of studies in Swiss history beginning with a problem of the fifteenth century by an eminent authority on the history of the nineteenth. All but one of the articles have appeared in print and therefore present no recent contributions to their subjects, but, as they were published in widely scattered periodicals over a period of forty years, it is a convenience to find them here revised and collected in one volume.

Five of these essays relate to what may be broadly called the Reformation period and the rest are concerned with the first half of the nineteenth century. The author first takes up the tradition of the derivation of the Swiss from the Swedes, as given in the metrical chronicle of the Austrian Hanitz von Bechwinden, whose account of the supposed migration makes it a disreputable flight instead of an honor. In a second paper, now published for the first time, he points out the close connection between political ideas in Switzerland and South Germany at the close of the fifteenth and in the first third of the sixteenth centuries.

The relations between Zurich and the celebrated General Schertlin von Burtenbach during the Schmalkaldic War are described from the original papers in Zurich. Light on the cultural conditions in Switzerland during the Thirty Years' War is derived from a study of the *Comoedia von Zweytracht und Eynigkeit*, played by school-boys in 1631. From diplomatic sources a comprehensive account is given of Cromwell's negotiations with the Evangelical Cantons respecting a league for the protection of Protestants, and the causes of failure.

The contributions to modern history include as titles: The Club of Swiss Patriots in Paris, 1790-1791; the Zurich Association for the Assistance of the Greeks, 1821-1828; General Dufour and the Savoy Uprising, showing a curious error on the part of some contemporaries, as the celebrated commander had nothing to do with the affair. Another paper gives authentic information concerning General Dufour from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris; finally there is the correspondence of Frederick William IV. and Napoleon III. concerning Neuchatel, 1856-1857, having to do with the suppressed royalist uprising.

J. M. V.

The Law of Social Revolution. By the Labor Research Study Group, Scott Nearing, leader. (New York: Social Science Publishers. 1926. Pp. x, 262. \$.60.) Twenty students formed in 1923 a Research Study Group and for three years studied the history and theory of social revolution. It has seemed to them that their results and conclusions should be published. In a sense this is true. The book is a product of honest and earnest study, and if the study was undertaken by persons insufficiently prepared for historical work and unable to see any portion of it with any other eyes than those of the communist, on the other hand it is profitable to us bourgeois to see how history looks to the communist's eye, and if no well-trained historian not hostile to the present social order sees fit to write a first-rate book on the natural history of social revolutions, we can not well complain of a small and unpretending book that treats that whole history from the point of view of those who hold that social revolution is highly beneficial and desirable and a necessary preliminary to that millennium in which, according to our authors, "all members of society will be highly cultured and educated; science and art will flourish". The histories of peasant revolutionary movements, the American, French, Russian, Mexican, and Chinese revolutions are treated in this book with considerable care and intelligence, but everywhere with a constant bias.

Les Origines du Capitalisme Moderne. Par Henri Sée. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1926, pp. 210, 7 fr.) The author presents this little book as an essay in synthesis, providing some historical material to the sociologist and economist, but aiming to pursue a course between that indicated by their abstract methods and that followed by the regular his-

torian. The product is a comparative study of the appearance and development of capitalism in different times and places. The first chapter describes early manifestations, ancient and medieval; the bulk of the book, about a hundred pages, is given to the period 1500-1800; the smaller part remaining, some seventy pages, covers the changes since 1800.

The book is an admirable example of effective construction and exposition. Every chapter gives evidence at the same time of the breadth of the author's knowledge and of his restraint in the selection of material. Each chapter closes with a brief but well-chosen bibliography.

In only one very important matter does the author seem to the reviewer to have gone astray. He ascribes (p. 98) the origin of the industrial revolution in England to the development of English foreign and colonial trade. The retarded development of capitalism in France he ascribes to the fact that foreign trade, particularly maritime and colonial trade, were much less flourishing. Taking the author's own figures for English commerce (there is an inconsistency in them which is unimportant for the present purpose) and comparing them with the figures for French commerce (p. 104), it appears that French commerce grew more rapidly than English commerce in the eighteenth century and was more valuable than English commerce in the period just before the French Revolution. This impression is confirmed by a more careful study of the available statistical material, to which has recently been added (*Bulletin de Statistique et de Législation Comparée*, June, 1924) a useful analysis of the French figures with allowance for the changing value of the *livre*. Reasons for the later appearance in France than in England of the modern forms of capitalism lay deeper in the political and social organization of the two countries than statistics of foreign trade can show. Further, any explanation of the difference in the rate of development after 1789 is unsatisfactory which, like the author's, dismisses in a bare line of the text the effect on France of the Revolution and the wars that followed.

CLIVE DAY.

The State of the Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I. as illustrated by Documents relating to the Diocese of Lincoln. Edited by C. W. Foster, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Lincoln and Vicar of Timberland. [Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, vol. 23.] (Horncastle, W. K. Morton and Sons, 1926, pp. cxlviii, 562, £1 12 s. 6 d.) The contents of the English episcopal archives are being gradually sorted, arranged, and made available to students and Lincoln has recently been added to the still brief list. The Lincoln Record Society, founded in 1910, has published many portions of the Lincoln records in an excellent series of which this volume is the twenty-third. The documents here included are the detailed records regarding the condition of the Lincoln clergy between 1571 and 1607, leaving the records from 1608 to 1625 for a second volume. The *Liber Cleri* for twelve separate dates has been printed in full, with all the names, dates, and details which the records

contain. There are also the Clerical Subsidy Rolls, the *Valuatio Beneficiorum* of 1603-1604, and the records of the election of proctors to Convocation in full. These are not compilations or summaries but the facts *in extenso* and are the final evidence we ever can have upon the condition of the clergy in the diocese of Lincoln in the later Reformation. While some facts were omitted by the bishop which we should like to know, and the records for some years are missing and in other cases incomplete, the material is so extended, so complete in nearly all details, that it can fairly be said to settle once and for all the various controversies about the condition of the clergy. The diocese of Lincoln was so large and comprehended so many districts of importance (especially to the history of Puritanism) that the conclusions to be drawn from these records raise definite presumptions about the condition of the Church in England itself, which are of the utmost value pending a similar investigation of the records of all dioceses. Canon Foster has compiled from these long lists the most important information regarding the clergy and the Puritans. He concludes that with some modifications of importance the reviewer's statements in the *Reconstruction of the English Church* about the condition of the clergy and the state of the Church will stand and that the reviewer's statements about the Puritan movement and the number deprived in 1604-1605 are literally correct. The reviewer feels that Canon Foster has in several matters misunderstood him and hopes that further study will convince him, as it has the reviewer, that no difference in opinion of any consequence exists. Certainly Canon Foster was in error in concluding that the reviewer believed the records he has printed too inaccurate to be worthy of serious consideration, for he failed to note the paragraph following the one he quoted (*Reconstruction*, II. 384) which states without qualification that the bishops' "records are the best evidence we possess". The evidence which the reviewer felt to be of little or no value is the voluminous correspondence and the compilations made by contemporaries, now in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, or private libraries. In this matter he feels that Canon Foster has finally demonstrated his contention. Whitgift gave the number of parishes in the diocese of Lincoln as 1255, the *Liber* of 1603 gives 1271, while Chaderton's own return gave 1262 with 49 chapels. Neither bishop nor archbishop were literally correct. Whitgift gave impropriations in Lincoln as 577, the *Liber* gives 788. Whitgift stated that there were 920 preachers, the *Liber* gives 712. The reviewer still feels that figures more exact than Canon Foster's will never be obtained.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes. Edited by J. R. Tanner, Litt.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. [Publications of the Naval Records Society, vol. LX.] (London, William Clowes and Sons, 1926, pp. xx, 513, 25 s. 6 d.) Among the many contributions which Mr. Tanner has made to our knowledge of Samuel Pepys this new volume of the

secretary's *Naval Minutes* must take high rank. It is not precisely what its title would suggest, and perhaps for that reason it ought to be more interesting to historians; for it is, in effect, the mass of notes, memoranda, suggestions, ideas, and plans of further investigation, which Pepys from time to time jotted down as they occurred or were suggested to him in connection with a project which he long entertained for writing a history of the navy. It is, therefore, as Mr. Tanner observes, "entirely personal to Pepys". But it is much more. It contains an infinite amount of suggestive note and comment as well as of historical information of unusual interest. On every page the historical scholar finds problems, ideas, bits of uncommon evidence of all sorts relating to the navy, which not merely tempts him on and on but has that peculiar quality, at once inspiring and tantalizing, of pointing out things he would like to investigate for himself. Seldom in any such space will one find so many suggestions for historical work of such fascinating quality. It contributes scarcely less to our better knowledge of Pepys himself, and certainly to our respect for his intellectual qualities. It can be commended, thus, not only to the lovers of the diarist, to scholars "looking about for something to investigate", and to historians generally, especially to those interested in naval affairs, but to a much wider circle of readers, especially, like Mr. Tanner's other work, to those who know Pepys only as a diarist. For it may be said of Mr. Tanner's long, loving, and extraordinarily illuminating study of the great Secretary of the Navy as it was said of Professor Gardiner's study of the Stuart period, "he found it fable and he leaves it history". It will be long, no doubt, before the results of his researches penetrate the minds of those who know Pepys only from the *Diary*, but it may finally have some influence even there. And certainly in whatever state of blessedness the spirit of the secretary now disports itself, it must be a profound source of gratification to that great administrator. Even had he never written his *Diary*, thanks to the indefatigable labors and the remarkable scholarly qualities of Mr. Tanner, Samuel Pepys would now be a famous man, who, as he said, worked "for the good of futurity, though little deserving it of me".

W. C. ABBOTT.

The Young Voltaire. By Cleveland B. Chase. (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. ix, 253, 12 s. 6 d.) As a young man printing his first book Mr. Chase has given us a readable account, accurate enough, of the early life of Voltaire. It is eminently a book for the general reader who wishes to know something about the great humanitarian and to catch something of the spirit of the eighteenth century. The scholar who knows his eighteenth century will however find little that is new, while some of Mr. Chase's conclusions will seem to him a bit naïve. For example, the story of Voltaire's indecency at the table of his friend Pope might perhaps seem to him less "incredible" if he knew that Continental people were, in the eighteenth cen-

tury as now, more accustomed than Englishmen to speaking freely, at dinner tables as well as elsewhere, of *les intestines* and such like matters.

These are minor points however, and the chief purpose of Mr. Chase in writing the book was to emphasize the influence of Voltaire's residence in England on his later career. Briefly Mr. Chase finds that until the age of thirty Voltaire was no more than a fashionable wit, a successful poet, an accepted and lionized habitué of the salons. Such gibes at kings and priests as may be found in his plays were but clever epigrams necessary to win the applause of the conventional play-house audience. Mr. Chase thinks that Voltaire might easily have been, throughout his life, no more than the wittiest of the literary climbers, the most successful of the purveyors of brave radicalisms conventionally current among the sophisticated. What was it that changed the witty man about town into the impassioned reformer of the Old Régime? Two things especially, according to Mr. Chase: first the beating which Voltaire received at the hands of Rohan's lackeys; and second the influence upon his mind of the two years' residence in England. Laughed out of France by the high society which had enjoyed the beating as much as the wit which had brought it on, Voltaire went to England, which was like stepping from "the stuffy hot-house of French artificiality into the clear vitality of English honesty". Forced to "rebuild from the bottom his entire life", he found in England the material for the new structure; so that leaving France "a poet, he returned a reformer".

There is much truth in this, but one feels that Mr. Chase has made more of the "influence" of these events than they deserve. I do not of course know what Voltaire might have done if he had not been beaten by Rohan's lackeys, or, having been beaten, had not gone to England. I think however that being beaten by Rohan's lackeys was due only in part to the fact that Rohans were Rohans and that lackeys were lackeys. It was due in part to the extraordinarily important fact that Voltaire was Voltaire. Voltaire really had it in him to be beaten by lackeys. The physical beating was no doubt an accident; but he was bound to be spiritually lacerated by the insolence of all the Rohans and all the lackeys of France; and against all this insolence he was bound sooner or later to direct the deadly poison of his irony and the sustained heat of his passionate love of justice. Fortunately the Rohans served their country well by calling Voltaire's attention to themselves at an early date. The same qualification I think should be made in respect to the influence of England on Voltaire. He was influenced by England—profoundly influenced. But he would have been influenced by England even if he had never been beaten by lackeys, even if he had never gone to England. Diderot and Montesquieu were profoundly influenced by England. The entire school of Philosophers was profoundly influenced by England. It is inconceivable that Voltaire could have escaped that influence.

I repeat that Mr. Chase has given us an interesting and readable book about Voltaire. I commend it to the general reader. My point is only that Mr. Chase seems to say that if Voltaire had not been beaten by

Rohan's lackeys he wouldn't have been Voltaire; whereas I say that if Voltaire hadn't been Voltaire he wouldn't have been beaten by Rohan's lackeys—or it wouldn't have mattered if he had been.

CARL BECKER.

L'Introduction du Machinisme dans l'Industrie Française. Par Charles Ballot. [Comité des Travaux Historiques, Notices, Inventaires, Documents, IX.] (Paris, F. Rieder et Cie, 1923, pp. xvii, 575.) The work of the author on this study of technical development in industry was interrupted by the war, and his death at Verdun left a heavy responsibility upon his fellow student Claude Gével, who was finally persuaded to prepare the manuscript for the press. While the main outlines were complete and many chapters finished, some were only sketched and research had not been carried as far as the interest and importance of the subjects would naturally require. M. Gével has put the manuscript in finished form without attempting to make it wholly symmetrical in proportions. The present work is thus somewhat less complete than it would have been had its talented author been spared.

Attention is concentrated primarily upon the period 1780–1815, for the position is advanced that the general introduction of machinery was well under way at the outbreak of the Revolution. The narrative is, however, carried well back into the eighteenth century to trace the beginnings of the more important machines. The entire history of the introduction of machinery in the silk industry is given in considerable detail with much new material. Vaucanson's work is covered and also the history of the Jacquard loom from the earliest suggestion of Bouchon in 1725. Developments in the other textile trades and in metallurgy are traced from their beginnings. There are careful descriptions of the geography of each industry during the Revolution and the Empire, based upon the materials in the Archives Nationales which have hitherto been inadequately utilized.

Although many technical developments were initiated or first perfected in England, the present study makes it clear that the French movement is much more than a mere reflection of English tendencies. Both countries possessed a background of technical knowledge which rested upon common scientific achievements. In the use of this knowledge the English not only showed themselves more resourceful as promoters, but also more practical as inventors. They had a happy faculty of selecting limited objectives for their earlier work. Vaucanson and Falcon, for instance, were attempting to develop an automatic loom for damask patterns before a successful loom had been produced for the simplest goods. Cugnot was working on a steam carriage before the stationary engine was brought into a significantly workable condition. But the main mass of French workmen were apathetic, and there was more overt hostility to innovation than in England. Active development was in the hands of a few inventors and large industrialists, assisted somewhat fitfully by the government.

The author brought to his subject a technical competence and interest that is seldom equalled in historical writing outside the special literatures of the various industries. This is perhaps the most notable feature of the book, but his interests lead to larger conclusions. Although it is not formally stated as a thesis, the book really shows that we must needs think of the Industrial Revolution as a general movement involving the continent of Europe and the North American settlements as well as England. Each region made positive and original contributions. This posthumous study will thus take a position of great importance in the literature of modern industry.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

Mirabeau und seine Monarchie Prussienne. Von Hanns Reissner, Ph.D. (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter, 1926, pp. viii, 109, 4 M.) Dr. Reissner's monograph is a successful attempt to analyze the parts played by Mirabeau and by Mauvillon in the writing of the *Monarchie Prussienne*; to ascertain the sources of information for the work, their value, and how they were used; to estimate the value of the work as a scientific work and as a polemical treatise; to learn how it was received in Germany and in France, and, finally, to discover what its importance is for the biography of Mirabeau and for political science. His conclusion is that Mirabeau's economic ideas, as expressed in the work, range him among the free-traders rather than among the physiocrats, while Mauvillon was a thorough-going physiocrat and the *Monarchie Prussienne* should be looked upon as a part of the propaganda that Mauvillon was carrying on in Germany for physiocratic ideas. As to the place of the work in the history of political science, Reissner places it between the *Ami des Hommes* and Young's *Travels in France*, distinguished from the first by the employment of statistical methods, and from the last by the unscientific and dogmatic narrowness of the *Monarchie Prussienne*. The monograph is a scholarly piece of work and forms a valuable addition to the Mirabeau literature.

F. M. F.

John Horne Tooke. By Minnie Clare Yarborough, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of English, Wheaton College. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. xix, 252, \$2.50.) One might write profitably of John Horne, later Horne Tooke, as a philologist, as a political agitator, or as an eccentric individual. Although this biography was written under the direction of a department of English, only one of its eight chapters is devoted to Tooke as the author of the *Diversions of Purley*; the rest of the book is a straightforward narrative of the essential facts of his life, pieced together with considerable skill and ability from information gathered by searching in the authorities familiar to students of the history of literature and in the works of Tooke. Unfortunately, the author seems not to have used many of the more important monographs dealing with the history of the time, a serious omission in view of the

fact that she devotes so much of her space to Tooke as a political agitator. The use of some of these authorities might have enabled her to write with a nicer feeling for the atmosphere in which her subject lived and might have saved her from some errors of fact—*e.g.*, that there was a general election in 1788 (p. 197). Moreover, to write the life of a man who was a political agitator in a time when pamphlets were published by the hundred and newspapers and other periodicals by the score without using any of the latter and with little or no use of pamphlets except those written by Tooke himself would seem to be scarcely a good policy. No doubt the book would have been improved had the author been able to visit Tooke's native country and, in particular, had she been able to consult the numerous pieces concerning his life and work preserved in the British Museum, where, among many other items not used, are some of the books from Tooke's personal library with important manuscript-notes in his hand.

These strictures should not obscure the fact that Dr. Yarborough has written a more useful biography of Tooke than existed before, though it is to be regretted that she did not seek bibliographical suggestions from the faculty of history as well as that of literature in the university under whose auspices she wrote.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

Les Sociétés de Pensée et la Révolution en Bretagne, 1788-1789. Par Augustin Cochin. Two volumes. (Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. xii, 470; 390, 35 fr.) Augustin Cochin met an untimely death upon a battlefield of the Great War. The results of his prodigious research, however, held back during his life in anticipation of a magnum opus upon the Terror, have been appearing posthumously since 1920, for the most part under the editorship of M. A. Ackermann. Cochin's work marks a new departure in the study of the Revolution. Its originality derives from the fact that the historian has been willing to make full use of the allied sciences, sociology and psychology, without, however, lessening the rigor of a strictly historical method and research. This approach led Cochin to reject at once the "Patriotic" and "Complot" interpretations of the revolutionary movement, and to study it as a democratic phenomenon, functioning in obedience to sociological law. Indebted to Bryce and Ostrogorski on the one hand and to Durkheim on the other, he formulated a sociological theory on the basis of the multiple observation of historical facts. The purely theoretical aspect of his work appeared as a whole in *La Révolution et la Libre Pensée*, published in 1924. In this volume Cochin elaborated his theory of the Sociétés de Pensée by which he explained the evolution of the democratic phenomenon through the philosophical societies of the Ancien Régime (that is, the literary, Masonic, scientific societies, etc., the *musées* and *lycées*: the *Sociétés de Pensée* in their pure form) to the Jacobin organization of 1793.

Les Sociétés de Pensées et la Révolution en Bretagne is a pragmatic study of this democratic phenomenon in Brittany from May 10, 1788, to

May 4, 1789. Within this circumscribed area and period of time it is a factual substantiation of the theory elaborated in *La Révolution et la Libre Pensée*. Volume I. leads us through the maze of organized political manoeuvring by which, in the struggle between the ministry and the Parlement of Bretagne, the "Patriotes", or members of the "Sociétés" and their allies parading as the "People", gained control of the province. It is an amazing story of committees of correspondence, circular letters, protests, "packed" meetings, intimidation, and violence. Theory and fact are woven together in a logical and convincing manner; the author never goes beyond his evidence in order to justify his theory. And the whole is substantiated by the most complete documentation from national, departmental, communal, and private archives. Under the subtitle, "Synthèse et Justification", the second volume presents in a conveniently classified form, and at greater length than could be given in the ordinary foot-notes, the evidence upon which the narrative of volume I. is based. Here we have the lists of the personnel of the "Centre" and the "Circumference", the acts of each, tables of votes, *précis* of the situation in each town, municipality, and *évêché* during the whole period in question, lists of the literary societies, academies, and Masonic lodges, and, finally, a selection of the more important documents. In the main, Cochin's theory, in so far as Brittany is concerned, seems irrefutable.

Cochin's work as a whole has met with a varied reception in France. The Republican historians in the universities have not viewed it favorably. On the other hand, the French Academy has awarded the Prix Gobert to *Les Sociétés de Pensée et la Révolution en Bretagne*. Where criticism has been forthcoming, it has been the result largely of misconceptions. Cochin does not claim in any way to controvert the commonly accepted beliefs as to the causes of the Revolution, such as the inequalities and feudal anachronisms. He endeavors merely to explain the process by which the changes necessitated by these grievances came about. Furthermore, the theory which dominates the Sociétés de Pensée—and therefore the whole Revolution—is the theory of direct, not representative, democracy. M. Mathiez, in taking exception to Cochin's theory, overlooked this fact entirely.

DEFOREST VAN SLYCK.

A Short History of the French Revolution, 1789-1795. By E. D. Bradby. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. ix, 375, 7 s. 6 d.) The aim of this book "is to give some idea of the French Revolution to the general reader who is not an historical student and more especially to the young reader". The author has been for many years a student of the revolutionary period and in her life of Barnave published in 1915 she produced not only a notable biography but a work of scholarship which throws much light on the early history of the Revolution. The present work is thus the popularization of a scholar. Its compact form precludes the addition of extensive foot-notes and references but it is based on prolonged investigation of documentary material and of works of modern research.

The period covered extends from 1787 to October, 1795, from the calling of the States General to the end of the Convention. Although Miss Bradby has not attempted to deal at length with the causes of the Revolution, preferring to devote all her space to the Revolution itself, she manages nevertheless in explaining the events leading to the calling of the States General to give a good idea of fundamental conditions. The latter portion of the period is the part least well treated. The bloodshed of the Committee of Public Safety is stressed, but its constructive and administrative work in reorganizing the armies, and in providing a food supply receives little attention. It is at least open to question whether the danger of the country was not a real *raison d'être* as well as a "pretext" for the Terror. But here the author may unconsciously though not unreasonably be looking at the matter from the point of view represented by Barnave.

The merits of the book are outstanding. They include clarity of narrative, skill in tracing the mutual influence of popular outbreaks and legislative action, the use of picturesque detail and concrete examples which make real the minor as well as the more important characters and give atmosphere to the period, and finally apt comparisons with modern situations. An example of such comparison is the parallel between the rumors that "the brigands were coming" with the rumors that Russian troops were passing through England in September, 1914, while the allusion to the showman who in the crisis of June, 1791, hastily changed the title of his exhibit from "a royal tiger" to "a national tiger", is a trivial but forceful illustration of strength of anti-monarchical feeling. Numerous and well-chosen illustrations and a map of Paris during the Revolution add to the value of a work which has much to offer not only to the young reader but also to the mature scholar.

Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850. By Arthur Redford, M.A., Ph.D., Sir Ernest Cassell Lecturer in Commerce in the University of London, Reader in Economic History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester, the University Press, London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. xvi, 174, 15 s.) This book tells us how, why, and to what extent the British working classes migrated during the first half of the nineteenth century. It explains the immigration into England of the Irish; it analyzes the drift from the agricultural counties to the urban; and it orients the relation of these migratory movements to the New Poor Law in particular and to the Industrial Revolution in general.

Transportation from Ireland to the new industrial districts in England was remarkably cheap throughout all of this period. During the eighteen-twenties it averaged but half a crown and during the rate war of 1827 it dropped as low as 4*d*. Meanwhile, there was only one cheap method of reaching Lancashire from southern England before the new Poor Law went into effect. One might journey to a neighboring parish where, if unknown, it might be possible to swear to a settlement in

the North. This would result in a free passage. Few Englishmen, however, took advantage of this opportunity. The Irish, on the other hand, used it freely. They would club together for their return to Ireland, give their money to one of their number who would pay his own passage; the others would swear that they were paupers and so obtain free transportation.

The commissioners of the new Poor Law attempted to accelerate the movement from country to town by the appointment of agents to act as a go-between for intending emigrants on the one hand and the expectant mill-owners on the other. The former, ever suspicious of the government's *bona fides*, spoke of "transportation into slavery" and were reluctant to leave their villages. None the less, they gradually did so until the coming of the "Hungry Forties". During these years of economic crisis the movement was reversed. Urban paupers who came from the country were now forced back to the place of their birth, a scandal quite as bad as "transportation into slavery", and only partially remedied by the Poor Removal (Amendment) Act of 1846.

The Irish, in the interim, poured into Great Britain through Liverpool, Glasgow, and Bristol like a horde of angry locusts. Poverty, disease, and resultant crime followed in their wake. Wages fell to new low levels, and had it not been for railway construction as well as for the repeal of the Corn Laws, a blight would have fallen on northern England.

Labour Migration in England is well documented; its 164 pages are closely packed with pertinent data; its bibliography is excellent; and in the appendix are six maps which make clear the complexities of the census statistics. As a scientific treatise on a somewhat abstruse subject this book is a credit both to the author and to the Manchester University Economic Series in which it is placed.

WALTER P. HALL.

Bayern und das Preussische Unionsprojekt. Von M. Doeberl. (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1926, pp. 175, 8 M.) M. Doeberl, the well-known Munich historian, issues a third volume in his series of monographs dealing with Bavaria's policy in the German question between 1848 and 1870. A fourth volume, to appear shortly, will deal with the decisive struggle for hegemony in Germany. The works are valuable, bringing new material from the Bavarian archives.

The present study deals with Prussia's plan for unity immediately after the revolution of 1848. The old confederation had proved a failure, largely because of the top-heaviness of Austria, weighted down by her non-German provinces. The new plan called for two confederations, so to speak, an inner and an outer one, only the latter of which was to include Austria. Bavaria played a decisive rôle, for had she promptly seconded Prussia, German unity need not have waited for twenty years. Instead the Bavarian minister von der Pfordten opposed the exclusion of Austria and also claimed for Bavaria a larger voice in the councils of

the new confederation. The dispute ended in the reconstitution of the old German confederation with all its imperfections. Austria and Prussia each claimed hegemony and the war of 1866 was the result.

Doeberl's narrative throws light in every direction and the documents show the motives of Bavaria's government and the part she would have liked to play in the new arrangement in the reconstitution of Germany. Von der Pfordten wanted German unity but without Prussian hegemony. His rôle was not that of a dog in the manger nor of a bull in a china shop—he was unwilling to make concessions to Austria even to Bavaria's advantage which might have been disastrous to Germany as a whole. The plan collapsed finally, not alone because of Bavaria's opposition but also because of the timorousness and indecision of Frederick William IV.

Undoubtedly the best treatment of the whole period is to be found in Erich Brandenburg's *Reichsgründung* (1923-1925), but Doeberl claims to have been the first to utilize the Bavarian state documents and the papers of von der Pfordten. His claims may be slightly exaggerated but not to such an extent as to invalidate the importance of his work. He may be biassed in Bavaria's favor but his work will be welcomed by every serious student of the period. He is to complete the series shortly by a volume on the struggle for hegemony between Austria and Prussia.

Renan et Strasbourg. Par Jean Pommier, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg. [Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses publiées par la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg, no. 11.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1926, pp. viii, 200, 20 fr.) The second sentence of this book points out that Renan seems never to have been in the city of Strasbourg in his life. But there is another Strasbourg, a city of the mind, conspicuous on the intellectual map of Europe, and there Renan was a familiar figure. M. Pommier writes as a labor of love, to show how his university and its circle has profoundly affected the main currents of creative scholarship in France, of which, in his day, the characteristic embodiment was Renan. And Renan did not become what he was without Strasbourg. We have here, then, a book about Strasbourg rather than a book about Renan.

The "school of Strasbourg"—the prominent names for M. Pommier are Bergmann, Reuss, Colani, Reville—formed an intellectual circle to which Renan felt perfectly akin. Not that he and they were always, or generally, in agreement, but that by scholarship they meant the same thing. From at least as early as 1857, Renan was keenly and gratefully conscious of this kinship. The Strasbourg scholars gave him in return a sympathetic and intelligent hearing. Some of the most judicial and constructive reviews of his publications came from their number: Colani's *Examen de la Vie de Jésus de Renan* (1864) is an admirable illustration.

All these relationships are set forth by M. Pommier in a rigorously documented and meticulously scientific monograph, which yet has charm

and interest. Reading it, one works in detail through the whole field of Renan's extensive studies (this alone gives the book an extraordinary value for the student), but concerned always primarily, not with Renan, but with Strasbourg and its rôle as an *alma mater* of such studies. M. Pommier has done an admirable thing admirably. In no other way could we be better taught what such an intellectual community meant in fructifying European scholarship in days when freedom in the expression of thought was only in process of being slowly and painfully attained. May we have more such illuminating studies in the spiritual history of our universities.

CLAYTON R. BOWEN.

L'Empire Allemand, 1871-1900. Par M. E. Vermeil, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. [Histoire du Monde, dirigée par E. M. Cavaignac.] (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1926, pp. xxiii, 262.) The title of this compact, well-organized volume is misleading as to its contents. It is a study of European history during the period of Germany's hegemony rather than an account of the German Empire. The course of events from 1815 to 1870 is summarized and interpreted in a brief introduction. The body of the book is divided into three parts of about equal length: the first is devoted to the period from the Treaty of Frankfurt to the Congress of Berlin, the second deals with the situation from the Triple Alliance to the Franco-Russian Alliance, and the third carries the account to the beginnings of the Anglo-German antagonism. There is a short conclusion.

Professor Vermeil has written for the general reader and therefore he has not given a careful analysis of the new documentary material. What is unique, however, is the effort to show the relation between the domestic history of each of the Great Powers and its foreign policy. Two-thirds of the space is devoted to the first theme, while the discussion of diplomatic history is limited to eighty-five pages. The conception is excellent, but its execution in a brief volume is necessarily difficult. Too frequently the reader is left to work out the connection for himself, and the author does not attempt to trace the differences in regard to questions of foreign policy between groups and parties within each country.

The point of view is usually unbiassed. Professor Vermeil's choice of adjectives may be questioned but few will doubt the justice of his judgment of Germany at the close of the century: "*L'Allemagne nous apparaît dès maintenant comme une sorte de collectivité monstrueuse en plein élan, mais inquiétante parceque ses énergies sont mal dirigées*" (p. 212). Nevertheless, Germany is definitely charged with the undivided responsibility for the World War (p. xxiii).

While admirably adapted to the needs of condensed statement, the style is uneven as a result of the constant use of short, and often incomplete, sentences. The necessity to be brief is perhaps also responsible for the inadequate statement of the obligations assumed by the members of the

Dual Alliance of 1879 (p. 118) and by those of the Triple Alliance (p. 124). The brief bibliography is not well prepared, and there is, of course, no index.

E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

Les Origines de la Guerre et la Politique Extérieure de l'Allemagne au Début du XX^e Siècle d'après les Documents Diplomatiques publiés par le Ministre Allemand des Affaires Étrangères. Par Edmond Vermeil, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 252, 20 fr.) This little volume, which first appeared as a special number of Mlle. L. Weiss's *L'Europe Nouvelle* (April 17, 1926), is an admirable analysis of *Die Grosse Politik*, volumes XVIII.–XXIII., that is, of German foreign policy from the renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1902 to the Second Hague Conference and the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. It consists largely of quotations from the German documents, which are left to tell the story by themselves. In the first Moroccan crisis and the following years, M. Vermeil brings out the fact that in the conflict of interests between the Great Powers the major conflict was between Great Britain and Germany rather than between France and Germany. This was owing to the growing German navy, which was chiefly responsible for the increasing tension between the two systems of alliance into which Europe had become divided. By her navy, her active colonial policy, and her aggressive attitude toward France, Germany had herself brought about the formation of the Triple Entente, and what she regarded as the policy of "encirclement". M. Vermeil concludes that Germany herself was to blame for this situation. Isolated by Italy's doubtful loyalty and Austria's danger of dissolution, "she wanted peace, but she prepared for war, and forced her natural adversaries to prepare for it. . . . Her responsibility does not date from the few fatal days which preceded mobilization".

S. B. F.

La Marine Française dans la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918. Par A. Thomazi. Tome III., *La Guerre Navale aux Dardanelles.* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 256, 20 fr.) This third volume of Captain Thomazi's history of the activities of the French navy in the World War is, like its predecessors, an extremely painstaking, accurate, and comprehensive chronicle. It is characterized by the same lack of bias as well as of national or professional jealousy; and, above all, it does not, like many records of the World War, sacrifice thoroughness to the fancied necessity of telling an interesting tale. Its style is pleasing, but it does not blink at the duty of chronicling the mass of details which, while tedious to the layman, can not fail to make it of the highest value to the future historian of the World War, whose time is not yet come. While a recent author has essayed to tell the whole story of the American navy's activities in the World War in three hundred pages, Captain Thomazi has devoted nearly as much space to the naval campaign at the Dardanelles alone. It is a

sadly fascinating theme, the epic of a great and tragic failure, of a struggle between titans almost on the very ground which shook under the feet of the heroes of Greece and of Troy. The initial mistake of the Allies was the curious inability to appreciate the vital importance of the Dardanelles objective at the beginning of the war. Instead of a quick and decisive blow being struck in the East, the Turks, heartened by the safe arrival at Constantinople of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, were left long enough under the influence of their Teutonic political and military teachers to prepare a defense stiff enough to defy the mighty powers of Great Britain and France. Admiral Tirpitz wrote in 1915, "Should the Dardanelles fall, then the World War has been decided against us", a pronouncement thus commented on by Captain T. G. Frothingham: "In fact, if the Allies had captured Constantinople at the beginning of 1915, it would have been so great a physical and moral victory that it is hard to see how the Central Powers could have held out against its effects" (*Naval History of the World War*, I. 242). After the foreordained and inevitable failure of the purely naval attack on the straits, enough time was allowed the Turks by the vacillation of the Allies to prepare a defense which brought to naught the wasteful exertion of some of the finest military heroism recorded in history.

All three of these volumes of Captain Thomazi are fairly well printed on poor paper. In this third volume there are five plans of indifferent quality and no maps. On the whole it must be said that Captain Thomazi has produced a work of the greatest historical value.

EDWARD BRECK.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1921. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1926, pp. 255.) This is a thin volume; it really has fewer pages than its "supplementary volume", Miss Griffin's *Writings on American History*, 1921, which was published two or three years earlier, and thereby somewhat nearer to the date to which it refers. The reason for the slightness of the present volume is financial. The annual appropriation for the Association at the Government Printing Office still stands at \$7000, the figure at which it was fixed in 1907. That sum would then allow 1400 pages of print to the Association; at present, at the extraordinary rates charged by the Government Printing Office (due to the extraordinary wage-scale it has been forced to adopt) \$7000 will hardly pay for more than 800 pages. So the *Reports* are very badly in arrears, and the Committee on Publication has reduced this volume by availing itself of a vote of the Council in 1920, that abstracts of the papers read at the December meeting should be printed, and not the papers in full. The present volume therefore, after the formal proceedings, contains only 90 pages of actual print to represent the sixty or so papers read at St. Louis. In the case of many, this is disappointing; and yet there is a good deal of interest and profit to be obtained from this record and brief description of advances made in this or that field.

An American Jewish Bibliography, being a List of Books and Pamphlets by Jews or relating to them, printed in the United States from the Establishment of the Press in the Colonies until 1850. By A. S. W. Rosenbach. [Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, no. 30.] (Baltimore, the Society, 1926, pp. xvii, 500.) It is great good fortune to the American Jewish Historical Society that Dr. Rosenbach, prince among bibliographers, has been moved to perform, as a labor of love, the enormous amount of work involved in the making of this volume. It catalogues, in the most approved style of the bibliographers, 689 items, of publications by or relating to Hebrews, 121 of them antedating the nineteenth century, the rest brought forth in the first half of that century. Two hundred of the pages present facsimiles of title-pages and the like. The volume will be an invaluable book of reference, not only for those interested in the history of the Jews in the United States, and of the various Hebrew grammars, prayer books, Bibles, almanacs, and newspapers, but for those interested in the history of the teaching of the Hebrew language, the spread of Hebrew culture and learning, the history of charitable organizations, reforms, literature, and typography. The location of copies in private and public libraries is largely given.

Jean Ribaut: the Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida. Edited by Jeannette Thurber Connor. [Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, no. 7.] (DeLand, Fla., the Society, 1927, pp. xvi, 139.) Ribaut's *Whole and True Discoverye* exists in two forms, the text of 48 pages printed at London in 1563, and a manuscript in the British Museum, Sloane MS. 3644. Of the printed text only two copies are known, one in the Library of Lambeth Palace, the other in that of the British Museum, the former having a dedication which is lacking in the latter. The manuscript version was printed by Dr. H. P. Biggar in the *English Historical Review*, XXXII. 253-270. In the present exquisite little volume Mrs. Connor, after a careful biography of Ribaut, prints both these versions, the Sloane MS. with Dr. Biggar's annotations, the print of 1563 in a photogelatine facsimile. She also gives three appendixes. In the first she describes Le Moyne's original picture of the column erected by Ribaut on the River of May, a painting which was discovered in a French chateau in 1901. In the second she narrates the fate of Ribaut's two columns. In the third Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., discusses the site of Charlesfort. It seems clear that the column in honor of Ribaut, of Charlesfort, and of the Huguenots, which was provided by unanimous vote of Congress and unveiled on Parris Island by the Secretary of the Navy in March, 1926, has been set up, by unhappy error, on the site of the Spanish fort San Marcos, built in 1577 by Pedro Menéndez Marqués, and not on that of Charlesfort. Mrs. Connor's book has seven excellent illustrations, relating to the columns and to Port Royal, of which it forms a pleasing and scholarly memorial.

Jonas Michaëlius, Founder of the Church in New Netherland. By A. Eekhof, Professor in Leyden University. (Leyden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1926, pp. 148.) No more timely publication could have been issued in connection with the approaching tercentenary of the founding of the Dutch Reformed Church in America than this book about Domine Michaëlius, in which Dr. Eekhof gives facsimiles, transcripts, and English translations of a hitherto unknown letter of the first minister in New Netherland to his friend and patron, Joannes van Foreest, and of two Latin letters written by the latter to Michaëlius in 1629, which were found by the author among the archives of the Van Foreest family at Heiloo, near Alkmaar, in the Netherlands. The book also contains the original text and revised translations of Michaëlius's letters of August 11 and August 8, 1628, which were first published respectively in 1857 and 1902, and in a valuable introduction brings to light many interesting facts regarding Michaëlius's parentage and education, which the author was able to gather from various sources. In addition to all this, the book contains by way of introduction to the general subject a chapter on Bastiaen Jansz. Krol, the first "comforter of the sick" in New Netherland, about whom the author wrote a monograph in 1910, and about whom he now presents a number of new facts, relating to the later years of his life and his death in 1674.

An interesting feature of the book, in connection with the question of the first settlement of New Netherland, is an affidavit made on July 30, 1627, by Willem van der Hulst, in which this former director of New Netherland states that he sailed in 1624 as a passenger on the ship *Nieuw Nederlandt*, thus showing that his voyage on the *Orangeboom*, in 1625, was his second voyage to New Netherland, instead of the first, as hitherto assumed.

V. L.

Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century. By Allen Oscar Hansen, Ph.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xxv, 317, \$2.50.) This volume sets forth nine plans for an American national system of education, published between 1785 and 1800, by the following authors: Benjamin Rush, Robert Coram, James Sullivan, Nathaniel Chipman, Samuel Knox, Samuel H. Smith, Lafite du Courteil, Du Pont de Nemours, and Noah Webster. The book is "intended to be both an exposition of sources and a source book" (preface) though only extracts from the plans are printed with some running comment. One purpose of the book is to show how eighteenth-century liberalism, particularly in France, affected the thinking of those authors who published plans for a system of national education, *viz.*, a system of education for "creative democracy". There are separate chapters on Dominant Ideas of the Eighteenth Century, Principles of the American Revolution, Activities of the American Philosophical Society in Behalf of a National System of Education, and a summary and bibliography.

Though all of the plans but two, those of Rush and Webster, were published after the formation of the Constitution, they all ignore, and so does Mr. Hansen in his comment, one very fundamental fact: namely, that under the Constitution education was one of the reserved rights of the states. Hence there could be no real national system of education, except by amending the Constitution, or through the voluntary acceptance by individual states of some general plan, a visionary idea indeed. That of Samuel Knox, for example (1799), must have delighted the high priests of Federalism with its highly centralized scheme of uniform text-books, entrance examinations, and state colleges, all dependent on a central "Literary Board" and a "National University . . . connected with every branch or seminary of the general system" (pp. 126-129, 134). The author makes little or no effort to interpret the plans in the light of actual conditions—educational, political, economic, and social.

The title of the volume is misleading because there is no discussion of liberalism in education before 1786, an important, interesting, and complex story; one that can not be studied in the theoretical writings of a few reformers, whose plans in fact turn out to be quite undemocratic from the standpoint of administration. As a study in educational theories from 1785 to 1800 this is a useful book.

M. W. JERNEGAN.

George Washington's Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation. Edited with an introduction by Charles Moore. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926, pp. xv, 65, \$2.00.) It is the firm belief of the reviewer that of all the great personages of history the one with the most unerring good judgment, the one who had himself best under control, the one who was most nearly both a reasoning and also a reasonable being was George Washington. To what extent he owed these qualities to heredity; to environment, to self-cultivation would furnish an interesting problem to a psychologist. This much we know, that Washington was largely self-taught, that when still a youth he wrote out for himself a system of maxims and regulations of conduct, called by him *Rules of Behavior in Company and Conversation*. These maxims have generally been regarded by his biographers as "formative influences in the development of his character". They certainly show that the fifteen-year-old boy who wrote them was striving at self-improvement.

It was once supposed that Washington himself composed the Rules, but this is now known to be erroneous. In this little book Dr. Moore reprints the Washington "Rules" on the same pages with Francis Hawkins's *Youth's Behavior* and makes it clear that Washington selected, simplified, and arranged his own maxims from this work. The Hawkins Rules (first published about 1640 and in many later editions) were in turn a translation of a French work, *Bienséance de la Conversation entre les Hommes*, which was prepared by pensionnaires of the French Jesuit College of La Flèche in 1595. The late Moncure D.

Conway, a keen student of Washington's career, discovered the similarity between the Washington and the French maxims but missed the Hawkins connection. This connection Dr. Moore shows conclusively. All of the Washington Rules are reproduced in facsimile, and as a frontispiece the book has the first portrait of Washington, that painted by Peale at Mount Vernon in 1772.

PAUL L. HAWORTH.

The Family Life of George Washington. By Charles Moore. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926, pp. xvii, 250, \$5.00.) It is still five years until the bicentennial of George Washington's birth, but already the flood of books about him has begun. Some of them are such a curious compound of imagination and ignorance that it is refreshing to receive one written by so real an authority on the subject as Dr. Moore, chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. By editing and publishing the *Diaries* of Washington Mr. Fitzpatrick of that division lately put all students of history in his debt, and now Dr. Moore makes another real contribution to our knowledge of Washington.

In the book the history of the Washington family and of all other important families connected by blood, marriage, or friendship with the Washingtons is duly set down. We learn about the Fairfaxes, the Dandridges, the Parkes, the Custises, the Lewises, and many others, of those who were contemporaries of Washington and of those who came before and after him. The later history of some of these families is especially interesting, even though, in some cases, it makes a rather depressing story. For example, we have read so much about the "divine Miss Custis", a beautiful creature, evidently designed only for joy and happiness, and of her romance and marriage to Washington's nephew, Lawrence Lewis, that it is rather a shock to learn that their later years were rather unhappy ones, that they were reduced to straitened circumstances, that Mr. Lewis regarded his wife as responsible for their plight, and that their estate of Woodlawn became a scene of desolation. In these days of "race suicide" it is illuminating to note that Nelly's mother, after the death of John Parke Custis, her first husband, married Dr. Stuart and gave him "an annually increasing family"; that, in fact, she was ultimately the mother of twenty children. Eliza Parke Custis and her sometime husband Thomas Law, swashbuckling Colonel Parke, who brought the news of Blenheim from Marlborough to Queen Anne, naïve George Washington Parke Custis of Arlington, "self-taught" artist, dramatist, poet, and biographer, are among the other persons who figure largely in the narrative.

The book is written in a sprightly style and with real charm. It is profusely illustrated with portraits, photographs of historic mansions, and facsimiles of documents. A carefully prepared "Washington Chronology" running from 1602 to 1925 is appended. The introduction is by Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt.

PAUL L. HAWORTH.

Sweden and the American Revolution. By Adolph B. Benson, Associate Professor in Yale University. (New Haven, the Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor Company, 1926, pp. xii, 216, \$3.00.) Scholars should be grateful to Professor Benson for undertaking the thankless task of informing the public on the relations of a small neutral European nation to the American Revolution. He has thrown into full relief the details of a badly illuminated corner of the historical picture of this period. By painstaking research he has been able to identify as Swedish sixty-four officers who served under the French flag, their motives being glory, adventure, and practical military experience. The descendants of the Swedish colony on the Delaware, the activities of Count Gustav Philip Creutz, Swedish minister at Paris, Colonel Axel von Fersen, Rochambeau's aide-de-camp, and Baron Curt von Stedingk, a prominent commander in the battles of Grenada and Savannah, are each treated in separate chapters. The author struggles manfully to deal with the inflammable material of the book, which involves two patriotisms, in as coldly scientific a manner as possible, and in the main succeeds; but occasionally an irrepressible desire to make the Swedes appear important and pro-American leads him into certain deductions from "northern heritage" and "racial qualities", which the critical reader will swallow only with a pinch of salt. An obvious error of fact is the statement (p. 205) that Spain entered into a treaty of alliance with the United States.

Professor Benson makes the challenging assertion (pp. 25-39) that the credit for initiating the Armed Neutrality League of 1780 belongs more properly to Sweden than to Catherine II. Official moves for such a league seem, from the memoirs and documents quoted by the author, to have been first made by Sweden and Denmark. At any rate, Sweden, in April, 1779, after futile efforts to persuade at least Denmark, whose advances had led to nothing, to join her, independently adopted a policy of armed neutrality which merely required the co-operation of the other two nations to become the basis of the Armed Neutrality League of 1780.

BRYNJOLF J. HOVDE.

Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem. By Edith Abbott, Professor of Social Economy in the University of Chicago. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1926, pp. xx, 882, \$4.50.) In this book Miss Abbott extends the service to students of immigration inaugurated in her earlier volume, *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records*. The central idea is the same, that of assembling in convenient form important documents on the immigration question from diverse sources not easily accessible to research workers. In the opinion of the present reviewer this volume is even more valuable than the other. There is a greater catholicity in the materials, and less space is occupied by excerpts from documents not so difficult, after all, to get at, such as the *Report* of the United States Immigration Commission, and various official records of the federal and state governments. In other words, the

former book is built up largely from sources which a graduate student could not be excused from consulting for himself; the present work offers material calculated to round out and enrich the resources of the most seasoned worker in the field.

It is evident that the arrangement of these disconnected and often fragmentary selections constituted a difficult task. The author has chosen the solution of presenting them topically under five heads: I., Causes of Emigration: Emigration Conditions in the United Kingdom and Northern Europe; II., Economic Aspects of the Immigration Problem; III., Early Problems of Assimilation; IV., Pauperism and Crime and other Domestic Immigration Problems; V., Public Opinion and the Immigrant. When it is remembered that the original authors of these documents were not writing them to harmonize with any such classification it becomes obvious enough that they could not possibly be squeezed into any such frame without a tremendous amount of distortion and overlapping. Thus, for example, a student interested in discovering the causes of the old immigration would miss a considerable portion of the contribution of the book if he confined his reading to the first section. So one interested in any phase of immigration, if he wants to get what this book has to give, must read the whole book. This situation being inevitable on any system of arrangement, it is a question whether the serviceability of the book would not have been, at least, as great if the materials had simply been arranged in chronological order.

In the last analysis, however, it should not be forgotten that too much predigestion in a source-book is unwholesome. It is not a bad thing for the student of public problems to have to do some hunting for what he wants. By so doing, incidentally, he may find out a good many things that he did not anticipate. This volume will reduce the arduousness of the search, without destroying altogether the thrill of the hunt.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD.

Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872. By J. Magnus Rohne, Th.D., Professor of Christianity in Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xxiv, 271, \$3.00.) This is a doctoral dissertation presented to the faculty of the Harvard Divinity School. The author, himself a Lutheran clergyman of Norwegian descent, writes with sympathy and understanding of the religious life and theological difficulties encountered by this immigrant group in establishing on American soil their version of the Lutheran State Church of Norway. At the time this immigration began the religious atmosphere of Norway had been violently agitated by the spiritual revival due mainly to the work of the great pietist, Hans Nielson Hauge. The movement was social as well as religious, and included a distinct anti-clerical tendency. These various elements were found among the early immigrants from Norway.

In the matter of church organization two distinct groups appeared: the pietistic, "low church" element, impatient of formality, the spiritual

heirs of Hans Nielson Hauge, led by a lay preacher who had little sympathy with higher education and quite naturally stressed lay activity; on the other hand the "high church" element, led by young university graduates trained in the State Church and dominated by a sincere zeal to maintain strict Lutheran orthodoxy among their fellow countrymen in America. The two groups organized separately, the high church group, organized in 1853, becoming stronger and more influential. Both played an important rôle in fostering education and culture among the Norwegians in America, establishing secondary schools and colleges, as well as publishing newspapers of both secular and religious interest. An active interest in home mission work among the Norwegians in America resulted in a steadily increasing number of congregations in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota.

The doctrine of verbal inspiration of the Bible was a cardinal principle with these Norwegian Lutherans. Small wonder that numerous differences of opinion on points of theology arose among them. Dr. Rohne treats these theological disputes at some length; the general reader might wish that he had done violence to his title and devoted more time to "Lutherans" and less to "Lutheranism". Although preserving an admirable objectivity for the most part, he leaves little doubt that his sympathies lie with the High Church group. The English rendering of certain Norwegian idioms is not always fortunate, as for example "a term of arrest" (p. 12), and "water on his mill" (p. 122, note 24). A number of typographical errors have escaped the proof-reader's eye. A brief critical and explanatory note under important items would have improved the extensive bibliography, which includes only printed materials. There is a good index.

Although not invulnerable at all points, this is a work of sound scholarship and a real contribution, deserving of consideration by any one who attempts to write the *Kulturgeschichte* of the Northwest.

WALTHER I. BRANDT.

Old Towpaths: the Story of the American Canal Era. By Alvin F. Harlow. (New York and London, D. Appleton, 1926, pp. xiv, 403, \$5.00.) It may be said at once that this book justifies its subtitle: it tells the story of the American canal era. From the shadowy dreams in the minds of explorers and early colonists, and the practical beginnings in the days of Washington, the development is traced: through the period of growth, against obstacles financial and other, through the peak of achievement, and finally—in most cases—the inevitable collapse. Thus the scheme of the book is comprehensive, but it has the defects of its qualities. In attempting to cover all the significant artificial waterways from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi, the narrative becomes crowded with names and figures, and often reads too much like a catalogue.

Three features stand out prominently: the enthusiasm and high hopes which attended the beginning of each canal enterprise, often resulting in a crazy "boom"; the remarkable prosperity and growth of population

which ensued, even when the canal itself was a lamentable failure; and the melancholy and even pathetic decline of nearly all. Optimism carried to rashness accompanied the launching of most of the canal projects. Pennsylvania expended vast sums in the effort to compete with neighboring states, and Illinois and Indiana were particularly reckless. In the latter state colossal "graft" was added to other troubles. The author naturally gives much space to the Erie, and to the familiar tale, how New York became the Empire State, and how the "canal towns", like Syracuse and Rochester, shot forward. But the growth in other sections was equally marked; for instance, he mentions Cleveland, Detroit, and Toledo as examples, and cites the influx of German population into Milwaukee and Cincinnati as a direct effect of the canals. While many failed to be money-makers, others were for a time of great value. Immense profits for years accrued to the Delaware and Hudson. Certain other features, some of them little known, are well brought out in Mr. Harlow's book: the ingenious engineering, often the work of self-taught amateurs; the use in war time of the Chesapeake and Ohio and the James River and Kanawha by the Union and Confederate governments respectively; the now forgotten but once flourishing Middlesex Canal in Massachusetts whose "stock reached \$473 [in 1803], and in the following year \$500" (p. 20); voyages of extraordinary length—one boat went from Pennsylvania via New Jersey, the Hudson, and the lakes to Montreal and return.

In conclusion there are chapters on the operation of the canals, life upon them as described by Dickens and other travellers, and the ultimate decay, which the author attributes mainly to railroads and the American mania for speed, and secondarily to destructive floods. There are a few lapses in style: *bombilation* (p. 59) is hardly in good standing. There is an unaccountable contradiction on pages 283 and 284 concerning a \$500,000 bond issue; and the value of the work is marred by the lack of an index. There is a full bibliography, though unaccompanied by any attempt at appraisal. In general, the book is one which must be consulted by all future students of the subject, and is an interesting portrayal of a vanished era.

EDMUND K. ALDEN.

Filson Club Publications. Number 31. (Louisville, Kentucky, J. P. Morton and Company, 1926, pp. cxxxix, 172, \$4.00.) Herewith we are served with an old-fashioned historical offering. The principal subject of the annalistic blend is the so-called "Spanish Conspiracy" of Kentucky and the relation thereto of John Brown, Harry Innes, Benjamin Sebastian, James Wilkinson, and others who were pilloried by Humphrey Marshall, more than a century ago, in an historical diatribe that then and thereafter met with greater acceptance than its subject matter warranted. Some two generations afterward, upon a partial airing by the Louisiana annalist Gayarré of the Spanish material bearing on the subject, scions of two of the original families involved attempted in turn by means of a

substantial volume to disprove and to re-establish the earlier charges. Now after another generation the present volume reprints two rare pamphlets, the fruit of personal controversies arising from the conspiracy, and publishes in extenso the famous Memorial and Expatriation Declaration of Wilkinson. The last-named documents are given from copies derived from the Pontalba Papers, but without any reference to the previous offerings of Professor W. R. Shepherd in the same field (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, IX. 469 *et seq.*) or the later discovery of the English original of the memorial in the archives of the Louisiana Historical Society.

The three documents are worth-while papers and we welcome them in this convenient form. Had they been presented in a more definitive manner, with adequate foot-notes and explanation, after a thorough examination of all available sources of information, they would have been much more valuable. As it is there is little to serve as a corrective to the personal and party bias of the chief pamphlet, William Littell's *Political Transactions in and concerning Kentucky* (Frankfort, 1806), or to explain the significance of its mate *A Letter from George Nicholas of Kentucky to his Friend in Virginia* (Lexington, 1798).

This lack of direct explanation Mr. Bodley essays to fill with his substantial Introduction. Here the author misses a chance to speak the final word on his subject. What he has given us is a lawyer's brief, composed largely of a rehash of the writers mentioned above, with a little seasoning from more obvious material, including the Innes Papers and the Madison Papers of the Library of Congress, from the Pontalba Papers, and from the Draper Manuscripts. He ignores the Wilkinson Papers of the Chicago Historical Society (which, indeed, would not have helped him greatly) and, what is more surprising, the varied assortment in the Durrett Collection of the University of Chicago. Local pride, at least, should have led to some use of the last-named source. Some slips in facts and unfounded inferences are noted and carelessness in citation, such as the persistent misspelling "Gayerre".

Had he used the Gardoqui Papers of the Durrett Collection, he would probably have had less confidence in his vindication of John Brown. But he should not have stopped there. Through convenient guides the Spanish archives are now open to direct request, and increasing stores of transcripts from those repositories are available in this country. Certainly one should not attempt a *Spanish* subject nowadays without recourse to some of this original material. Moreover there are recent studies in the field, including a few in which the reviewer has a personal interest, that Mr. Bodley might well have cited. If some of these are to be found only in obscure places, the *American Historical Review* with its ready indexes was at his service in tracing them.

ISAAC J. COX.

The American Civil War. By David Knowles. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. xii, 223, 7 s. 6 d.) This volume appears to have been written for the edification of the British school-children and public. As

such it must be rather confusing to its intended audience. It is too elementary for the mature student but at the same time it has too great a mass of details of military campaigns for the ordinary reader. There is a confusing oscillation between the eastern and western fronts, and surnames devoid of Christian names or initials abound throughout. One is not even certain, on occasions, which of the Johnstons or of the Lees is referred to. The opposite extreme of using nicknames and abbreviations occurs as an occasional alternative, such as Jeb Stuart (pp. 154, 191), and Fitz Lee (p. 172).

The book is a battle history throughout, except for some interesting character-sketches of the standard heroes of the era, sometimes highly tinged with theological interpretation, as on pages 112-113. There is also a two-chapter introduction devoted to the causes of the war, wherein the author acts merely as a referee between two antiquated points of view. The fundamental economic problems which, at bottom, separated the sections, are not even discovered.

The story is unbalanced in its overemphasis of eastern campaigns as compared with western; this is probably due to too complete reliance upon Lord Charnwood and G. F. R. Henderson. But then the author confesses that his sole qualification for writing the book is "a long and deep interest in this period of history". The heavy villain of the drama is George B. McClellan, who is viewed solely in the light of post-bellum prejudice, as is also Andrew Johnson, whose plan of reconstruction the author seems to confuse with the schemes of Congress.

Typographical errors are rare, but we will assume that the following mistakes belong to that class: "thirty-four [states in 1860] as against forty-nine at the present day" (p. 4); "Wingfield Scott" (p. 63); "westward" for "eastward" (p. 165); and "three years" for "two years" (p. 169). Foot-notes are scanty and are devoted to afterthoughts and revisions from the writings of Frederick Maurice and Edward Channing. In the bibliography a wrong number of volumes is attributed to the *Official Records* and to Rhodes's *History*. The scant-three-page index is of slight use.

FRED A. SHANNON.

Canadian Opinion on the American Civil War. By Helen G. MacDonald, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CXIV., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. 237, \$3.75.) This is a well-written book. The writer has had at her command a wide range of authorities, and, in the choice of her material, has seized upon the essential parts of such despatches, books, and newspapers as were required to illustrate her theme. The whole is digested into an interesting narrative.

The purely historical chapters, that is, those on the relations between the governments and people of the United States and Canada, can be commended almost without reserve. More attention should have been paid to the events of 1837-1838, and to the intense resentment aroused,

particularly in Upper Canada, by the aid and comfort given in the border states to the leaders of the Rebellion in those years.

The attempt to ascertain and describe that elusive thing, public opinion, is less successful. As a rule newspapers afford almost the only field for the investigator's operations, but the material found must be handled with discrimination. For Upper Canada, the newspapers chiefly used are the *Toronto Globe* and the *Toronto Leader*. No person, however, old enough to have read the *Globe* as it was in the hands of the editor of that time, George Brown, would rely upon it as the expression of any large section of public opinion. Brown, like Dana of the *Sun*, was a great personality, who aspired to form public opinion rather than to follow it, and he was often a mere voice in the wilderness. Other editors had doubtless their characteristics, which would have to be taken into account, before accepting them as indicators of public opinion.

A more reliable gauge would seem to be an appreciation as to what must have been the reactions of the play of events upon a people intensely British in sentiment. Like Americans, Canadians have a longer memory for ancient grudges than the British appear to have. The War of 1812 was less than two generations back; and all men of middle age remembered the events of 1837-1838. On minds sensitive to older impressions, the unfriendliness of influential New York journals, and the incidents connected with the *Trent* affair would have a strong influence. The effects, also, of personal contacts with Americans during the period of the Civil War are far from negligible. Many Americans from both North and South visited Canada at that time, and the opinion was very general that, in point of manners, the visitors from the North compared unfavorably with those from the South.

It is pleasant to note the correctness, and, at times, even cordiality, which marked the relations between the governments of the two countries.

WM. SMITH.

American Opinion of German Unification, 1848-1871. By John Gerow Gazley, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Dartmouth College. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CXXI.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. 582, \$4.50.) This industrious study was suggested by the World War and the enlarged interest in things European. The author construes his subject broadly and the book of nearly six hundred pages might be thought to be too large for the subject. The inclusion of chapters on Revolutionary Movements in Central Europe in 1848 and 1849, on the Crimean and Italian wars, and on the Schleswig-Holstein Question and the Danish War of 1864 tends to expand the study beyond reasonable bounds. It is true that the author does, in some measure, relate these chapters to his subject. American opinion concerning European affairs between 1848 and 1871 appears to have been abundant, and there is something to be said on all of these topics, but the reader can hardly escape the conclusion that the writer has given him the entire background of preparation, things de-

sirable for the writer to know but not necessary for the immediate purpose.

The study has merit. The chapters dealing with American sentiment during the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, with American opinion of France in the period 1848-1870, and with American opinion of the Franco-German War are interesting and instructive. A generation that does not remember American opinion of the Franco-German War has a reasonable desire to know what it was and why, in the main, it was so favorable to Germany. The answer is found in this book and while it is not entirely new it is a full and satisfying answer. There are few who think they can recall the attitude of Americans toward the parties to that conflict who could describe the various shadings of opinion, the differences due to politics, religion, race, and other factors that enter into what is popularly called public opinion. A section of some forty pages on the sources of American opinion in the mid-nineteenth century is a stimulating addition to the story.

J. P. BRETZ.

Territorial Florida Journalism. By James O. Knauss, formerly Professor in the Florida State College for Women at Tallahassee. [Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, no. 6.] (DeLand, the Society, 1926, pp. xiii, 250.) Mr. Knauss undertook the laudable task of making one variety of original material for the history of the territory of Florida available in a convenient form to students, and has performed his task in so excellent a manner that one would be delighted if only there were such a manual for every state. He has spared no effort in search, from Florida to Massachusetts, and has furnished not only lists and guidance but illumination of the whole subject. First giving a brief history of the territory from the taking of formal possession by the United States in July, 1821, to admission as a state in 1845, he gives in full detail the history of forty-five newspapers, beginning with the *Florida Gazette*, of which the first number seems to have appeared, in St. Augustine, on July 14, 1821. Of 6800 issues of all papers, copies of about 3600 have been preserved. There are sixteen of which no single copy seems to have survived. After the history of the newspapers—of St. Augustine, Pensacola, Tallahassee, Apalachicola, St. Joseph, Jacksonville, Key West—Mr. Knauss gives a very interesting biographical chapter on the newspaper men, embracing sketches of some forty editors. Then follows a check-list of these Florida newspapers, showing all copies located, and filling forty pages of the volume; the last hundred (except for the bibliography and the index) are occupied with the reports from the *St. Joseph Times* and the Tallahassee *Floridian* of the proceedings and debates of the St. Joseph Convention of 1838-1839, which drew up Florida's first constitution.

The Father of the Church in Tennessee or the Life, Times, and Character of the Right Reverend Richard Pius Miles, O.P., the First Bishop of Nashville. By the Very Reverend V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M.,

Litt.D. (New York and Cincinnati, Frederick Pustet, 1926, pp. xiv, 607, \$4.00.) To his four earlier volumes on Dominicans in the United States, Father O'Daniel adds the history of the life of Bishop Miles of Nashville, Tennessee. After birth in Maryland in 1791 Richard Miles was taken to Kentucky by his father. Entering the novitiate of the Dominicans at St. Rose at an early age, he was ordained priest in the order in 1816 and began immediately to teach in the college of St. Thomas, Kentucky. Having risen on April 22, 1837, to the highest position in his order in the United States, that of provincial, Father Miles was next elevated to the episcopacy in 1838, having been chosen for the see of Nashville in the preceding year. The diocese of Nashville embracing the state of Tennessee had been just created and, as is usually the case in such creations, offered some prospect of future growth with but little consolation for the actual incumbent of the office of bishop. To tell of the work of Bishop Miles, we quote the résumé by Father O'Daniel: "On his arrival in Nashville, he found himself alone—without a priest; practically without a church; without scrip or purse; without a house; or even a place whereon to lay his head. When he died, tells us the Catholic Almanac, he left thirteen clergymen; fourteen churches, built or under way; thirty stations; a theological seminary; three communities of sisters; one academy for girls; nine parochial schools, an orphanage; and about twelve thousand Catholics." Bishop Miles died in 1860.

The author is in his happiest mood after he reaches chapter XI., page 260. Then he begins to let his sources tell their story. Previously the author labors excessively to reach some conclusion as a result of his many researches, but finds himself concluding, or sometimes indeed prefacing, with the trite phrase "tradition tells us". As a consequence the careful reader finds himself on no sure foundation, a particularly annoying situation when the tradition is not at all defined. The first part is, therefore, disappointing. Much that is hardly relevant, *e.g.*, the story of the Baltimore colony in Maryland, the beginnings of Catholicity in Ohio, the establishment of the Dominican nuns in Kentucky, may have been inserted for the general reader, for whom the author professes to write. Chapter XX., *Résumé*, *Persons*, *Places*, might have been excluded. With these and other omissions or condensations properly made the book would not be so ponderous. The history of the subject scarcely merits the size of the volume.

A few strange expressions of style occur. The illustrations while numerous are not always good. Seven pages are given to list the bibliography and twenty-five pages to an exhaustive index. The format of the book conforms to that of the other books which the author has written.

JOHN H. LAMOTT.

Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier. By Bruce E. Mahan. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1926, pp. xv, 349, \$3.00.) This book treats of frontier incidents having a military aspect in an area which may be defined as the upper Mississippi, the lands adjacent to the river, and

the waterways connecting with it. The period is practically from 1814, date of the founding of Fort Shelby at Prairie du Chien, to the abandonment of the last Fort Crawford in 1849, though the prologue takes one back to Jean Nicolet and the epilogue carries forward to the disposal of the Fort Crawford property by the government in 1868. The trench of the Father of Waters, like a barometric tube, tends to confine the play of life incidents in both directions from Prairie du Chien, which is the zero point on the river. Indian negotiations, beginning with the ill-starred Harrison treaty of 1804, are presented, some of them in their dramatic settings. This is particularly true of the great inter-tribal council held at Prairie du Chien in August, 1825. The volume concludes with two highly interesting chapters on Glimpses of Garrison Life and the End of Military Rule.

The author's plan, obviously, was to set forth a series of striking episodes in the frontier history of the region (emphasizing Iowa) in an engaging style. That task he has performed with much more than ordinary success; the book is decidedly readable. Another, dealing with the same subject, would have condensed the narrative—particularly in the first one-fifth of the volume—and devoted more attention to an interpretation of the events, many of which are matters of common knowledge justifying summarization. On a theme such as this one would like to see what a writer with Mr. Mahan's adequate knowledge could have done in one-half the number of pages.

The proof-reading was not all that could be desired, else William H. Crawford would not be credited to Virginia (p. 71), John Cleves Symmes would not stand as John Cleve Symmes (p. 49), and the printer's bungling of the third paragraph on page 45 would have been caught and corrected. But these are details. As a whole the volume makes a splendid impression.

J. S.

Historic Ravenswood: its Founders and its Cattle (privately printed, pp. 158), by John Ashton, Ph.D., of the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri, is the story of three generations of the Leonard family and their development, on Ravenswood farm in Cooper County, Missouri, of one of the most notable herds of shorthorn cattle in America. Preliminary to his main theme the author traces through several chapters the history of the shorthorn breeds in England, from their earliest known beginnings to the high standard and distinct characteristics achieved by a number of breeders in the later eighteenth century, and the earliest importations to America. The Ravenswood herd had its beginnings in 1839, when Nathaniel Leonard, with the co-operation of his brother, Benjamin G. Leonard, brought from Ohio a number of pedigreed cattle, themselves out of herds created principally from recent importations from England. On the excellent foundation laid by Nathaniel Leonard during the twenty-five or thirty years thereafter, Capt. Charles E. Leonard, his son, built up the Ravenswood herd until it became, as the author expresses

it, "the most famous Shorthorn shrine west of the Mississippi river", and the latter's son, N. Nelson Leonard, has kept up the standard and reputation of the herd to the present time. The real heroes of this story are bulls; they are the kings, although the queens, princes, and princesses of the blood royal contribute much to the glory of shorthorn history. The Leonards were king-makers. Included in the volume are a number of letters relating particularly to the foundation of the herd and incidentally casting light on the economic history of the region.

The Cowboy and his Interpreters. By Douglas Branch. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1926, pp. x, 277, \$2.50.) This volume is a unique attempt at correlation of history and literature. A study of the real cowboy is followed by a survey of the same figure as he appears in the fiction of the last generation, the comparison affording a criterion of the fidelity of the literary portrayals. Ten chapters present the historical study, tracing the origin of the cattle industry and describing its chief features—ranch routine, the round-up, the long drive northward over the "old Chisholm trail" or some other, and the cowboy himself, from outfit to outlook on life. Six more chapters review the fiction inspired by western themes, from Ned Buntline to Zane Grey.

Mr. Branch finds that cattle country fiction reached its best in Emerson Hough's *North of 36*, next to which comes *West is West*, by Eugene M. Rhodes, and *The Ridin' Kid from Powder River*, by Henry H. Knibbs. "Both these 'literary novelists' are of the range; one, Rhodes, was himself a cowboy for twenty-five years. Knibbs has written cowboy songs that the cowboys have made a part of their own folk-lore." As for Grey and most contemporaries, "they have fallen into the pattern-evil . . . the novels are dreams made to order . . . not based in their characterizations and in their motives on the truth of human experience".

The reader may be interested to learn that the author is a college youth hardly out of his teens. No apology need be offered on this score, for he combines marked literary gifts with the power to use historical evidence judiciously. In its published form the study dispenses with foot-notes—and, unfortunately, with index—but there is internal evidence of commendable effort to maintain a critical attitude, and the bibliography of a hundred titles bears witness to considerable research.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Experiments in Colorado Colonization, 1869-1872; Selected Contemporary Records relating to the German Colonization Company and the Chicago-Colorado, St. Louis-Western, and Southwestern Colonies. Edited by James F. Willard, Ph.D., and Colin B. Goodykoontz, Ph.D. [University of Colorado Historical Collections, vol. III.] (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1926, pp. xxxvii, 483, \$3.00.) This is a second and companion volume to Willard's *The Union Colony at Greeley, Colorado*, published in the Colony Series of the same collections. Its main purpose is to present all pertinent materials that could be found on the foundation and early history of four Colorado colonies. In addition

some items, chiefly from newspapers, have been included on land development and town-site schemes advertising themselves as colonies. The introduction by Dr. Goodykoontz indicates suggestively but briefly the significance of the colony movement in the growth of Colorado. It also makes useful discriminations between co-operative, semi-co-operative, and non-co-operative colonies, and contrasts these with other land exploitation plans. Herein the reader will miss and wish for reference to similar situations in other states of the western area during the decade after the Civil War—while recognizing that the theme of the sketch is properly limited in scope. The main value of the book is that it makes accessible materials for an understanding of an important phase of westward movements, both from the standpoint of pioneer settlers and from that of land-grant railroads having the problem of making their holdings into live assets. Students of local history in Colorado will find this work of special interest.

A reviewer wonders why the scholarly editors accepted so defective and ill-organized translations of the one interesting personal expense account. Either the translation should have been omitted or it should be given a logical and complete form. Use of the index also reveals serious defects. Not even the *caveat* at the beginning justifies the omission of topical references to important subjects—*e.g.*, banks, churches, education, libraries, newspapers, schools. Indexes of names of persons are valuable, but they leave much to be desired.

C. A. D.

The Northcliffe Collection, presented to the Government of Canada by Sir Leicester Harmsworth, Baronet, as a Memorial to his Brother, the Right Honourable Alfred Charles William Harmsworth, Viscount Northcliffe. (Ottawa, Public Archives, 1926, pp. x, 464.) This volume is an excellent, well-printed, and handsomely illustrated calendar of the vast collection of manuscripts, printed material, and portraits given to Canada by Sir Leicester Harmsworth, Bt., as a memorial to his brother, the late Lord Northcliffe. These documents and memorabilia are, we infer, preserved in the archives at Ottawa. For the most part they consist of the papers of General Robert Monckton, who held various American commands during the Seven Years' War, and of Brigadier-General George Townshend, who played an important part in the capture of Quebec in 1759. They are supplemented by a number of maps, some in manuscript others in print, pertaining to the French and Indian wars and to the early years of the American Revolution. Incidentally the collection also includes the last letter written by Wolfe and the last letter written by Montcalm.

The Monckton papers begin with Monckton's activities in Nova Scotia in 1752 and continue through his expedition to Martinique in 1761-1762. Of especial general interest are the letters concerning the deportation of the Acadians, Wolfe's "Scheme for Improving the Colony" (written after the capture of Louisbourg in 1758), Wolfe's letters to Monckton

written during the Quebec campaign, and Amherst's letters to Monckton, November, 1758, to September, 1763. Although a cursory reading of the calendar does not suggest that these papers will make it necessary to rewrite the history of the conquest of Canada, it is clear that future biographers of James Wolfe or of Jeffery Amherst will rejoice in the material which they will find in this collection. Wolfe's scorn for the Americans as soldiers is well known, and it re-appears here in an *obiter dictum* of his "Scheme". "The American Rangers are for the most part, Lazy cowardly People—the best men they get upon the Continent for that Service are Irish Vagabonds, and Convicts" (p. 110). Of more significance historically is his evident expectation that after the war Canada, though "reduc'd", would remain a part of the French Empire, that is, New France north of the St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario, and the Ohio Valley (p. 111).

The Townshend papers are few in number when compared with the Monckton series, but they form a vivid and valuable chronicle of the campaign that culminated in the battle of the Plains of Abraham and the surrender of Quebec. The narrative continues through the long winter of 1759–1760, the battle of Sainte-Foy, and the raising of the siege in the spring.

Among the separate items in the Northcliffe Collection probably the most interesting is Wolfe's order-book from December 22, 1748, until September 12, 1759. Of sentimental value at least are twenty-four volumes that were in Wolfe's library at Blackheath. In his will Wolfe bequeathed them to Colonel Guy Carleton, who later became governor of Quebec. Two of the volumes appear to have been a present to Wolfe from a French officer after the capture of Louisbourg in 1758.

Canada is to be congratulated upon the acquisition of this valuable collection and upon the preparation and publication of a calendar worthy of Sir Leicester Harmsworth's magnificent gift.

LAWRENCE S. MAYO.

Viceregal Administration in the Spanish-American Colonies. By Lillian Estelle Fisher. [University of California Publications in History, XV.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1926, pp. x, 398, \$5.00.) This volume is written in view of the need for a "comprehensive study of the viceregal administration in the Spanish American colonies", and in it according to the author "the administrative functions of the viceroy are presented as they existed in New Spain and South America during the whole colonial period". It is based upon a study of instructions or memorias which the viceroys left to their successors, royal instructions, the laws of the Indies, royal cédulas, and secondary works.

The first chapter dealing with the powers and limitations of the viceroy gives a general survey of the office including the organization of the vicerealties, character of the men who held the office, term, salary, reception, distinctions, and privileges, and an outline of powers and limitations of various kinds with special reference to the intendencies

and the residencia. Then follow seven additional chapters dealing in detail with the various phases of the viceregal administration. In these are treated the viceroy's administrative activities both local and general, his fiscal and financial powers, his relationship to the Audiencia including legislative and judicial powers, his duties as vice-patron in connection with religious and educational activities, and his relationship to the various groups of people of the colony. These latter chapters are composed mainly of many facts and incidents taken more or less at random through the three hundred years of Spanish rule in America and hardly suffice to give the best idea of the growth and development of the viceregal institution.

Study was made principally of materials relating to New Spain, with some reference to Peru and very minor mention of New Granada and La Plata. This fact is manifest from the vast preponderance of citations referring to the viceroyalty of New Spain as well as from the bibliographical lists which are appended. Of the manuscripts cited all relate to New Spain; of the twenty-nine titles of printed documents and laws seventeen relate to New Spain, eight to Peru, and none to either New Granada or La Plata; and of the remaining 135 titles of bibliography fifty-eight relate to New Spain, three to Peru, one to New Granada, and none to La Plata. The other items of bibliography are of a general nature. Of the vast number of documents concerning the viceregal administration existing in the various Spanish archives, only a small number have been utilized in the study. There are appendixes giving lists of the viceroys of the four Spanish viceroyalties, and a good index.

Notwithstanding that the title should be "Viceregal Administration in New Spain", this volume nevertheless presents the best treatment so far published of the viceregal administration of the Spanish colonial period.

COMMUNICATION

George Washington University,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 25, 1927.

THE EDITOR

American Historical Review

Dear Sir: On page 328, lines 7-9, of my recently published *Pinckney's Treaty, a Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800*,¹ occurs the following: "He [Dr. A. P. Whitaker] informed me that he found no evidence that the text of the treaty reached the Spanish Government before Godoy signed with Pinckney." Dr. Whitaker recently has written to me that this is a misrepresentation of the statements he made to me on the subject, that all he stated was that in August, 1795, when it decided to surrender the two principal points at issue with the United States, the Spanish ministry had not learned of the contents of Jay's Treaty. This misrepresentation was unintentional on my part, arising out of a misinterpretation of a letter which he wrote me. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to rectify it.

Incidentally may I call attention to a serious misprint on p. 380, next to the last line? The figure there given for loans should be \$248,098.

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *American Historical Review*:

I wish to state that for whatever errors of omission or commission are in the first volume of the *Winthrop Papers*, printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and reviewed in your last number, page 328, I alone am responsible. Neither Professor Moore nor Mr. Winthrop can be held directly or indirectly to account for them.

Very truly yours,

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

BOSTON, February 16, 1927.

¹See p. 616, *supra*.

HISTORICAL NEWS

At the present time the following back-numbers of the *American Historical Review* can not be supplied by our publishers: vol. XVI., nos. 1 and 3 (October, 1910, April, 1911); vol. XXIII., no. 4 (July, 1918); vol. XXIV., no. 1 (October, 1918); vol. XXVI., no. 1 (October, 1920); vol. XXXI., nos. 1 and 2 (October, 1925, January, 1926); vol. XXXII., no. 1 (October, 1926). If any of these numbers are in the hands of readers who do not care to retain them for their files, the Managing Editor would appreciate it very much if they would send them to 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. The *Review* will bear any expense that may be incurred for express or postage.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The *Annual Report* for 1921 has been distributed; see above, p. 656.

The annual meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies was held in New York on January 29, the American Historical Association being represented by its two delegates, Professor C. H. Haskins and J. F. Jameson. It was preceded by a conference of the secretaries of the constituent societies on the day before. Reports were made to the Council by its various committees, and will be printed in the next number of the Council's *Bulletin* (no. 6). The survey of the status and organization of research in humanistic studies in the United States, conducted by Professor Ogg, was reported as nearing completion. The gratifying announcement was made that the General Education Board had voted a grant of funds not exceeding \$25,000 per annum, for five years, to provide the Council with means for carrying on its various work and that of its committees. This makes possible the engagement of a full-time executive secretary. Mr. Waldo G. Leland was chosen to that office, and begins work in that capacity next summer. Three more societies, additional to the twelve that now constitute the Council, were admitted at this meeting, the Mediaeval Academy of America, the History of Science Society, and the Linguistic Society of America.

PERSONAL

James Ford Rhodes, president of the American Historical Association in 1899, died on January 22, aged seventy-eight. Occupied with manufacturing business during his early life, he turned from this, when nearly forty, to the writing of history, having resolved to write an extensive work on the history of the United States in the extraordinary period of Civil War and Reconstruction. Without great technical training in the historian's art, he brought to its exercise abundant experience of practical life, and a solid determination to be thorough, to be open-minded, and to

be just. No one was ever more candid in intention, more desirous to tell the truth. He had moreover many contacts with men prominent in public life, of the period he treated, and was framed by nature to draw profit from their converse. "No one", wrote John Hay, apparently in a letter to Mr. Rhodes, "can be a great historian who is not a good fellow"; Rhodes was eminently sociable, genial without loss of dignity, generous, and of transparent integrity. The fruits of his thorough research in the most varied materials, and of his insight into public affairs, were laid before the world in the years from 1892 to 1906, in the seven volumes of his *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877*. That work has long since won its place as the standard history of a great period in the development of the United States and of a struggle having momentous consequences for the whole world. Limited in the main to political and military history, and marked by no great charm of literary style, beyond the attractive power of a manly simplicity, it won its classical position by the solid merits of careful research and of fairness in a field where fairness had long been difficult. Two later volumes, a *History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley* (1919) and *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations* (1922), though less careful and thorough in construction, contain much excellent material, and reveal more fully the writer's nearness to public life and the friendly and unpretending personality of the man.

Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, president of the American Historical Association for the year 1906, died on January 30, within a few days of the age of eighty-seven. For fifty years, 1869 to 1919, he had taught in the Yale Law School; he had been an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut from 1893 to 1907, chief justice from 1907 to 1911, and governor of the state from 1911 to 1915. He had been president of the American Bar Association and had done important legislative work in the improvement of legal procedure in Connecticut. Governor Baldwin, besides being a high legal authority and an excellent historical scholar, was a man of wide reading and penetrating intelligence. He was a man of the highest type of Puritan character, as befitted one whose ancestors had long had an important part in the life of his commonwealth; in spite of much austerity of manner his life was marked, not only by constant public spirit, but by many private acts of benevolence and kindness.

Miss Lucy M. Salmon, professor of history in Vassar College since 1889 (associate professor 1887-1889), died on February 14 at the age of seventy-three. For four years (1915-1919) she was a member of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association, and in 1904 she was president of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland. Her principal historical publications were two valued volumes on *The Newspaper and the Historian*, *The Newspaper and Authority* (1923). She was a devoted and thoughtful teacher, a loyal

and considerate friend, and a source of high influence and good counsel to two generations of young women. In the last year of her life she had the gratification of seeing a fund of nearly \$40,000 instituted in her honor by former pupils and other friends, the Lucy Maynard Salmon Research Fund, designed to aid researches by members of the Vassar faculty.

William Beer, who for thirty-five years had been librarian of the Howard Memorial Library at New Orleans, and as such had been the active friend of every scholar occupied in the pursuit of any part of Louisiana history, died on February 1, at the age of seventy-seven. Born in England, he had studied and practised medicine at Newcastle-on-Tyne, had worked in Colorado as a mining engineer, and had been librarian of the Topeka Public Library before taking charge, in 1891, of the Howard Memorial Library. He built up that institution into an extraordinary collection of material for the history of Louisiana, old and modern, and of the whole Louisiana territory. He was a man of most varied intellectual interests. His learning and assiduity as a bibliographer were matched by his unwearied zeal in helping scholars and by the warmth and range of his friendships.

Samuel B. Harding, professor of history in the University of Minnesota, died on January 29, at the age of fifty. For twenty-three years he had taught history in Indiana University. During the World War he did important and valuable editorial work for the Committee on Public Information. He had been a professor in the University of Minnesota since 1921. He was the author of several useful and esteemed historical text-books, and was a man of accurate scholarship, sound judgment, unusual teaching ability, and solid and friendly character.

Late in October occurred the death of Professor Harry Bresslau, professor at Berlin of the sciences auxiliary to history from 1877 to 1890, and at Strassburg from 1890 to the end of the war. He had a large share in the work of the *Monumenta*, and edited the *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs* for Henry II. (1874-1875) and for Conrad II. (1879-1884), but was best known for his *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre* (1889, 1912-1915) and as a master of diplomatic, in which field he published many articles and documents.

Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth University will be in Europe on leave of absence from the coming June till September, 1928.

Professor Charles Diehl, of the University of Paris, is visiting lecturer in the department of arts at Harvard University during the second semester of the present academic year, and will be lecturing in America during the summer at various places on medieval Byzantine society and similar subjects.

Fellowships of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fund have been awarded for 1927-1928 to the following scholars, who, it may be presumed, will be conducting historical researches in Europe next year: Professors E. M. Carroll, F. C. Dietz, F. L. Owsley, R. J. Purcell, J. F. Rippey, B. E. Schmitt, G. M. Stephenson, and Judith B. Williams.

Professor Verner W. Crane of Brown University is on leave of absence in England, from February to September of the present year.

Professor Bernard Faÿ, of the University of Clermont-Ferrand, is lecturing at Columbia University during the present semester.

Robert Fortenbaugh has been made Adaline Sager Professor of History in Gettysburg College.

Dr. Dumas Malone, promoted from associate professor to professor of history in the University of Virginia, serves during the second half of the present year as visiting professor of American history in Yale University. His work at Charlottesville will, during that period, be conducted by Mr. Henry H. Simms, recently of Washington and Lee and of Columbia universities. Lester J. Cappon has been appointed research associate in history in connection with the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at Charlottesville, and will be engaged in compiling the economic section of a bibliography of Southern history since Reconstruction. Raphael Semmes, now assistant professor in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., has also been appointed research associate professor of history in the University of Virginia.

Dr. Kathleen Bruce, formerly of Wheaton College, has been appointed professor of history in the College of William and Mary.

Professor William T. Laprade of Duke University is on leave of absence, spending the present academic year in London.

Dr. Curtis H. Walker, formerly of Rice Institute, has been appointed professor of European history in Vanderbilt University.

Professor C. B. Goodykoontz, of the University of Colorado, will spend the year 1927-1928 on sabbatical leave in the Eastern states and in Europe.

Professor Archer B. Hulbert, of Colorado College, who had a half-year's leave of absence last year, has another in the present academic year in order to make investigations in various libraries for the forthcoming publication of volumes for the Stewart Commission on Western History.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted: Professor James F. Willard of the University of Colorado is to teach in Cornell University; Professor Percy S. Flippin of Mercer University in the University of North Carolina; Professor William O. Lynch of Indiana University in the University of Alabama; Professor Howard Robinson of Miami University in the Western Reserve University; and Professors Carl F. Brand and Ralph H. Lutz of Stanford University in the University of Washington.

GENERAL

The tentative plans for the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, to be held in Oslo on August 14-18, 1928, have already been announced in our last issue, (p. 384). At its annual meeting in Decem-

ber, the American Historical Association appointed a committee to organize the participation of American scholars in the Congress, consisting of Messrs. Waldo G. Leland, chairman, J. Franklin Jameson, L. M. Larson, W. E. Lingelbach, Wallace Notestein, and Waldemar Westergaard. The committee will be glad to hear from any American historical scholars who propose to attend the Congress or who have merely hopes, at this time, of so doing. It is to be noted that those who desire to proceed to the Congress in company with scholars from other countries can do so either from Antwerp, where they will be able to secure reduced rates on Norwegian steamers and from which port probably all the French and Belgian, and also many of the Dutch and other Continental scholars will sail, or from England, where they can join with British scholars and can probably also benefit from a reduction in the regular fare. It is also possible to sail directly from New York to Oslo on steamers of the Norwegian American Line. All who wish to take advantage of such reduced rates as may be available from Antwerp or from a British port are requested to notify the committee at an early date.

It is the hope of the committee that American scholarship may be represented at Oslo by an appropriate number of communications of a high character. It is to be noted that the committee on the organization of the Congress will accept papers only through the medium and with the recommendation of the various national committees. It is necessary therefore that all American communications should be submitted first to the American committee. While this body will endeavor to secure papers from a number of American scholars it does not wish to discourage voluntary offerings, and will be glad to correspond with any who desire to read a paper before the Congress. The following recommendations are offered by the committee for the guidance of possible participants: papers should fit into the scheme of the Congress as outlined in the January number of the *Review*; they should be sufficiently general to be of interest to the audience that will listen to them, and subjects of a very restricted character or of local interest should be avoided; papers in American history most likely to be of interest are those that deal with international relations, social, intellectual, economic, or political, or that set forth important American historical processes, or that deal with the history of European elements in American population and culture; papers are especially desired that may give rise to discussion, or that may emphasize new points of view, or that may sum up and generalize recent scientific progress; finally, papers must be of such length that they can be read, clearly and slowly, in half an hour—longer papers can be admitted to the programme only by special arrangement. The American committee requests that the subjects of proposed papers may be submitted to it as early as possible, even though writers may not yet be sure of attending the Congress. Abstracts of papers offered must be in the hands of the committee not later than January 15, 1928. Correspondence on the subject of the Congress may be with the chairman of the American

committee, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., or with any of its members. Until Mr. Leland, the chairman, returns to the United States, in July, Mr. Jameson undertakes to act for him.

It is perhaps well known that the Library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington at San Gabriel, in Southern California, is now the greatest private library in the world, containing something over 200,000 books, abounding in rarities, and more than a million pieces of manuscript. Great importance therefore attaches to the announcement that its trustees have adopted a definite policy for the development of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery into a research institution for the study of the history, art, literature, and science of England and America. Mr. Huntington has approved the plan and has agreed to make adequate financial provision for the undertaking. The plan calls for a permanent research staff, of which the director will be Professor Max Farrand, formerly of Yale University, now director of the Division of Education of the Commonwealth Fund. Dr. Farrand will begin with his new duties in October. It is important to observe that, the present library building having been erected simply to house a collection, the transition from the present status to that which is now contemplated will consume several years, and no large expectations of immediate opportunities for research should be entertained. Meanwhile it is exceedingly gratifying to know that, by Mr. Huntington's public-spirited munificence, a research institution of extraordinary value for the humanities, comparable to our research institutions for the physical sciences, will ultimately be provided.

The Sixty-ninth Congress, in its final session, made the usual appropriation of \$7000 for the printing of the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association. It also appropriated \$20,000 for continuance of editorial work upon the Territorial Papers. Additional legislation introduced by Senator Fess, authorizing the printing of this important collection of historical material, passed the Senate by unanimous consent, but at so late a date that it failed of consideration in the House. The failure of Congress to pass the second deficiency appropriation bill, though it affected progress on some of the public buildings in Washington, had no delaying effect upon the National Archive Building. Condemnation proceedings for acquiring the site for that building, in the area bounded by Twelfth and Thirteenth streets, C street and Pennsylvania avenue, were begun in January.

The American Catholic Historical Association held its seventh annual meeting in Philadelphia on December 27 and 28, with headquarters at the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford, under the presidency of Professor Parker T. Moon of Columbia University. Among the papers read we may especially mention that of the Very Rev. Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A., on Catholic Historical Scholarship in the United States, that of Dr. James J. Walsh on the Catholic Background to the Discovery of America, that of Mr. James Breen on the Catholic Participation in the War of Independence, and three biographical articles, on Mathew Carey, on Prince

Gallitzin, and on Thomas FitzSimons, by Messrs. Edward J. Galbally, Lawrence F. Flick, and Michael J. Ryan, respectively. Dr. Moon's presidential address was on the subject of Catholic interest in internationalism. There was a special conference on the proposed *Guide to the Printed Materials for American Catholic History*.

The American Society of Church History held its twentieth annual meeting in New York on December 27. The presidential address, by Professor W. W. Rockwell, of Union Theological Seminary, was on Bias in the Writing of Church History. The teaching of church history was discussed, and there were papers on Cyprian *De Ecclesiae Unitate*, on the efforts of the early Dutch pastors in New Netherland for the conversion of negro slaves, and other topics.

The Economic History Society published in January the first number of the new *Economic History Review*, edited by Messrs. E. Lipson and R. H. Tawney, of which we have spoken in former numbers as forthcoming. It is a journal which, if subsequent numbers approach the standard of the first, will be of the greatest value and will take high rank among historical journals. The present number opens with a brief paper by Sir William Ashley, on the Place of Economic History in University Studies, read at the Anglo-American Conference of Professors and Teachers of History last July. This is followed by an article on the Rise and Development of Economic History, chiefly in Great Britain and America, by Professor N. S. B. Gras of Minnesota; by two lectures by the late Professor George Unwin, of Manchester, on the Merchant Adventurers' Company in the Reign of Elizabeth, its relation to the development of trade and industry, especially the cloth industry; a paper on the Financial Organization of the Manor, by A. E. Levett; one on the Small Land Owner, 1780-1832, in the light of the land tax assessments, by E. Davies; one on a Neglected Aspect of the Relations between Economic and Legal History, by Professor W. S. Holdsworth; one on Northamptonshire Wage Assessments of 1560-1667, by Professor Bertha H. Putnam of Mt. Holyoke College; and a comprehensive survey of Recent Work in French Economic History, by Professor Henri Sée of Rennes. There are also a dozen brief reviews of books.

The *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research for November, IV. 2, contains an account of the International Union of Academies and the American Council of Learned Societies by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, and a full report of the Anglo-American Conference of Historians held in London last July.

The December number of the *Historical Outlook* contains an article by Professor Justin H. Smith on the Art of Writing History; one by Dr. N. G. Goodman entitled Thomas Jefferson: a Really Wonderful, All-round Man; and one by W. F. Dunbar entitled Why We Behave like Americans. In the January number Professor E. R. Perkins has an article entitled Antedating the Founding Fathers, and Julie Koch dis-

cusses the Diary of the Itinerant Preacher as Source Material. The February number contains an account of the Rochester meeting of the American Historical Association, reported by Professor R. H. Shryock. In the March number is a suggestive paper by Professor M. W. Jernegan on the Colleges and Historical Research, being one of the fruits of the questionnaire recently submitted by him to doctors of philosophy in history. Slavery in the Territories under the Compromise of 1850 is an article by Esther B. Sharpe of the University High School of Iowa City.

Briefest of the new French co-operative histories, the *Histoire Générale des Peuples de l'Antiquité à nos Jours*, edited by Maxime Petit, has arrived first at completion (Paris, Larousse, 1925-1926, 3 vols., pp. xii, 388, 412, 408, profusely illustrated). Though the work is of a popular nature, the collaborators have not sacrificed scholarship to condensation; in the last volume, the chapters on the political history of the period from the Revolution to the Restoration inclusive by Pierre Rain, on the diplomatic and military history of the Second Empire by Albert Pingaud, and on the military operations of the World War by Colonel Duffour and Commandant Desmazes, together with M. Petit's summary of the peace negotiations, have received especial praise.

A new revised edition of Lavissee and Rambaud's *Histoire Générale* with corrections and modernized bibliographies has been published by Colin; the work was begun before the war and is now finished.

The Rumanian scholar, N. Jorga, who is notable for his thirty years of activity in Balkan studies, has undertaken the somewhat ambitious project of synthesizing, unaided, the whole past of the human race. The first volume of his *Essai de Synthèse de l'Histoire de l'Humanité* is concerned with *Histoire Ancienne* (Paris, Gamber, 1926, pp. x, 390).

The *Journal of Negro History* for January has an article by C. W. Birnie on the Education of the Negro in Charleston, S. C., before the Civil War, which supplements Dr. Woodson's general work on *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. Some documents are given relating to royal disallowance of colonial acts adverse to the slave trade; five characteristic letters of William Lloyd Garrison (e.g., 1834, "Two or three years ago, when I was laboring as it were single handed to destroy those two great monsters, Slavery and the American Colonization Society", etc.); a group of letters from Minnesota, 1866-1872, by George Bonga, Indian-negro half-breed; and some forty pages in Spanish, from the Archives of the Indies, of documents of 1609-1646 relating to the negroes of Cuba.

The University of Chicago's third volume of *Abstracts of Theses in the Humanistic Departments, 1924-1925*, includes brief summaries of ten or eleven historical dissertations, offered in the historical and other departments. Summaries will be found, in the volume, of dissertations on: Early British Relations with Ireland and Brittany (Slover); the Huguenots in South Carolina (Hirsch); the Springfield Armory (Whittlesey); the St. Lawrence Waterway as a Factor in International Trade and Poli-

tics, 1783-1854 (Brown); Jefferson Davis and his Generals (James); Ohio in National Politics, 1865-1896 (Moore); the Populist Movement in Iowa (Nixon); Roosevelt's Policy in the Caribbean (Hill); the Financial History of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (Stehman); and the History of the United Typothetae of America (Powell).

The American Library in Paris has prepared and mimeographed a folio book of 284 pages, *Official Publications of European Governments*, which, without pretending to bibliographical completeness or perfection, will as "first aid" meet many needs of librarians and historical students.

The Jewish Publication Society of America announces the publication, made possible by the generosity of the late Miss Rosetta M. Ulman, of Williamsport, Pa., of a History of the Jews, in one volume, by Max Margolis and Alexander Marx.

Professor Wesley C. Mitchell and Dr. Willard L. Thorp have brought out, through the National Bureau of Economic Research, a survey of the history and analysis of business in seventeen different countries through periods covering from 36 to 136 years, ending with 1925, entitled *Business Annals*. Besides dealing with domestic and foreign business activity, employment, prices, markets, and agriculture, the book discusses the influence of non-economic events, such as wars, political unrest, epidemics, and natural catastrophes upon economic life. There is an extensive list of references and the annals are preceded by Dr. Mitchell's analysis, Business Cycles as revealed by Business Annals.

The Oxford University Press announces a new work by Professor Griffith Taylor, of the University of Sydney, entitled, *Environment and Race: a Study of the Evolution, Migration, Settlement, and Status of the Races of Man*.

National Character and the Factors in its Foundation (London, Methuen), by Principal Ernest Barker of King's College, London, is based on the Stevenson Lectures delivered in the University of Glasgow in the winter of 1924-1925.

Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, archaeology officer of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain, will edit and publish a quarterly review entitled *Antiquity*, containing archaeological and sometimes historical articles. The first number is expected to be issued in March of the present year.

Mr. F. H. Colson's *The Week* (Cambridge University Press) is explained by the subtitle, "An Essay on the Origin and Development of the Seven-Day Cycle".

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *What is History?* (London Times, Literary Supplement, October 16); Henri Sée, *L'Idée d'Évolution en Histoire* (Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger, July, September); W. Deonna, *Terminologie Historique; il n'y a pas de "Pré-histoire"* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLII.); Henri Lévy-Bruhl,

Qu' est-ce que le Fait Historique? (*ibid.*); Otto Hintze, *Troeltsch und die Probleme des Historismus* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXV. 2); Isabella C. McLaughlin, *History and Sociology: a Comparison of their Methods* (*American Journal of Sociology*, November).

ANCIENT HISTORY

In the *Antiquaries' Journal* for January M. Salomon Reinach describes and discusses the very important discoveries made since 1924 at Glazol, dép. Allier, casting much new light on neolithic civilization in western Europe, and even including clay tablets with alphabetiform signs.

In Sir Flinders Petrie's *History of Egypt*, the volume on *The History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* was originally written by the late Sir John Mahaffy. So much additional material has come to light since the issue of the second edition of this volume, in 1914, that a new volume under the same title has been written by Sir Edwyn Bevan, telling the story afresh in the light of our latest knowledge on the subject (London, Methuen). Messrs. Methuen also announce an English edition of Dr. A. Erman's volume on *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, containing translations of their extant literary works.

Professor Johannes Pedersen of Copenhagen, six years ago, published in Danish a book of remarkable scholarship and excellence on the history of Israel. This is now brought out in English, with revisions made in the light of the latest archaeological and linguistic researches, *Israel: its Life and Culture* (Copenhagen, Branner; London, Milford), the work covering the entire cultural field of Israel.

Students of the history of science will welcome, in English translation, *The History of the Sciences in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (London, Methuen), by Professor Arnold Reymond of the University of Lausanne.

Three new volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History* are announced in the spring list of the Cambridge University Press: V., "Athens: the History of Greece from the Persian Wars to the Fall of Athens"; VI., "Macedon: the Fourth Century"; and a volume containing some two hundred plates to illustrate vols. I.-IV. The same press also announces *Democracy in the Ancient World*, by T. R. Glover; *Five Roman Emperors* (Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan), by Dr. B. W. Henderson of Exeter College, Oxford.

Alfred A. Knopf has included in the *History of Civilization* series a translation of A. F. V. Jardé's work, *The Formation of the Greek People*.

The general reader will find the story of classic times made simple and vivid in Jean Hatzfeld's *Histoire de la Grèce Ancienne* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 422).

Great interest attaches to the announcement that the Italian government intends to resume excavations at Herculaneum on an extensive plan formed by the director of the National Museum at Naples.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Matthias Gelzer, *Altertumswissenschaft und Spätantike* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXV. 2); G. Radet, *L'Artémis d'Ephèse* (Journal des Savants, January); L. A. Constans, *Ostie Primitive* (*ibid.*, December); Jean Costa, *Les Fastes Consulaires et Triomphaux* (*ibid.*, August–October); Dimitri Kontchalovsky, *Recherches sur l'Histoire du Mouvement Agraire des Gracques* (Revue Historique, November); A. Blanchet, *Les Armes Romaines* (Journal des Savants, January); Ettore Pais, *Le Provincie dell' Impero Romano* (Nuova Antologia, November 16); Friedrich Hertlein, *Die Entstehung des Dekumatlandes* (Klio, XXI. 1); R. Cagnat, *Les Fouilles Italiennes en Tripolitaine* (Journal des Savants, August–October).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: Matthew Spinka, *Slavonic Studies in Church History* (Slavonic Review, June).

The October number of *Speculum* has an interesting article on Inland Transportation in England during the Fourteenth Century, by Professor J. F. Willard, and a description of Augustine's Journey from Rome to Richborough, by Professor A. S. Cook. The January number has a study of Pre-Gothic Architecture, a Mirror of the Social-Religious Renaissance of the Eleventh Century, by L. C. McKinney. We can not refrain from commenting on the extraordinary excellence of the photographic facsimiles which at times appear in this journal, accompanying palaeographical articles.

The English translation of Professor Maurice de Wulf's *History of Medieval Philosophy* (Longmans) is now complete by the issue of vol. II., extending from Thomas Aquinas to the end of the sixteenth century.

The second volume of Mr. G. G. Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion*, carrying the work from A. D. 1200 to 1400, and entitled, "The Friars and the Deadweight of Conservatism", is nearly ready for publication by the Cambridge University Press. Very interesting, and the fruit of great learning, is Dr. Coulton's *The Mediaeval Village* (*ibid.*).

Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter: die Geistigen Grundlagen der Renaissance, by Fedor Schneider, is a work of much learning and wide documentation, as was to be expected from this author (Munich, Drei-Masken-Verlag, 1926, pp. 309).

An important contribution to the history of medieval thought will be offered in the two volumes of *Duns Scotus* (Oxford University Press), by C. R. Harris.

C. Kenneth Brampton edits for the first time, from the unique manuscript in the King's Library in the British Museum, the *De Imperatorum et Pontificum Potestate* of William of Ockham (Oxford University Press).

The Black Death: a Chronicle of the Plague compiled from Contemporary Sources, by Johannes Nohl, has been translated into English and published by Harper.

A few years ago Dr. Paul Hagen of the State Library of Lübeck and Dr. Gustav Roethe discovered in that library an interesting Middle Low German manuscript of the fifteenth century which came originally from a Lübeck house of the Sisters of the Common Life. It appears to be the original from which the author of the *Imitatio Christi* derived, with modifications, the second book of that work and part of the third. Dr. Hagen now publishes it in a small book, *Mahnungen zur Innerlichkeit: eine Urschrift des Buchs von der Nachfolge Christi* (Lübeck, Max Schmidt-Römhild, pp. xiv, 160).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Giannino Ferrari, *Codificazione Giustiniana e Leggi Romane dei Barbari* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); Marc Bloch, *La Société du Haut Moyen Age et ses Origines* (Journal des Savants, August-October); E. K. Rand, *On the History of the De Vita Caesarum of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages* (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XXXVII.); M. Florin, *Innocenz III. als Schriftsteller und als Papst* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLV. 3); Gaston Dept, *Les Marchands Flamands et le Roi d'Angleterre, 1154-1216* (Revue du Nord, November); H. T. Cheshire, *The Great Tartar Invasion of Europe* (Slavonic Review, June).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A new and revised edition of Professor John A. Hobson's *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism* is published by Scribner in the *Contemporary Science* series.

In addition to other articles, the *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, n. f., vol. II., no. 1 (Breslau, Priebatsch, 1926), contains the following useful general reviews: Salomo Birnbaum, "Die Jüdische Literatur Osteuropas"; Richard Salomon, "Aus den Letzten Jahren des Russischen Kaisertums"; Josef Matl, "Neueste Deutsche Literatur zur Geschichte Jugoslaviens"; *id.*, "Zur Neueren Historiographie Bulgariens betreffend"; Erdmann Hanisch, "Zur Bibliographie der vornehmlich in Deutschland erschienenen Werke Slavischer Belletristik und Literaturgeschichte".

Italian historians have contributed little to the mass of Luther literature, a fact which lends interest to Bassano Gabba's *Lutero, Studio Critico-Storico* (Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1926, pp. 325).

Dr. Spenser Wilkinson, formerly Chichele professor of military history in the University of Oxford, brings out through the Oxford University Press a new work showing the relation of French experience and strategy in the War of the Austrian Succession to Napoleonic strategy of the early Italian days, *The Defence of Piedmont, 1742-1748: a Prelude to the Study of Napoleon*.

Die Polnische Frage als Problem der Europäischen Politik is studied by W. Recke from the partition to the restoration of Poland (Berlin, Stilke, 1926, pp. xi, 399).

The first part of vol. XII. in E. Cavaignac's *Histoire du Monde* treats of *Le Monde Anglo-Saxon au XIX^e Siècle*, the author being P. Vaucher, professor in the University of London (Paris, Boccard, 1927, pp. 242).

Donald M. Greer contributes to the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne* a monograph on *L'Angleterre, la France, et la Révolution de 1848* (Paris, Rieder, 1926, pp. 400).

The Permanent Office of International Juridical Documentation at the Hague has brought out a *Répertoire Général des Traités et autres Actes Diplomatiques conclus depuis 1895 jusqu'en 1920* (the Hague, Nijhoff), comprising a chronological calendar of treaties, indicating subject-matter, place, dates, and references to print, an alphabetical and an analytical table, and a bibliography.

Dr. Arthur Shadwell, formerly editor of *The Democrat*, who in 1925 published an historical book on the *Socialist Movement*, recounts the history of European socialism, as put into operation since the war, in a well-informed volume entitled, *The Breakdown of Socialism* (London, Benn).

Students of the recent situation with respect to international debts will find profit in the use of M. Germain Calmette's small book on *Les Dettes Interalliées* (Paris, Alfred Costes, pp. 254), which is not a treatise or an argument, but, with a minimum of comment, prints, in French original or translation, a great variety of the most important documents upon the subject of debts from 1915 to 1925.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Le Marchand, *L'Ambassade du Marquis d'Osmond à Londres, 1816-1819*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XL. 4); Éd. Driault, *Un Incident Diplomatique Anglo-Hellénique: l'Affaire Pacífico et le Blocus du Pirée, 1847-1850* (*ibid.*); J. Dontenville, *La Chute de la Royauté en 1848*, I., II. (*Nouvelle Revue*, January 15, February 1); Johannes Behrendt, *Die Polnische Frage und das Oesterreichisch-Deutsche Bündnis 1885 bis 1887* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, IV. 12); W. M. Medlicott, *The Mediterranean Agreements of 1887* (*Slavonic Review*, June); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX^e Siècle*, XXVII.-XXXII. (*Nouvelle Revue*, November 1-January 15); Ernst Urbas, *Zur Letzten Phase des Dreibundes* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, December); Émile Laloy, *La Conférence d'Algésiras, d'après les Documents Allemands* (*Mercure de France*, November 15).

THE WORLD WAR

The *Economic and Social History of the World War*, French series, has received these additions: Marcel Peschaud, *Politique et Fonctionnement des Transports par Chemins de Fer pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1926, pp. xii, 308); Marcel Frois, *La Santé et le Travail des Femmes pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xii, 308); Henri Sellier, A. Bruggeman, Marcel Poète, *Paris pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*,

1926, pp. xii, 108); P. Masson, *Marseille pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. xii, 80); C. J. Gignoux, *Bourges pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. xii, 64); Henri Chardon, *L'Organisation de la République pour la Paix* (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. xxviii, 164).

Professor James W. Garner has brought out through Macmillan a volume on *Prize Law during the World War: a Study of the Jurisprudence of the Prize Courts, 1914-1924*.

The General Staff of the Belgian army announces for publication a *Relation Historique Officielle des Campagnes Coloniales Belges, 1914-1918*, in three volumes, of which the first will cover the operations in the Cameroons and in Rhodesia and the defense of the eastern frontier of the Belgian Congo, while the second and third will cover, respectively, the campaigns of 1916 and 1917 against German East Africa.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Der Krieg: Ursachen und Anlässe, Ziele und Folgen*, IV. *Der Weltkrieg* (Europäische Gespräche, January); M. Edith Durham, *The Sarajevo Murder Plot* (Current History, February); Baron Carl Collas, *Auf den Bosnischen Wegspuren der Kriegsschuldigen* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, January); J. W. Headlam-Morley, *The Origins of the War* (Quarterly Review, January); Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *British Revelations on the Outbreak of the War* (Current History, March); Graf M. Montgelas, *Die Englischen Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, February); Gunther Frantz, *Did Russian Mobilization Force War in 1914?* (Current History, March); Norbert von Baumbach, *Die Deutsche und die Britische Flotte bei Kriegausbruch* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, January); Konrad Lehmann, *Conrad v. Hötzendorf und die Deutsche Oberste Heeresleitung im Ersten Kriegshalbjaar* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 10-11); Paul Graf Wolff Metternich, *Eine Kriegskabinetts-Sitzung, October, 1918* (Europäische Gespräche, January).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: F. Cabrol, *Courrier Anglais: Angleterre et Amérique* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

Peter H. Ditchfield, author of *The Story of the Inns of Court*, now brings out *The Story of the City Companies*, being a history of the London gilds (Houghton Mifflin).

The National Library of Wales has printed in a handsome volume a *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers, 1515-1690* (Aberystwyth, the Library; London, Humphrey Milford, 1926, pp. xx, 511), describing nearly three thousand documents, mostly in the possession of the library, pertaining to the most influential of North Welsh families, and especially to the eminent Sir John Wynn of 1553-1627, the first baronet of the line. The book, composed with great care and very fully indexed, illustrates with a wealth of detail the political, military, economic, and social life of

North Wales, and to a less degree that of England, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Johns Hopkins Press announces the first of two volumes by Professor E. R. Turner on the *Privy Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.

Sir Frederick Pollock is editing for the Selden Society an unpublished manuscript of Selden's *Table Talk* belonging to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, unknown to the editors of former versions and superior to the latter.

English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century, by A. S. Turberville, is published by the Oxford University Press.

Professor Edward E. Curtis of Wellesley College has brought out through the Yale University Press *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution*.

Mr. J. M. Holzman's *The Nabobs in England* (New York, the author) is a study of the returned Anglo-Indians of the period from 1760 to 1785, with examination of the legends respecting their wealth and influence.

Monsignor Arthur S. Barnes, Catholic chaplain at the University of Oxford, supplies a chapter in the history of English education not easily available otherwise, in an historical volume on *The Catholic Schools of England*, especially those of the period since the French Revolution.

Philip Guedalla's latest volume, a life of Lord Palmerston, bears the simple title *Palmerston, 1784-1865* (Putnam).

The *Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIX^e Siècle* of M. Élie Halévy already comprises three volumes. To these he will add an *Épilogue* covering the period from 1895 to 1914, of which the first part, *Les Impérialistes au Pouvoir, 1895-1905*, has now appeared (Paris, Hachette, 1926).

Vol. II. of *Some Annals of the Borough of Devizes* (Devizes, George Simpson), published by permission of the town council, presents a series of extracts from the archives of the corporation, from 1791, where the first volume (1555-1791) ended, to 1835, the year of the passing of the Municipal Reform Act.

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for January there is an important article on Scottish Local Records, by Dr. David Murray of Glasgow, surveying the report of a departmental committee on that subject appointed in 1925 by the Secretary for Scotland, and conveying a great amount of detailed information respecting especially the records of sheriff courts.

Mr. Alan O. Anderson, whose *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers* was published in 1908 (see this journal, XXIX. 120), now follows that work by two volumes of the *Early Sources of Scottish History, A. D. 500 to 1286* (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, pp. clxviii, 1140), forming a similar collection from chroniclers of other nationalities than the English, the materials being presented in English translation.

Mrs. Theodora Pagan, formerly known to students of Scottish history under the name of Miss Theodora Keith, publishes through the Glasgow University Press an important contribution to Scottish constitutional history, *The Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland*.

British government publications: *Calendar of the Fine Rolls*, IX., Richard II., 1377-1383; *Calendar of State Papers, Rome*, ed. J. M. Rigg, vol. II., 1572-1578.

Other documentary volumes: *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon and Other Records*, ed. E. I. Fripp, vol. III., 1577-1586 (Dugdale Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. J. Randall, *The Antiquity of the English Village* (Edinburgh Review, January); A. H. Sweet, *The Control of English Episcopal Elections in the Thirteenth Century* (Catholic Historical Review, January); J. F. Willard, *The Crown and its Creditors, 1327-1333* (English Historical Review, January); B. Wiesman, *Father Robert Parsons, S.J.* (Catholic Historical Review, January); E. R. Turner, *The Excise Scheme of 1733* (English Historical Review, January); R. A. Roberts, *The Genesis of the Public Record Office* (Edinburgh Review, January); Erich Brandenburg, *Zur Englischen Politik während der Marokko-Krise von 1905* (Europäische Gespräche, January); Hans Rothfels, *Zur Beurteilung der Englischen Vorkriegspolitik* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 12).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 714; for India, see p. 700.)

Miss Eleanor Hull, secretary of the Irish Texts Society, brings out a volume intended to exhibit faithfully the medieval history of Ireland, *A History of Ireland and her People to the Close of the Tudor Period* (London, G. G. Harrap, pp. 512, illustrations).

The first volume of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (Macmillan) may be expected to appear during the present year. Its theme is the Old Empire, from its beginning until 1783. The chapters, as in the other Cambridge histories, have been prepared by various authoritative hands.

Dr. Alfred Zimmern's *The Third British Empire* (Oxford University Press, pp. 148) is a course of lectures delivered at Columbia University, in which the recent development and present status of the British Commonwealth of Nations are expounded with extraordinary clarity, fullness of information, and reasonableness.

The Oxford University Press has published a volume by E. O. G. Shann, entitled *Cattle Chosen: the Story of the first Group Settlement in Western Australia, 1829 to 1841*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Father Gregory Cleary, *St. Francis and Ireland* (Studies, December); W. F. Butler, *Plot and Counterplot in*

Elizabethan Ireland (*ibid.*); R. L. Schuyler, *Ireland and the English Parliament: an Imperial Phase of the Puritan Revolution* (Political Science Quarterly, December).

FRANCE

On January 25 a chair of American history and institutions, founded by the late Lee Kohns, of New York, was formally inaugurated at the Sorbonne, the first professor being M. Charles Cestre.

The first Congrès Français des Sciences Historiques, organized by the newly established French Committee of the Historical Sciences, will take place at the Sorbonne April 21-24, 1927. A congress of the history of law will occur in Paris on Whitsunday, June 5.

It is announced that the archive commission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has extended from 1848 to 1852 the date up to which papers in the archives of the ministry can be consulted by historical scholars.

To the *Histoire de la Nation Française* published under the direction of Gabriel Hanotaux has been added a second volume of the portion devoted to *La Géographie Humaine de la France*, dealing in this case with *Géographie Politique; Géographie du Travail*. The present volume is by Jean Brunhes and Pierre Deffontaines (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. viii, 656).

With vol. VIII., part II., *Les Empereurs de Trèves; la Terre et les Hommes*, the great work of Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, is now complete (Paris, Hachette, 1926).

Of undoubted importance in its field is vol. III. of *La Vie en France au Moyen Age du XII^e au Milieu du XIV^e Siècle*, by Ch. V. Langlois, who is here concerned with *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde, d'après des Écrits en Français à l'Usage des Laïcs* (Paris, Hachette, 1927, pp. xxxii, 400).

Medievalists and philologists will find much of interest in *Les Plus Anciennes Chartes en Langue Provençale*, a collection of documents prior to the thirteenth century, published together with a morphological study by Professor Clovis Brunel of the École des Chartes (Paris, Picard, 1926, pp. lxiii, 497).

More than a thousand unpublished pieces from the Angevin registers of Naples are printed in *Actes et Lettres de Charles I^{er}, Roi de Sicile, concernant la France, 1257-1284*, by Professor A. de Bouard of the École des Chartes, under the auspices of the École Française de Rome (Paris, Bocard, 1927, pp. viii, 416).

The house of Van Oest, of Paris and Brussels, has published in its series of handsomely illustrated books on the history of painting an *Histoire de la Peinture de Portrait en France au XVI^e Siècle*, by M. Louis Dimier, in three volumes, which present, besides historical and biographical narratives, a detailed catalogue of 3000 portraits of that century, the whole amounting to 1070 pages of text, with 56 heliotype

plates, reproducing 135 of the most important portraits. They have also completed, by the issue of volume III. (out of five), MM. Dimier and Réau's *Histoire de la Peinture Française*—five or six hundred quarto pages of text, with 320 plates. Another of their recent publications, important for both artistic and social history, is *Le Louvre et les Tuileries de Louis XIV.*, illustrated, by Professor Louis Hauteceur of the école des Beaux-Arts. Another, with introduction by the same editor, is a reproduction of that rare architectural classic, Jean Mariette's *L'Architecture Française, ou Recueil des Plans, etc., des Églises, Palais, Hôtels, et Maisons Particulières de Paris* (1727), in three volumes folio, with several facsimile plates.

Material for history will be found in the publication by Camille Monnet of *Bayard et la Maison de Savoie; Recueil de Notes et de Documents Inédits pour servir à l'Histoire du Bon Chevalier* (Paris, Bossard, 1926, pp. 150).

Fascicle 35 of the *Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* is *La Réunion de Metz à la France, 1552-1648*, part I., *L'Occupation*, by Gaston Zeller (Paris, Belles Lettres, 1926).

Vol. VII. of the *Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu*, edited by Robert Lavollée, has been published by the Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, Champion, 1927, pp. 310).

The unpublished memoirs of the Baron de Montbas, an officer in the army of Louis XIV., are printed with introduction and notes by the Viscomte de Montbas (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1927, pp. 348).

A fresh monograph by Fr. Funck-Brentano on the Old Régime is never lacking in interest; he contributes to the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire* a study of *Les Lettres de Cachet* (Paris, Hachette, 1927).

One of the regional studies to which the future historian of the period must turn for material is G. Charrier's *Histoire Religieuse du Département de la Nièvre pendant la Révolution* (Paris, Guitard, 1926, 2 vols., pp. 380, 420).

Boni and Liveright are publishing in English translation Emil Ludwig's *Napoleon: the Man of Destiny*.

To his many noteworthy publications in the Napoleonic period, Édouard Driault has added *La Chute de l'Empire; la Légende Napoléon, 1812-1815* (Paris, Alcan, 1927, pp. 484), as the fifth volume of his work, *Napoléon et l'Europe*.

The Restoration seems a period especially suited to the pen of Pierre de La Gorce. He has prepared a life of *Louis XVIII.* (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. iii, 329) and is now at work on that of Charles X.

La Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet by J. Lucas-Dubreton is the most recent enrichment of Fr. Funck-Brentano's series on the *Histoire de France racontée à Tous* (Paris, Hachette, 1926).

The tale of *L'Armistice de 1871* is retold for *Récits d'Autrefois* by Lt.-Col. Rousset (Paris, Hachette, 1927).

Presented as a thesis at the École des Chartes in 1899, crowned in manuscript form by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1923, the exhaustive *Essai sur les États de Vivarais depuis leurs Origines* by Auguste Le Sourd is the fruit of more than a quarter of a century of patient research (Paris, Société Générale d'Imprimerie, 1926, pp. xxii, 691).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. J. P. Wright, *Women and the Counter-Reformation in France* (Church Quarterly Review, October); J. Lebon, *Les Congrégations des Affaires de France sous Innocent XI.*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); Lucien Febvre, *Langue et Nationalité en France au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLII.); Yvonne Bésard, *Lettres de Guerre sous Louis XV.* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); Raymond Lenoir, *Vie Spirituelle et Politique sous Louis XVI.* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLII.); L. Guénau, *Le Rôle de Paris dans les Industries et le Commerce de la Soie et des Soieries à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, December); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Talleyrand à Saint-Sulpice et à la Sorbonne* (Revue de Paris, January 1); Albert Mathiez, *Études sur la Terreur; la Réorganisation du Gouvernement Révolutionnaire, Germinal-Floréal An II.* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, January); Paul Marmottan, *La Grande Duchesse Elisa et Fouché; Correspondance Inédite* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XL. 4); *Mémoires de la Reine Hortense*, IX.-XI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1, January 1, February 1); C. H. Pouthas, *Les Projets de Réforme Administrative sous la Restauration* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, October); A. L. Dunham, *The Influence of the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1860 on the Development of the Iron Industry in France* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February); L. H. Labande, *La Commune de Marseille, ses Origines, son Développement jusqu'à l'Acquisition de la Seigneurie des Vicomtes*, I., II. (Journal des Savants, December, January).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: Luis Araujo-Costa, *Courrier Espagnol* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

Under the title *Rom: eine Münchner Pilgerfahrt im Jubeljahre 1575*, Karl Schottenloher presents the journal of Dr. Jacob Rabus, court-preacher in Munich, who describes the Eternal City as he saw it in the days of the Counter-Reformation (Munich, Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1926, pp. 230).

Mention, though tardy, should be made of *Le Origini del Risorgimento Politico dell' Italia Meridionale* by Attilio Simone, being vol. I. of the *Biblioteca Storica Principato* under the direction of Pietro Egidi (Messina, Principato, 1925, pp. vii, 535) and also of the two volumes by the

distinguished Alessandro Luzio on *La Massoneria e il Risorgimento Italiano* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1925, pp. xii, 358, 300).

Count Aldobrandini Malvezzi has published the *Diario Politico, 1852-1856*, of the Countess Provagna di Collegno, which is in substance the memoirs of her husband, Count Giacinto Collegno, minister of Sardinia to France and member of the Piedmontese senate. They contain documents and correspondence of importance relative to the Congress of Paris and other matters (Milan, Hoepli, 1926, pp. xxxviii, 514).

Vol. III. of Paul Matter's able book, *Cavour et l'Unité Italienne*, is dedicated to the period between 1856 and 1861 (Paris, Alcan, 1927, pp. 497).

The *Miscellanea Storica*, which forms vol. LIII. of the *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, contains, of marked interest to our readers, a valuable paper by Signorina Maria G. Marengo on a free bank of discount at Genoa in the eighteenth century; a treatise of some 200 pages on the postal system of the Republic, by Onorato Pàstine; and a survey, by Giuseppe Pessagno, of all the outstanding questions respecting Columbus, in the light not only of all that is in the *Raccolta* but also of the notarial document discovered by Gen. Ugo Assereto and of M. de la Roncière's map.

In the *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, XIV. 4, M. Henri Sée has a valuable article, with a mass of supporting documents from the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the commerce of Cadiz, 1691-1752.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alfredo Galletti, *Nel VII. Centenario Francese*; *Il Cantico del Sole* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); Gioacchino Volpe, *Italia Trecentesca: I Quadri Politici* (*ibid.*, January 1); G. Paladino, *Studi Masanielliani* (Rivista Storica Italiana, September); Marcus De Rubris, *Genesi e Vicende del Primo Scritto Politico di Massimo D'Azeglio* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); Louis Bertrand, *Sainte Thérèse*, I.-V. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1-February 1).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: Paul E. Martin, *Histoire de Suisse; Publications des Années 1924 et 1925* (*Revue Historique*, November).

A new and comprehensive *Kulturgeschichte* in more than seven hundred pages has been published under the title *Germanische Wiedererstehung; ein Werk über die Germanischen Grundlagen unserer Gesittung* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1926) by Hermann Nollau in co-operation with C. Bojunga, A. Haupt, K. Helm, A. Heusler, O. Lauffer, F. von der Leyen, J. M. Müller-Blattau, and Claudius Freiherr von Schwerin.

A volume has been published by Konrad Beyerle, aided by thirty scholars, on *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau* in commemoration of the twelve-hundredth anniversary of the famous island monastery (Munich, Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1926, 2 vols., pp. 1300).

The *Thesaurus Philopoliticus*, a rare collection of 830 engravings of cities and castles begun by Daniel Meissner in the seventeenth century and of which a complete copy is to be found in but one German library, is offered in two volumes by Fritz Herrman and Leonhard Kraft of Darmstadt (Heidelberg, Winter, 1926).

Beiheft 8 of the *Historische Zeitschrift* is a sketch by Otto Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode of *Anton Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, ein Freund und Ratgeber König Friedrich Wilhelms IV.* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1926, pp. 144).

The late Miss Agnes B. Ferguson of Morningside College collected material for a biography of Gottfried Kinkel, on the basis of which Dr. Alfred R. de Jonge has prepared a small book on *Gottfried Kinkel as Political and Social Thinker* (pp. 156), which has been published by Columbia University for its Germanic department.

Drei Gestalten aus dem Modernen Katholizismus—Möhler, Diepenbrock, Döllinger, by Fritz Vigener, forms the subject-matter of Beiheft 7 of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1926, pp. 192).

The latest interpretation of the great German chancellor bears the title *Bismarck, Geschichte eines Kämpfers*, and is the work of Emil Ludwig (Berlin, Rowohlt, 1926, pp. 700). It has been widely reviewed.

Helmuth Wolff, in *Geschichtsauffassung und Politik in Bismarcks Bewusstsein* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1926, pp. 218), discusses Bismarck's views respecting history, freewill and necessity, etc., and the influence of historical reading and thought on his statesmanship.

The committee and subcommittees chosen to carry on the investigation directed by the Weimar Assembly into the causes of the German collapse in 1918 have been pursuing their labors for more than six years. As vol. VIII. of the fourth series in this study there is now offered *Der Deutsche Reichstag im Weltkrieg*, by Professor Bredt with the aid of Eugen Fischer and Walther Bloch (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1926).

The second chief of staff of the German army during the late war was luckless and unpopular; an effort to study his military record from a somewhat more sympathetic standpoint has been made by General H. von Zwehl in *Erich von Falkenhayn, eine Biographische Studie* (Berlin, Mittler, 1926, pp. xii, 341).

Professor Kuno Francke of Harvard University (one of the founding members of the American Historical Association in 1884) brings together in a small volume, *German After-War Problems* (Harvard University Press, pp. 135), three thoughtful and well-informed articles from the *Atlantic Monthly*, on intellectual currents in contemporary Germany, on Count Hermann Keyserling, and on German character, and has added to these a new chapter, on German after-war imagination.

The second volume of Dr. Ernst Baasch's *Geschichte Hamburgs* (Stuttgart, Perthes) tells the story from 1867 to 1918, from the days of an aristocratic senate of merchants to those of a workmen's and soldiers' council.

German Colonization Past and Future: the Truth about the German Colonies, by Dr. Heinrich Schnee, late governor of German East Africa, is an argument in behalf of the return to Germany of her former colonies. There is an introduction by William H. Dawson (New York, Knopf).

The Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv of Vienna announces the preparation, by one of its staff, Dr. Paul Kletler, of *Die Kunst im Oesterreichischen Siegel*, a book of 80 quarto pages of text and 40 photographic plates, based on the rich material in the archives.

In *Die Anfänge des Stehenden Heeres in Oesterreich* (Vienna, Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag), Dr. Eugen Heischmann studies the development of the Austrian military system from the time of the battle of Mohács, with the conclusion that, next after the Turks, the Austrian state was the first to maintain, summer and winter and from one campaign to another, from 1592 on, a standing military force.

The *Letters of Franz Joseph I.*, selected from the imperial portion of the Staatsarchiv at Vienna, and edited by Dr. Otto Ernst, are published by Messrs. Methuen of London in an English translation this spring.

Macmillan has brought out *The Social Revolution in Austria*, by C. A. Macartney.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Karl Helleiner, *Ein Deperditum von Heinrich IV.* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 4); Otto Brandt, *Zur Vorgeschichte der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Erhebung* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 10-11); Herbert Sultan, *Rodbertus und der Agrarische Sozialkonservatismus* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXII. 1); Hans Rothfels, *Zur Geschichte der Bismarckschen Innenpolitik* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 9); Eduard Heller, *Bismarcks Stellung zur Führung des Zweifronten-Krieges* (*ibid.*, IV. 12); Friedrich Hertneck, *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die Orientalische Frage im Zeitalter Bismarcks* (*ibid.*); Karl Klengenfuß, *Beust und Andrassy und die Kriegsgefahr von 1875* (*ibid.*); Rudolf Kiszling, *Die Militärischen Beziehungen und Bindungen zwischen Oesterreich-Ungarn und dem Deutschen Reiche vor dem Weltkriege* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, November); Victor Bredt, *Reichskanzler Michaelis und die Päpstliche Friedensaktion* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); *id.*, *Michaelis und Kühlmann* (*ibid.*, January).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Three small books on the early history of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the Netherlands are published by Menno Hertzberger of Amsterdam.

dam: Izak Prins, *De Vestiging der Marranen in Noord-Nederland in de Zestiende Eeuw*, based on fresh study of original documents; J. S. da Silvo Rosa, *De Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam, 1593-1925*; and S. Seeligmann, *Bibliographie en Historie: Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der eerste Sephardim te Amsterdam*, which presents a complete bibliography of all Spanish and Portuguese writings printed in the northern Netherlands before 1627.

Paul Verhaeren continues his massive study of *La Belgique sous la Domination Française* in a third volume dealing with *La Guerre des Paysans, 1798-1799* (Paris, Plon, 1927, pp. 725).

The Solvay Institute of Brussels presents, as a sociological study of facts, prepared in a scientific spirit, not to uphold any thesis, a volume entitled *La Belgique Restaurée* (pp. xi, 678), edited by E. Mahaim, and composed of ten chapters treating of the processes and results of reconstruction in respect to population, agriculture, industry, commerce, labor, finance, etc.

Mr. Malcolm Letts in *Bruges and Its Past* (London, Berry) provides many excellent chapters, based on original sources, relative to the history, archaeology, law, culture, and life of Bruges, with many of the features of a guide.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The third Congress of Scandinavian Historians took place at Gothenburg in 1923. The fourth was held on June 29-July 4 last, partly at Copenhagen, but more largely at Sorø. It was attended by historical scholars from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Iceland. A full report of the proceedings, which were of much interest, is given by Dr. Axel Linvald in the *Historisk Tidsskrift*, ninth ser., V. In view of the International Historical Congress to take place at Oslo in August, 1928, which will bring together many Scandinavian historians, it was agreed that the fifth "Nordiske Historikermøde" should take place in 1931, at Helsingfors, in Finland.

To the *Bibliothèque Historique* is added an anonymous volume entitled *Constantin Pobiedonostsev: Correspondance et Documents Inédits relatifs à l'Histoire du Règne de l'Empereur Alexandre III. de Russie, 1881-1894* (Paris, Payot, 1927).

For thirty-three years, General Eugene Vassilievitch Bogdanovitch and his wife Alexandra Victorovna maintained one of the great political salons of St. Petersburg. During this time (1879-1912) the general's wife kept a diary, which is now published as the *Journal de la Générale Bogdanovich*, translated by M. Lefebvre (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 320).

The Columbia University Press has published a volume by Elaine Elmett entitled *Historic Origin and Social Development of the Family in Russia*. Professor Franklin H. Giddings furnishes a preface.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Wilhelm Ohnesseit, *Die Deutschen Bauernkolonien in Südrussland von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); Gunther Frantz, *Die Meerengenfrage in der Vorkriegspolitik Russlands* (Deutsche Rundschau, February).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

General reviews: Louis Bréhier, *Histoire Byzantine; Publications des Années 1922-1926* (Revue Historique, November); Josef Matl, *Neueste Deutsche Literatur zur Geschichte Jugoslaviens, and Zur Neueren Historiographie Bulgariens betreffend* (Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven, n. F., II. 1).

The Rumanian School at Rome, conducted by Professor Vasile Pârvan, will hereafter issue its publications in two series, both in Italian: the annual *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, devoted in the main to studies in archaeology and the history of art, and a new series, *Diplomatarium Italicum*, containing historical documents respecting Rumania and its region, discovered in Italy by members of the school. The third volume of the *Ephemeris* (1925, pp. vi, 406) presents a monograph on Aricia, by Gr. Florescu; one on the spread of Italic civilization toward the lower Danube in the first iron age, by Ecaterina Dunăreanu-Vulpe; and one on the Illyrians in the Roman Empire, by Radu Vulpe. The first volume of the *Diplomatarium* (1925, pp. viii, 505) contains, first, from the archives of the Propaganda, a series of 68 letters of Catholic missionaries in Moldavia, 1639-1763, with a learned introduction of 90 pages on these missions, missionaries, and missionary activities; secondly, from the Orsini correspondence in the communal archives of Rome, letters respecting Rumanian affairs addressed to Cardinal Virginio Orsini by King John Casimir of Poland and others; and from the Vatican Archives a long series of reports of Bishop Claudio Rangoni, nuncio in Poland 1599-1605, and 94 letters of the last half of 1595 written by Sigismund III. of Poland, Sigismund Báthory, Michael the Brave, the nuncio Malaspina, and others. Altogether the volume offers a great enrichment of Rumanian history. Both books are handsome in form.

The Stanford University Press has brought out as a volume Miss Edith P. Stickney's essay on *Southern Albania in European Affairs, 1912-1923*, to which in December, 1925, the George Louis Beer prize was awarded by the American Historical Association.

A. F. Frangulis, former minister of state, has finished vol. II. of *La Grèce et la Crise Mondiale* (Paris, Alcan, 1927, pp. 592) for the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine*.

Dr. William Miller's *Trebizond, the Last Greek Empire* (London, S.P.C.K.), covers in a moderate compass, but with much competence, the history of the last offshoot of the Eastern Empire.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. de Szent Ivanyi, *L'Occupation Turque en Hongrie et ses Conséquences sur l'Évolution Ulérieure du*

Pays et sur celle de l'Europe Orientale (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October–December); Jakob Bleyer, *Von der Erforschung des Deutschen Kultureinflusses im Südöstlichen Europa* (Deutsche Rundschau, November).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Dr. A. A. Macdonnell, late professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, publishes a book entitled *India's Past* (Oxford University Press), tracing the intellectual and artistic history of the Aryan race in India till the arrival of the Europeans at the end of the fifteenth century.

Farmers of Forty Centuries: or Permanent Agriculture in China, Korea, and Japan, by F. H. King, edited by J. P. Bruce, originally privately printed, is now published by Harcourt.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commandant Haillet, *Les Origines du Califat* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); Adm. G. A. Ballard, *The First and Second Anglo-French Conflicts in the Indian Ocean* (Mariner's Mirror, January); Vicomte Motono, *Quelques Considérations Historiques sur la Politique Extérieure du Japon* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XL. 4).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Justifying the inclusion of an *Histoire d'Algérie* in a series on the old provinces of France, attention is directed by the publishers to the fact that Algeria has been under the French flag for nearly a century. The authors are Professors S. Gsell of the Collège de France, G. Marçais and G. Yver of the University of Algiers (Paris, Boivin, 1927, pp. vi, 328).

Commandant Gillier, of the French colonial infantry, in a substantial and well-informed book with the title *La Pénétration en Mauritanie* (Paris, Paul Geuthner, pp. 359) develops the whole history, from 1817 to 1925, of the gradual French occupation of the region of West Africa north of the Senegal River and south of Rio de Oro.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Ladreit de Lacharrière, *La Tache de Taza et l'Action Militaire de la France au Maroc*, II. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October–December).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published for the Department of Historical Research the second volume (pp. xv, 564) of *Proceedings and Debates of British Parliaments respecting North America*, edited by Dr. L. F. Stock. It contains all recoverable proceedings and debates of the Parliaments of England, Scotland, and Ireland through the reigns of William and Mary and William III.—1689–1702. Mr. Leland expects, before returning to America in July, to have finished the first

volume (Libraries) of his *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives and Libraries of Paris*. Mr. David W. Parker is in Paris assisting him in the work. At the first French Congress of the Historical Sciences, April 21-23, Mr. Leland reads a paper on the sources of American history in France.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are the voluminous correspondence of George W. Julian, 1849-1899; the journal of Past Midshipman J. G. Sproston kept during the Perry expedition to Japan in 1854; the diary of Gideon Welles, Jan. 7-Mar. 4, 1856; the letters of Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft to Senator J. B. Foraker; the correspondence of Col. John R. Procter, member of the Civil Service Commission during its formative period; additions to the Lincoln papers; and photostats of the Franklin Pierce letters in the possession of the New Hampshire Historical Society, 1833-1852 (1716 sheets).

In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1926, the leading paper, and an interesting one, with useful illustrations, is one on Some Imaginary California Geography, by Henry R. Wagner. There is also a full account of the Military Record of Brig.-Gen. John Nixon of Massachusetts, by John M. Merriam. Mr. Waldo Lincoln adds a list of the society's newspapers of the West Indies and Bermuda.

Professor John H. Latané's *History of American Foreign Policy* has come from the press (Doubleday).

The State as a Party Litigant, by Robert D. Watkins, appears among the Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*.

Ole Rynning's *Sandfaerdig Beretning om Amerika* (Christiania, 1838) is now an exceedingly rare little book, of which only two copies appear to be known; it was, however, in its day exceedingly influential in Norway among people who considered migration to America, the author having been a man of superior education, whose descriptions were careful, intelligent, and hopeful. The Norwegian-American Historical Association inaugurates a "travel and description series" by printing, in a pamphlet of 100 pages, *Ole Rynning's True Account of America*, the Norwegian text of the book with an English translation and an historical introduction by Professor Theodore C. Blegen.

Under the general title *Indian Tribes and Missions* the Church Missions Publishing Company of Hartford has brought out a handbook of the history of North American Indians, together with an account of the early missionary efforts and missions of the Episcopal Church.

Professor Francis H. Herrick furnishes a useful compilation of first-rate observations of life on the outskirts of civilization in the United States a hundred years ago, by drawing off from Audubon's *Ornithological Biography*, in a volume published by G. A. Baker and Company, that gifted observer's *Delineations of American Scenery and Character*.

Willard G. Bleyer, professor of journalism in the University of Wisconsin, has brought out through the Houghton Mifflin Company a volume entitled *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism*.

The Vanguard Press has included in the series of *Current Social Science Studies* a small volume by C. H. Hamlin, entitled *The War Myth in United States History*, for which Rev. Charles F. Dole writes an introduction.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mr. Howard M. Chapin, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, proposes to publish in a limited edition a careful history of American privateering in the period from 1625 to 1725, *Privateer Ships and Sailors: the First Century of American Colonial Privateering* (pp. 256).

Hawkers and Walkers in Early America, by Richardson L. Wright, is an account of strolling pedlars, preachers, lawyers, doctors, and players (Lippincott).

In the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, January number, Mr. Francis B. C. Bradlee has a paper on Colonial Trade and Commerce, 1733-1774.

The Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York has published in a small volume *The Journals and Papers of Seth Pomeroy*, officer in the colonial forces of Massachusetts from 1743 to his death in 1777, and major-general in the Revolutionary army.

William J. Lauck is the author of a volume entitled *Political and Industrial Democracy, 1776-1926*, which Funk and Wagnall have published.

Mr. Charles F. Jenkins has brought out through Doubleday, Page, and Company, *Button Gwinnett: Signer of the Declaration of Independence*.

Professor Frank A. Golder, with the aid of a group of letters of Paul Jones to Prince Potemkin which he found in Russian archives, and other materials, has composed a narrative of *John Paul Jones in Russia*, which Doubleday, Page, and Company, have just published.

Mr. Mantle Fielding, of 521 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, has ready for delivery to subscribers his *Gilbert Stuart and his Portraits of George Washington*, with some forty reproductions made from the original paintings. The edition is limited.

Under a concurrent resolution of the two houses of Congress, adopted last May, ten thousand copies have been printed of a handsome volume of quarto size, *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States* (Government Printing Office, 1927, pp. x, 1115), selected, arranged, and indexed by Dr. Charles C. Tansill, and containing, besides the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, and a score of other pertinent documents, the whole text of Madison's notes of debates in the Convention of 1787, those made by Pierce, King, Paterson, Hamilton, and McHenry, and all the variant texts

of all four of the plans laid before that body. Copies can be obtained by application to members of the Sixty-ninth Congress.

Dr. V. Reginald Hughes, O.P., in a volume based on careful research, *The Right Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., First Bishop of New York, 1747-1810* (Freiburg, Switzerland, *Studia Friburgensia*, 1926, pp. xii, 232), treats of the history of an eminent Dominican who, after having been for some time the leading English-speaking agent in Rome of Catholic prelates, was nominated by the Holy See in 1808 as the first bishop of New York, but was never able to reach his diocese.

Professor Louis M. Sears has brought out through the Duke University Press a study of *Jefferson and the Embargo*.

One of the Johns Hopkins Romance studies is *Louis Hue Girardin and Nicholas Gouin Dufief*, by Miss Edith Philips of Goucher College, treating of two refugees from the French Revolution. Correspondence of Girardin with Jefferson is printed, concerning chiefly the former's *History of Virginia* (vol. IV., continuing Burk). Both were teachers, Girardin in Virginia and Baltimore, Dufief in Philadelphia, where he developed a "natural method" of teaching French.

William Henry Harrison: a Political Biography, by Mrs. Dorothy B. Goebel, is vol. XIV. of the *Indiana Historical Collections*.

The French general Régis de Trobriand, U. S. A., commanded in 1867-1869 the military district of the Upper Missouri. His journal, in French, abounding in ethnographic details respecting the Indian tribes, has been published—*Vie Militaire dans le Dakota; Notes et Souvenirs, 1867-1869* (Paris, Champion, 1927, pp. xvi, 407).

Messrs. Scribner have brought out *Readings in Recent American Constitutional History, 1876-1926*, edited by Professors Allen Johnson and William A. Robinson—135 documents, of which sixty are from the judicial reports, twenty from the statutes, others from constitutions, speeches, articles in legal and other periodicals, etc.—an admirable collection.

Senate Document no. 93 of the 69th Congress, 1st session (pp. 148), is a complete list, briefly descriptive, of all *Proposed Amendments* to the Constitution of the United States introduced in Congress from December 4, 1889, where Professor Ames's list in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1896 leaves off, to July 2, 1926. The list and its index were prepared by Dr. C. C. Tansill.

Frederick S. Wood has gathered into a volume, entitled *Roosevelt as We Knew Him*, the recollections of 150 of his friends and associates (Philadelphia, Winston).

Messrs. Putnam have brought out *The Life of Joseph Rucker Lamar, 1857-1916*, late justice of the Supreme Court, by Clarinda Pendleton Lamar.

Professor Charles Seymour, of Yale University, is preparing for the press the two concluding volumes of the *Intimate Papers of Colonel House*.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The first number of the *Journal of New England History* is expected to appear in January, 1928.

John Carroll Chase, president of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, has supplemented the history of Chester, N. H., published in 1869 by his grandfather Benjamin Chase, by the publication and issue of *A History of Chester, New Hampshire, including Auburn* (Derry, N. H., the compiler, 1926, pp. 535), in which, without unnecessary duplication of the earlier volume, he has printed chapters on early proprietary records, the royal charter, the various churches and ministers, the military and industrial history, etc.

A History of the Grange in Vermont, by Guy B. Horton, is brought out by the Vermont State Grange (Montpelier).

The October–November serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains, besides commemorations of President Eliot, three letters of Harrison Gray Otis, 1814, 1815, 1819, the first two relating to the Hartford Convention.

The eighth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* (pp. xvi, 457) contains the records of seven sessions, from that of November, 1727, to that of April, 1729, inclusive, embracing the remaining period of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer and nearly the first year of Governor Burnet, who arrived in June, 1728. The matters of most importance in these journals relate to the establishment of additional frontier towns, defense, bills of credit, and the never-ending struggle between the governor and the purse-holding representatives. The apportionment of taxes to each town is given for the first time. It appears that the original edition of these journals, now so excessively rare, was of 250 copies.

Printing at Salem began in 1768. The Essex Institute offers for subscription, at \$8.00, *Salem Imprints, 1768–1825* (pp. 400), comprising the history of the first fifty years of printing in that town, with a list of more than 1800 imprints, some account of the bookshops, book-sellers, book-binders, and private libraries of Salem, and illustrations.

Edward C. Starr is the author of *A History of Cornwall, Connecticut* (Cornwall, the author).

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The educational department of the state government at Albany (University of the State of New York) has issued for general use as part of the programme of the state committee on the 150th anniversary of the American Revolution, a well-illustrated book of 371 pages, prepared by the Division of Archives and History, on *The American Revolution in*

New York: its Political, Social, and Economic Significance. It is an admirable summary of the political and military events that occurred within that state, of the constitutional arrangements, of the processes of finance and supply, of the doings and fate of the Loyalists, and of the political, social, economic, religious, and cultural results of the movement. This is followed by lists of events that may be commemorated, of historic sites that may be marked, and of works relating to the subject; by a group of some twenty-five important documents illustrating the course of the Revolution in the state; and by useful suggestions for programmes of state and local celebration. The state is to be congratulated upon being enabled, by this book, to place the celebrations on so high a level of intelligence and fitness.

The October number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association contains an account of the dedication in August last of the Headquarters Building at Ticonderoga, including the several addresses on the occasion, together with a description of the building (a replica of the Hancock house in Boston), by Edward F. Rouse, and a description of the old Hancock house by A. C. Flick. Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., contributes Some Contemporary Letters about the Resumption of Specie Payments and the Geneva Arbitration; Philip Auchampaugh an article on Making Amendments in the Fifties: the Story of New York Factions, 1856; and Mrs. Theodore de Laporte of Rhinebeck some letters of Benjamin Bogardus, 1776, pertaining to Westchester. In the January number are found a brief paper by Reginald P. Bolton on Fighting around New York City in 1776; one by George O. Slingerland on Restoring Revolutionary Battlefields; and an installment of Garrison Orders and Proceedings of Fort Niagara, etc., 1812-1813.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for November begins an historical account of Early Library Development in New York State, 1800-1900. This is completed in the December issue. The former number contains also a bibliographical account of an exhibition illustrative of Jewish life in Oriental countries.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society has in the January issue an article by William R. Ward on Washington's Retreat through the Jerseys, 1776, the concluding installment (barring some appendixes) of E. Alfred Jones's papers on the Loyalists of New Jersey in the Revolution, and a continuation of the late Dr. John C. Honeyman's papers on Zion, St. Paul, and other Early Lutheran Churches in Central New Jersey.

The *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, XV. 2 (pp. 100), is filled with the correspondence of James Logan, of Pennsylvania, and Thomas Story, of England, eminent Friends both, an important correspondence for Pennsylvania and Quaker history.

The principal article in the January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* is one entitled the Romance of the National Pike,

by Mrs. Carroll Miller. There are also a paper entitled the Romance of Local History, by Joseph H. Bausman, and Some Historical Notes of South-West Pennsylvania, by James L. Bowman, both articles to be continued.

Revolutionary Soldiers of Warren County, Pennsylvania, is a small volume of which Lucy M. D. Cowan is the author (Warren, Pa., Mrs. D. C. Shuler, Box 604).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Ante-Bellum Southern Commercial Conventions, a monograph by John G. Van Deusen, instructor in history in Columbia University, is issued as *Historical Papers*, series XVI., of the Trinity College Historical Society (Duke University Press). From about 1835 to near the outbreak of the war there was a stream of conventions with varying objects: first, the establishment of direct trade with Europe, then railroad developments, larger commercial aims, disunion.

Articles in the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, other than continuations hitherto mentioned, are: Calvert and Darnall Gleanings from English Wills, by Mrs. Russell Hastings; How Maryland became a Sovereign State, by William L. Marbury; and a descriptive list of Records of Kent County, contributed by Louis D. Scisco.

Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth of the John Carter Brown Library is publishing through the Appeals Press of Richmond, Virginia, *William Parks, Printer and Journalist of England and Colonial America*. This is a more ample account of Parks and his work than that embodied in the author's *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922).

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has in the January number, aside from continued series, an article by F. H. on Imprisonment for Debt in Colonial Virginia, a letter of Mrs. William H. Fitzhugh, 1853, concerning the funeral of Mrs. G. W. P. Custis, and one of Mrs. Robert E. Lee, Oct. 12, 1870, concerning the death of General Lee. There is also a catalogue of portraits in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society, with a tentative plan for their arrangement in Virginia House.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* has in the January number the address, entitled the Fighting Editor, delivered by Judge Robert M. Hughes before the Virginia Press Association, at Farmville, Jan. 15, 1926; an address of Dr. James Brown Scott on George Mason; a continuation of the studies of Professor Kathleen Bruce on Slave Labor in the Virginia Iron Industry; some letters of Edward Coles, 1822-1834, chiefly to James Madison; and a number of documents of Sir Francis Wyatt as governor of Virginia.

Editorial articles in the January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are: Was Lincoln an Ideal? and a Discussion of the Confederate Forces in the War for Southern Independence.

There are a number of letters of interest: one from General Smallwood to General Greene, 1780, one from Thomas Green to Thomas W. Gilmer, 1834, one from John Bell to R. P. Letcher, 1841, one from J. J. Crittenden to Chapman Coleman, 1841, and a group of letters (1805-1809) from Judge Peter Lyons to his granddaughter.

The University of West Virginia puts forth a volume by Professor James M. Callahan, *History of the Making of Morgantown, West Virginia: a Type Study in Trans-Appalachian Local History* (Morgantown, 1926, pp. 330, with illustrations, maps, and plans).

The *Eleventh Biennial Report* (1924-1926) of the North Carolina Historical Commission records many valuable accessions of manuscripts and records, both by acquisition and transfer. Among these were numerous county records (93 volumes and 22 boxes), executive records (25 volumes), English and Spanish photostats and transcripts (nearly 20,000 pages), large additions to the so-called private collections, to the Civil War papers, the World War records, 245 maps, etc. The commission has in press *A History of North Carolina in the War between the States*, vols. I. and II., by General D. H. Hill, and the *Public Letters and Papers of Cameron Morrison, Governor of North Carolina, 1921-1925*.

The January number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* contains an article by Professor J. G. de R. Hamilton on the Preservation of North Carolina History; one by Professor E. Merton Coulter on the Movement for Agricultural Reorganization in the Cotton South during the Civil War; and one by Professor Percy S. Flippin on Governor William Gooch of Virginia. The eighteenth-century tracts in this issue are: *The Independent Citizen* (1787), dealing with the subject of legislative restriction upon jury trial, and *A Petition and Remonstrance to the President and Congress of the United States* (1791?), complaining against the excise law. Among the "Historical Notes" are parts of two letters from William Hooper to Robert Morris, Dec. 28, 1776, and May 27, 1777, printed from a scrap-book. The letter of May 27 is to be found in its entirety in the New York Historical Society's *Collections: Revolutionary Papers*, I. 427.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* continues in the numbers for April and July, 1926, the correspondence of Arthur Middleton. The letters in the April number are chiefly of the year 1782 and include three from the delegates in Congress, five from C. C. Pinckney, three from Governor Mathews, and two from Ralph Izard. Those in the July number are principally of the years 1775-1779, among them eight letters from Arthur Middleton to William Henry Drayton, two from Pierce Butler, two from Henry Laurens, one from John Adams, and one from Governor James Wright of Georgia to Lord William Campbell, governor of South Carolina, June 27, 1775. Mr. Joseph W. Barnwell, who edited this remarkable body of Middleton correspondence, contributes to the October number of the *Magazine* an article on Fort King George,

embodying the Journal of Col. John Barnwell in the construction of the fort on the Altamaha in 1721, and accompanied by a map. Mr. F. B. Taylor contributes a sketch of Col. Thomas Taylor (1743-1833). The number for January presents Colonel J. C. Senf's description (1800) of the Santee Canal, of which he was engineer; and a body of seventeenth-century records of the Society of Friends in Charleston.

Henry T. Thompson is the author of a volume entitled *Ousting the Carpetbagger from South Carolina*, which the R. L. Bryan Company of Columbia has published.

The Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention has published (Nashville) a *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce*, for many years president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, from the pen of Dr. Boyce's successor in the presidency of that institution, Dr. John A. Broadus. President William J. McGlothlin of Furman University is the author of a history of that university, which the same board has published, under the title, *Baptist Beginnings in Education*. *The Life Work of James Clement Furman*, written by Harvey T. Cook, is the biography of a Baptist minister and educator, for many years president of that university (Greenville, South Carolina, the author).

The Duke University Press has brought out *Georgia and the Union in 1850*, by Dr. Richard H. Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania.

The Florida State Historical Society expects to publish before long a volume of the letters of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Spanish text and translation, edited by Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor, and, later, a volume of the letters of Don Manuel de Montiano, a later governor, Spanish text and translation, by Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., of the University of North Carolina. Together they will make a highly important addition to our materials for the history of Spanish Florida.

Mrs. Nicholas Ware Eppes (Susan Bradford Eppes) of Tallahassee has written and publishes a little volume on *The Negro of the Old South* (pp. 203), which she designates and intends as a "bit of period history", and has followed it by a larger volume, *Through Some Eventful Years* (pp. 378), which illustrates the period of Southern history from about 1856 to 1870 by local recollections, very well told, and by opinions characteristic of a lady of the Old South. The incidents related are good material for Florida social history; the opinions on larger or political matters declare the beneficence of slavery and the supreme excellence of the Southern social system.

Mr. Henry P. Dart contributes to the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for October, 1925, an article on Imprisonment for Debt in French Louisiana, 1743, and an account of the sale of Chaouachas Plantation, 1737-1738, together with an important body of documents in translation (53 pages in extent) concerning the sale. Mr. John S. Kendall contributes an article on Journalism in New Orleans between 1880 and 1900, Mr. W. O. Hart one on the New Orleans *Times* and the New Orleans *Democrat*, and Mr.

Bussiere Rouen a brief account of *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans* and its passing. The number for January, 1926, is devoted almost entirely to documents on the battle of New Orleans: a letter of Wellington to Lord Longford, Brussels, May 22, 1815, on the death of the latter's brother, Sir Edward Pakenham; a contemporary account by an unknown soldier in the ranks; a long defense by Gen. D. B. Morgan of the fighting on the right bank of the river; a Massachusetts volunteer's letter to his wife; and, chief of all, a reprint from the Dublin 1815 pamphlet of the court martial of Lt.-Col. Mullins of the 44th. The records of the superior court of Louisiana are carried on from February to June 1, 1737, and the calendar of the Spanish judicial records from June, 1772, to March, 1773.

WESTERN STATES

The March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has an entertaining article on the Life of the Common Soldier in the Union Army, by Professor Fred A. Shannon; a narrative of the operation of the Land Laws in the Minnesota Iron District, by Professor Fremont P. Wirth; an article on William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812, by Professor Beverley W. Bond, jr.; and one on the Federal Civil Service under President Jackson, by Professor Erik M. Eriksson.

The Western Reserve Historical Society has received, from the granddaughter of Governor Edward Tiffin, a collection of over 1500 manuscripts from the correspondence of the first governor of Ohio.

The Indiana Historical Bureau is preparing for publication in the fall the order-book of the garrison of Fort Wayne from 1802 to 1811, together with the account-book of John Johnston, Indian agent at Fort Wayne, with an introduction and notes by B. J. Griswold.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for December contains, besides a record of historical activities in the state, a brief discussion of the need of a state library and historical building, and a lamentation over the enforced closing of the state museum because of the necessity of surrendering most of its space to the automobile department.

The December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a paper on Pioneer Presbyterianism in Indiana, by Professor James A. Woodburn, and the Memoir of Enoch Parr (1785-1851), a refreshing story of pioneer efforts, religion, and politics.

A History of the Lake and Calumet Region of Indiana, in two volumes, is soon to be published. It has been compiled under the direction of Thomas H. Cannon of Gary, Judge H. H. Loring of Valparaiso, and Charles J. Robb of Michigan City.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* comes out in a double number for the period April-July, 1926. The contents include a discussion by Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the Daniel Boone Myth; a paper by John M. Zane entitled a Rare Judicial Service, being an account

of the work of Charles S. Zane as chief-justice of the court opened in Salt Lake City in 1884 to try the Mormon cases; and the Autobiography of Abel Mills (1829-1919). There is also a sketch, by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, of Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, late secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society and editor of the *Journal*.

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* begins in the January number a series of papers by Joseph J. Thompson, entitled *Illinois: the Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America: a Documentary History*. Among the other contents are an English translation, by Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., of the Journey of the Bishop of Walla Walla (over the Oregon Trail in 1847); an article on the American Federation of Catholic Societies, by Anthony Matré; and Bishop England's Correspondence with Bishop Rosati, contributed by Rev. John Rothensteiner. Rev. Henry S. Spalding's Life of James Marquette is continued.

The second number (January) of *The History Quarterly*, the new journal inaugurated by the Filson Club, has an article by Young E. Allison entitled a Chapter of Trappist History in Kentucky, and one by Rolf Johannesen entitled a Roman Town in Africa. Milo M. Quaife's paper, When Detroit invaded Kentucky, is reprinted from the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, vol. IV., no. 2. There is also a deposition of Daniel Boone, 1817, respecting his trip to Kentucky in 1774.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society prints in the January number a first installment of the Life and Times of Robert B. McAfee and his Family and Connections, written by himself in 1845. Among the documents is a record ("returns") of Virginia justices of the peace and military officers in the District of Kentucky prior to 1792.

The Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tenn., is inaugurating a series of historical narratives of early days in the old Southwest, to bear the general title *Holston Historical Library*. The first volume of the series is *Historical Sketches of the Holston Valleys*, by Thomas W. Preston.

The Michigan Historical Commission has published the third volume of the *Messages of the Governors of Michigan* (pp. 752), from Governor H. P. Baldwin of 1869 to Governor J. T. Rich of 1897, inclusive.

Among the contributions to the January number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: Dr. Tappan as Builder of the University, by Charles M. Perry; Old Times at Michigan, by George D. Chafee; a Michigan Gold Mine, by George A. Newett; and Michigan Democracy in the Civil War, by John P. Pritchett.

The leading article in the September *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia is the first installment of a sketch of the life of Father Gabriel Richard, of Detroit (1769-1832), by Rev. Paul M. Judson, O.S.A.

In the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* Dr. Joseph Schafer has an article on the Genesis of Wisconsin's Free High

School System, Harry Barsantee discourses upon the History and Development of the Telephone in Wisconsin, and Frank G. Swoboda writes briefly concerning Agricultural Co-operation in Wisconsin. There is also a note by Robert Wild, summarizing and commenting upon the Belknap Impeachment Trial. Documents in this issue are: an autobiography (first installment) of Robert Fargo (1828-1908), and the Civil War Diary of Herman Salomon.

A biography of William Penn Lyon, by his daughter, Mrs. Lyon Hayes, has been appearing in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Mrs. Hayes has now provided for its issue as a book, and it will appear as a publication of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The society will also publish, at the cost of Dr. Joseph Schneider, the facsimile of the *Pharmacopoeia Augustana*, heretofore mentioned, edited by Professor Edward Kremers, and hopes that the legislature may provide the means for completing its historical work on the state constitution by issuing the fourth volume, containing the excessively rare journal of the second constitutional convention.

The Minnesota Historical Society has completed its calendar of the Papers of the American Fur Company (see p. 519, *supra*) and also the compilation and indexing of the abstracts of fur-traders' licenses (1765-1790) in the Canadian archives at Ottawa.

In the December number of *Minnesota History* Irving H. Hart discusses the Site of the Northwest Company Post on Sandy Lake, and John P. Pritchett presents some Sidelights on the Sibley Expedition from the Diary of a Private (Henry J. Hagadorn). There is also a descriptive letter written by William K. McFarlane, from the Falls of St. Anthony, 1855.

The Life of Knutè Nelson, late senator from Minnesota, by Martin W. Odland, has been published in Minneapolis by the Lund Press.

The State Historical Society of Iowa expects to publish a volume in the nature of an historical interpretation of Iowa, by Mr. Irving B. Richman.

In the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Erik M. Eriksson has a biographical account of William Penn Clarke (1817-1903), newspaper editor and lawyer, an outstanding figure in the constitutional convention of 1857, and active in politics to the close of the Civil War. Hubert H. Hoeltje contributes extensive Notes on the History of Lecturing in Iowa, 1855-1885.

In the January number of the *Annals of Iowa* is a very interesting article by Cal. Ogburn on the Pioneer Religious Revival. Benjamin F. Pearson's War Diary is concluded in this issue.

In the December number of the *Palimpsest* Marie E. Meyer gives some account of the rise and decline of river towns along the Iowa border. In the February number John E. Briggs relates the history of the contests over the location of the Iowa capital.

The Missouri Historical Society has acquired photostat copies of a remarkable series of several scores of Guillaume de l'Isle's maps.

Among the contents of the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: When Cleveland came to St. Louis, by Walter B. Stevens; a Study in Missouri Politics, 1840-1870 (first article), by Raymond D. Thomas; the Missouri River and its Victims (first article), by W. J. McDonald; Pioneer Life in Callaway County, by Olive Bell; Campaigning with Mark Twain, by Absalom Grimes, edited by M. M. Quaife; and, in Daniel M. Grissom's series of Personal Recollections of Distinguished Missourians, some account of Gen. John B. Clark (1802-1885).

A History of Laclede County, Missouri, from 1820 to 1926, by Leo Nyberg, is published in Lebanon by the Rustic Printers.

The Arkansas division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy announces the publication of *Arkansas in War and Reconstruction, 1861-1874*, by Professor David Y. Thomas of the University of Arkansas, a book of 446 pages, dealing at length with the military and political history of the state during the period indicated.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Roscoe C. Martin on the Greenback Party in Texas; some Extracts from the Reminiscences of Gen. George W. Morgan, contributed by Samuel E. Asbury; a first installment of Descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians, translated and edited by Mrs. Mattie Austin Hatcher; and a second installment of the Diary of Adolphus Sterne, edited by Harriet Smither.

The State Historical Society of North Dakota began in October the issue of a journal, the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, of which the first volume is reckoned as vol. VIII. of the society's *Collections*. In the two numbers thus far published the most interesting matters are pages of recollections: in the October number, those of A. C. Huidekoper, rancher in the Bad Lands, 1879-1887, and of Robert Campbell, Scottish sheep farmer, describing a journey from Fort Garry to Kentucky for sheep; in the January number the experiences of Smith Stimmel as a member of President Lincoln's bodyguard at Washington, 1863-1865; portions of a diary of Dr. B. F. Slaughter, assistant surgeon for the 17th Infantry at Fort Rice in 1871; and the portion relative to North Dakota of the journal of Lieutenant H. A. Maynadier on a boat trip down the Missouri from Fort Union to Omaha in 1860, reprinted from Reynolds's *Exploration of the Yellowstone River* (Washington, 1868).

Among the contents of the December number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* are: a sketch, by Mrs. Czarina Conlan, of David Folsom (1791-1847), "first Republican Chief of the Choctaw Nation"; one, by E. E. Dale, of John Rollin Ridge (born 1827), Cherokee "poet, scholar, adventurer, argonaut, journalist, and man of letters"; a Journey across Oklahoma Ninety Years ago, by W. B. Morrison; Captain Nathan Boone's Survey of the Creek-Cherokee Boundary Line (1833), contributed, with

an introduction, by Grant Foreman; and Some Experiences in the Sac and Fox Reservation, by J. Y. Bryce.

In the January number of the *Colorado Magazine* Joseph L. Kingsbury describes the Pike's Peak Rush of 1859 and J. A. Jeancon discourses upon the Antiquities of Moffat County, Colo.

The January number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* has an article on Music Teaching in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century, by Lota M. Spell; an address by Paul A. F. Walter on the First Meeting of the New Mexico Educational Association (Santa Fé, 1886); and an account, by Bess McKinnan, of the Toll Road over Raton Pass. Mr. Walter's papers on New Mexico in the Great War and G. P. Hammond's studies of the Founding of New Mexico are continued.

Kit Carson's Own Story of his Life as Dictated to Colonel and Mrs. D. C. Peters about 1856-57, edited by Blanche C. Grant, is brought out in Taos, N. M., by the editor.

Col. W. C. Brown, U. S. A. retired, is the author of a short monograph on *The Sheepeater Campaign*, a campaign against the so-called "sheepeater" Indians in middle Idaho in 1879. Colonel Brown, as second lieutenant, was with Lieutenant E. S. Farrow's Umatilla Indian scouts throughout the campaign. In this account, reprinted from the *Tenth Biennial Report* of the Idaho Historical Society, he has utilized diaries and official records.

In the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Judge F. W. Howay writes concerning the Early Followers of Captain Gray, Mr. Lawrence F. Abbott discourses upon New York and Astoria, Mrs. Richard Aldrich furnishes some Notes on the Astors, and Mr. J. Orin Oliphant contributes some considerable additions to Professor Meany's account of Newspapers of Washington Territory. In the section of documents are two new letters of Captain Vancouver, and some military communications (1862) relating to the career of Colonel (afterward General) B. L. E. Bonneville, whose name is inseparably linked with the Oregon question.

Articles in the December number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* are: James Douglas on the Columbia, 1830-1849, by Professor W. N. Sage of the University of British Columbia; Pioneer Pot Pourri, by Charles B. Moores; Broughton on the Columbia in 1792, by J. Neilson Barry; and the fifth installment of Lewis A. McArthur's studies of Oregon Geographic Names.

Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, by W. Egbert Schenck, is among the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*.

The *Report* of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii for the two years ending with December, 1926, contains, besides an interesting record of searches and achievements, two groups of official des-

patches illustrating politics in Hawaii in 1853, the one from Luther Severance, United States commissioner, the other from William Miller, British consul general; also some twenty despatches to the Foreign Office from W. W. S. Syngé, British consul general, 1862-1864, showing the nature and operation of British influence in the islands.

CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* for December has articles on the Confederate Council of Trade which met in Quebec in 1865 and had a part in preparing for confederation. This is by Mr. Norman M. Rogers. Mr. A. H. U. Colquhoun has a paper on the Career of Joseph Willcocks, agitator in Upper Canada; Professor R. L. Reid one on the First Bank in Western Canada (MacDonald's Bank, established in Victoria, B. C., in 1859). The section of documents presents the minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company's council of the northern department of Rupert's Land for 1825, illustrating the history of the Canadian Northwest immediately after the union of the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies.

The biographical series *Makers of Canada*, issued more than twenty years ago, has now been brought out in a new and greatly improved edition, edited by Principal W. L. Grant (Toronto, Oxford University Press, twelve vols.). Besides much revision, the new edition is marked by the substitution of new lives of Bishop Laval and of Lord Elgin, by Abbé H. A. Scott and Professor W. P. M. Kennedy respectively; by the incorporation of Sir John Willison's remarkable *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, originally published in 1903 but now brought down to Sir Wilfrid's death in 1919, of Mr. Walter Vaughan's *Life of Sir William Van Horne* (1920), and of a new life of Lord Strathcona, by Professor John Macnaughton. Finally, in place of the *Index and Dictionary of Canadian History* (1911) there has been substituted, as vol. XII. of the new series, an *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Canadian History* (pp. 699, maps and illustrations), carefully prepared by the competent hands of Mr. L. J. Burpee.

The Ryerson Press of Toronto proposes the issue by subscription of a series called *The Canadian Historical Studies*, a collection of historical volumes regarding Canada, composed either of original documents or of authoritative studies by scholars of recognized ability. The volumes are expected to be handsome, as well as authoritative, and the editions will be limited. The first proposals are three: *The Dixon-Meares Controversy*, rare pamphlets, with comment and apparatus by Judge F. W. Howay, and illustrations and maps; *Zimmerman's Captain Cook*, edited by the same noted scholar, being a reprint, with translation, of an excessively rare German account of Cook's final voyage, by a Swiss sailor on the *Discovery*, entitled, *Reise um die Welt mit Capitain Cook* (Mannheim, 1781); and Liber VII. of the *Historia Canadensis* by Father Francis DuCreux, describing the downfall of Huronia—Latin text in facsimile, with translation, notes, and introduction by Percy J. Robinson. Meantime, however (apropos of the second), the Alexander Turnbull Li-

brary, in Wellington, New Zealand, has published as one of its bulletins *Zimmermann's Account of the Third Voyage of Captain Cook, 1776-1780* (pp. 50; 2s. 6d.), translated by Miss U. Tewsley, of the library staff.

The Public Archives of Canada and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland have arranged for the publication of the *Journal of Henry Kelsey*, which deals with life and exploration in the Hudson Bay region between 1683 and 1722.

The *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* published by the Archive Office of the Province of Quebec and edited by the archivist, M. Pierre-Georges Roy, has been provided with a four-volume index to its contents for the whole period from 1895 to 1925.

Professor George M. Wrong's history of the Murray Bay seignory (1908) has long been out of print. A new edition, *A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs: the Story of a Hundred Years, 1761-1861* (pp. xviii, 296, maps and illustrations), has been published at Toronto, by the Macmillan Company.

Much instruction and much entertainment is to be had from *Early Days in Upper Canada: Letters of John Langton from the Backwoods of Upper Canada and the Audit Office of the Province of Canada* (Toronto, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xl, 310, illustrations and maps), edited with an introduction by W. A. Langton. It shows the experiences of a pioneer in the years 1831-1837, and of a public official in the '50's.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

With the February number, the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, having completed its interrupted sixth volume, makes an "even start", this number being reckoned the first of vol. VII. The articles are of varied interest. Professor J. Fred Rippy treats of Britain's Rôle in the Early Relations of the United States with Mexico; Professor L. M. Sears of French Opinion of the Spanish-American War, opinion prevailingly hostile; Professor J. L. Mecham of the *Real de Minas* as a Political Institution of the Frontier in Spanish Colonial America; Professor C. E. Chapman of the United States and the Dominican Republic.

A survey of present and contemplated investigations in the field of Hispanic-American history, resolved upon by a group of those interested who met at the Rochester meeting of the American Historical Association, is in progress, in the hands of Professor A. Curtis Wilgus of the University of South Carolina. It will include the work being done by teachers and graduate students in the departments of history, political science, economics, and geography in the chief colleges and universities of the country.

Señor Genaro Estrada, who on behalf of the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Relations edits the *Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas*, announces an intention of publishing in that series, if possible, a bibliogra-

phy of each of the Mexican states. A beginning is made with a *Bibliografía de Sinaloa* (pp. 185), by José G. Heredia, far from complete, but containing several hundred titles. In the ministry's series called *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*, the latest issue, no. 20, is *Los Precursores de la Diplomacia Mexicana*, by Isidro Fabela, texts and narratives of curious negotiations, from colonial times to 1824.

José de Escandón and the Founding of Nuevo Santander: a Study in Spanish Colonization, by Lawrence F. Hill, Ph.D., appears as no. 9 of the Ohio State University *Contributions in History and Political Science*. It is the story of a remarkably successful undertaking in colonization accomplished in a period of ten years (1747-1757) in a region in which there had been a century and a half of failure.

The firm of Genet (Paris) announces an *Histoire des Peuples Mayas-Quichés* (Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras) by MM. Genet and Chelbatz; also Diego de Landa's *Relation des Choses de Yucatan* in the complete Spanish text with French translation by M. Genet, the latter work to be published in two volumes in July.

A History of Barbados, 1625-1685 (Clarendon Press), by Vincent T. Harlow, is thorough, detailed, and careful.

One of the appendixes (pp. 99-132) of part 1 of volume XLVII. of the Dutch government's *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven* presents a report on the old archives of St. Eustatius, St. Martin, and Saba, transferred to the Hague by decrees of 1915 and 1919, together with appropriate explanations of administrative arrangements. The papers from St. Eustatius begin with 1781, the British having on their capture of the island in that year destroyed all previous archives. Some of the papers from St. Martin date from 1729; a few additional papers of Curaçao are added, supplementing the list published in volume XLIII.

The Venezuelan government has acquired from the present representatives of the third Lord Bathurst the archives of General Francisco Miranda, carefully preserved in sixty-three bound volumes, in folio, and covering substantially all aspects of his career from 1764 to 1810. Many autograph letters of prominent public men of the United States are included in some of the volumes. A list of the volumes is printed in the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union for March, pp. 216-218.

A second Congress of American History and Geography was held in Asunción, Paraguay, October 12-17, last. Several of the South American states were, like Spain and the United States, represented by their diplomatic ministers at Asunción, but delegates of technical preparation were present from Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Should American History be Hero-Worship?* I. W. H. Blumenthal, *A Plea for Unvarnished Truth*; II. A. B. Hart, *Baseless Slanders of Great Men* (*Current History*, March); W. W. Sweet, *Some Significant Factors in American Church History* (*Journal*

of Religion, January); Halldór Hermannsson, *The Wineland Voyages: a Few Suggestions* (Geographical Review, January); Ch. de la Roncière, *Une Paroisse Morte du Groenland; Herjolfnæs* (Journal des Savants, August–October); S. Larsen, *La Découverte de l'Amérique vingt ans avant Christophe Colomb* [by Joannes Scolvus, a Dane] (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XVIII.); A. H. Verrill, *The Pompeii of Ancient America* [in Cocle, Panamá] (World's Work, January); Miller Christy, *Captain William Hawkeridge and his Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage in 1625* (Mariner's Mirror, January); R. B. Morris, *Primogeniture and Entailed Estates in America* (Columbia Law Review, January); J. B. Hubbell, *Cavalier and Indentured Servant in Virginia Fiction* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); S. Parkes Cadman, *Wesley's Influence upon the United States of America* (Methodist Magazine, February); Wade Millis, *A Monument to the American Sense of Justice* [a discussion of the Boston Massacre and the subsequent trial] (Michigan Law Review, December); Marguerite M. McKee, *Service of Supply in the War of 1812*, cont. (Quartermaster Review, January–February); J. Triouiller, *L'Évolution de la Production du Coton aux États-Unis* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October–December); A. Rein, *Zur Geschichte des Panamá-Kongresses 1826* (Iberica, V. 3); C. K. Webster, *British Mediation between France and the United States in 1834–1836* (English Historical Review, January); Marcel Marion, *L'Histoire d'Hier; un Épisode Oublié des Relations Pécuniaires Franco-Américaines, 1834–1835* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1); G. F. Milton, *Fifty-Fifty and Fight* [a history of the "one-third rule"] (Virginia Quarterly Review, January); F. E. Richter, *The Copper-Mining Industry in the United States, 1845–1925*. (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February); W. E. Dodd, *The Rise of Abraham Lincoln* (Century Magazine, March); A. Chaboseau, *Garibaldi et les États-Unis* (Mercure de France, December 15); E. M. Earle, *Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War* (Political Science Quarterly, December); G. S. Wykoff, *Charles Mackay: England's Forgotten Civil War Correspondent* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); R. W. Neeser, *Historic Ships of the Navy [Kearsage and Oregon]* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, February); Mark Mohler, *The Episcopal Church and National Reconciliation* (Political Science Quarterly, December); W. P. Webb, *The American Revolver and the West* (Scribner's Magazine, February); Brig.-Gen. Edward J. McClernand, *With the Indian and the Buffalo in Montana* (Cavalry Journal, January); Major E. W. Nesham, *The Alaskan Boundary Demarcation* (Geographical Journal, January); W. A. Phillips, *American Imperialism* (Edinburgh Review, January); Marjorie McKenzie, *Canadian History in the French-Canadian Novel*, concl. (Queen's Quarterly, October–November–December); G. Friederici, *Die Städtegründung im Kolonialen Spanisch-Amerika* (Iberica, IV. 4); A. Guimarães, *Os Judeus Portuguezes e Brasileiros na America Hespanhola* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XVIII.).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. Lynn Thorndike is a professor of medieval history in Columbia University.

Dr. Herbert Darling Foster is a professor of history in Dartmouth College.

Dr. Marcus L. Hansen has been, until this year, an assistant professor of history in Smith College.

Miss Grace Lee Nute is curator of manuscripts in the Minnesota Historical Society.

Mr. Alexander A. Vasiliev is a professor of history in the University of Wisconsin.

Miss Lota Spell is an assistant in history in the University of Texas.

Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton is a professor of history in the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Amos A. Ettinger is a student in Brasenose College, Oxford.

The
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CONTRIBUTIONS OF HERDER TO THE DOCTRINE OF
NATIONALISM ^{1a}

I.

NATIONALISM of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may be viewed from two angles. It is more commonly regarded as an historical process which from 1798 to 1919 transformed feudal provinces and petty principalities and polyglot empires into national states; and which was strikingly exemplified in the nineteenth century by the political unifications of Italy, Germany, and the United States, and by the partial disruption of the Ottoman Empire; and in the twentieth century by the acquisition of territorial unity and political independence on the part of subject nationalities of Romanov and Hapsburg realms. But nationalism may also be regarded as an intensification of national feeling and consciousness, both preceding and following the establishment of national states. As such it has involved the elaboration and propagation of a philosophy, a doctrine. To certain aspects of the doctrine of nationalism I address myself here.

There are two main currents of philosophical speculation which meet to form the stream of nationalist doctrine in the nineteenth century. One is the thought which exalts the sovereign lay state and gradually ascribes to it an absolutism more far-reaching than that ascribed by medieval ecclesiastics to the Church. In early modern times such a thought was expressed in the commentaries of students of the Roman law, in the historical disquisitions of Bodin, and in the logical syllogisms of Hobbes, but none of these thinkers envisaged the sovereign state as a popular state; to all of them, *l'état c'est le roi*. It remained for Locke, and more sensationally for Rousseau in the eighteenth century, to turn Hobbes on his head and to appropriate the

^{1a} This paper was read before the meeting of the American Historical Association at Rochester, Dec. 30, 1926.

Hobbesian "contract" for their notions of popular sovereignty. Thence emerged the thought which prefigured, if it did not guide, the revolutionary events in eighteenth-century America and France. It was the thought of a popular state, but it was still the thought of a sovereign, nay an infallible, state.

A people, then, according to Rousseau, is sovereign. But what is a people? Rousseau himself was a bit vague on this crucial point. Apparently his "people" was not necessarily a nationality; it might be any aggregation of persons who by habit or will constituted his state. Not Rousseau, but Herder, determined that a people is something definite and basic, that it is in fine a cultural nationality. And thereby Herder struck the rock from which has gushed forth ever since a prolific stream of national speculation. This national speculation, in conjunction with the concept of popular sovereignty, has provided the philosophical basis for the doctrine of nationalism.

Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803)¹ was a child of the eighteenth century. Reared in a pious Lutheran home in East Prussia, educated at Königsberg in close personal relationship with Kant, and devoted throughout life to the career of preacher and teacher, first at Riga and then for almost thirty years at Weimar, he was always rational and scientific and humanitarian in the best eighteenth-century meaning of those adjectives. A Lutheran Christian, he reasoned about theology and became a kind of "higher critic" of the Bible. A literary man, he dealt with a wide range of scientific subjects. A classicist, he was not only a humanist but likewise a humanitarian. He was also a herald of romanticism.

It was not surprising that side by side with classicism and rationalism, the eighteenth century should have witnessed the rise of romanticism. The common currency of reports from travellers and missionaries about the unaffected dignity and natural morality of primitive peoples, *les bons sauvages*, afar off, gave impetus at home to the ascription of like purity of character and conduct to the ancestors of existing European peoples;² and fanciful descriptions of the natural beauties of lake and forest in the New World nicely antedated the Old World's discovery of the natural beauties of Swiss scenery. Both Rousseau and Herder romantically glorified the beauties of nature and the inherent goodness of peoples in a state

¹ The best account of Herder's life is Rudolf Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken* (two vols., 1877). The best in English, though far below Haym's account in detail and insight, is H. W. Nevins, *A Sketch of Herder and his Times* (1884). The most interesting collection of Herder's correspondence is Heinrich Düntzner and F. G. von Herder, *Aus Herders Nachlass* (two vols., 1857).

² Cf. J. Grundmann, *Die Geographischen und Völkerkundlichen Quellen und Anschauungen in Herders Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit* (1900).

of nature. In so doing they were as much the products of their age as were Voltaire and Lessing. That Herder was even more of a romanticist than Rousseau is traceable in part to the greater influence which the emotional wave of religious Pietism had on German Protestants than on French Catholics and free-thinkers, and in part to peculiar circumstances of Herder's early life. Herder was younger than Rousseau and shared the enthusiasm of his own master, Kant, for the Genevese philosopher. "Come and be my guide, O Rousseau!" wrote the impressionable Herder while he was yet a student at Königsberg.³ Besides, while Herder was at the university, he fell under the spell of J. G. Hamann, the "Magus of the North", pietist and mystic, theologian and linguist. Through Hamann Herder learned English and was led to esteem Shakespeare and Ossian and Percy's *Reliques*; from Hamann, too, Herder acquired his lifelong interest in Oriental languages and literatures.⁴ And finally, as a formative influence upon Herder, should be mentioned the fact that his first teaching and preaching were done among the German colony in the city of Riga. His five years' sojourn on Russian soil (from 1764 to 1769) brought to his mind contrasts between the Teutonic and Slavic peoples and supplied him with material and desire for later literary excursions into folk-literature, folk-customs, and folk-religion—the very stuff of romanticism.

With such a background, Herder was not only a child of the eighteenth century but also a father of the nineteenth century. In the most famous of his writings he says that "Patriotism and Enlightenment are the two poles round which all the moral culture of mankind revolves",⁵ and here speaks a voice from two centuries. Its "Enlightenment" is the conventional enlightenment of the eighteenth century, but its "Patriotism" is not the eighteenth-century plaster replica of antique city patriotism; it is the brand-new marble statue of the national patriotism which is the idol of the nineteenth century.

II.

To select and present in brief compass what is most typical of Herder's notions of nationality is a difficult undertaking. By no

³ J. G. von Herder's *Lebensbild*, ed. E. G. von Herder (1846), vol. I., pt. I., p. 252. Cf. Otto Hänsel, *Der Einfluss Rousseaus auf die Philosophisch-Pädagogischen Anschauungen Herders* (1902).

⁴ Cf. Otto Hoffmann (ed.), *Herders Briefen an Johann Georg Hamann* (1889).

⁵ *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, in *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, XIV. 121. Of this famous work there is an English translation by T. Churchill, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man* (two vols., 1800, 1803), which is good enough for general purposes but requires careful checking with the original in certain respects, notably in the rendering of *Volk*, *Nation*, etc.

stretch of the imagination can he be considered the formulator of a clear, concise doctrine on any subject, least of all perhaps on nationalism. It is not that he wrote too little, but rather that he wrote too much. His writings, exclusive of innumerable personal letters, fill thirty-two volumes,⁶ and comprise essays, treatises, dialogues, sermons, epistles, poems, addresses, book-reviews. He is always diffuse, and he ranges from universal history and esthetic theory to Hebrew poetry, sources of the New Testament, origin of language, northern archaeology, contemporary education, modern German literature, and on to lyric flights in prose and verse. His ever wandering, ever fertile mind can not for any length of time restrict itself to one idea; it catches glimpses of many subjects but masters none completely. During his whole life Herder did not create one finished masterpiece. Even his principal work, his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, is not a systematic treatise but, as the title indicates, a collection of materials.

And yet, without posing as a dogmatist, without attempting to hedge about his every utterance with barriers of impenetrable logic or to freight his words with political significance, Herder managed to make important contributions to the cultural and even to the political thought of succeeding generations. The most impressive contribution he made was in so transfiguring the word *Volk* that it became the radiation-point in the nineteenth century for the new gospel of nationalism.⁷

Upon the fact of folk-peculiarities in contemporary society and in history is based the whole of Herder's "Ideas for a Philosophy of the History of Mankind". He saw the world about him divided into a number of nations "wonderfully separated . . . not only by woods and mountains, seas and deserts, rivers and climates, but more particularly by languages, inclinations, and characters".⁸ And he might have added, "and by outward appearances and customs", for he went on to delineate in considerable detail all manner of differences that had been observed between various peoples. That some of these differences later proved apocryphal did not impair Herder's main contention that physical qualities and mental habits tended to differ widely as between national groups. This basic contention was

⁶ Thirty-three, including index. I refer to the standard edition, that of Bernhard Suphan, *Herders Sämmtliche Werke* (Berlin, 1877-1913). All references in this essay to Herder's writings are to Suphan's edition.

⁷ Cf. Arthur Jonetz, *Ueber Herders Nationale Gesinnung* (1895), and G. R. Simpson, *Herder's Conception of Das Volk* (1921). Herder was the first German writer, so far as I know, who employed the word *Nationalismus* (*Sämmtliche Werke*, XX. 234).

⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII. 341. Herder uses the words *Volk* and *Nation* interchangeably.

hinted at in his earliest writings at Riga;⁹ it was developed in his *Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit*, published in 1774;¹⁰ and it appeared and reappeared in all types of his literary activity. It was his constant conviction. In the *Ideen* of 1784 he simply assumed it and proceeded to devote two volumes to explanation of why there were national differences.¹¹

Herder denies that national differences can be attributed to differences of race. To him, mankind is biologically one; he detests the very word "race";¹² and he would have had little patience with Virey, Nott and Gliddon, Gobineau, Madison Grant, and Lothrop Stoddard. "Man originates from and in one species [*Geschlecht*]", he declared.¹³ "The New Zealand cannibal and a Fénelon, a Newton and the wretched Pesheray are all creatures of one and the same species [*Gattung*]." ¹⁴ Not race but environment, not inherited blood but inherited culture, makes and emphasizes national differences. This is Herder's capital idea. And by environment he means (1) physical geography, especially climate, (2) historical development, and (3) folk-character or folk-personality.

The influence of physical geography Herder puts first among the differentiating factors of environment.¹⁵

Nature [he says] has sketched with mountain-ranges which she fashioned and with streams which she caused to flow from them the rough but substantial outline of the whole history of man. . . . One height produced nations of hunters, thus supporting and rendering necessary a savage state; another, more extended and mild, afforded a field to shepherd peoples and supplied them with tame animals; a third made agriculture easy and needful; while a fourth led to fishing and navigation and at length to trade. The structure of the earth, in its natural variety and diversity, rendered all such distinguishing conditions inescapable. . . . Seas, mountain-ranges, and rivers are the most natural boundaries not only of lands but also of peoples, customs, languages, and empires, and they have been, even in the greatest revolutions in human affairs, the directing lines or limits of world-history. If otherwise mountains had arisen, rivers flowed, or coasts trended, then how very different would mankind have scattered over this tilting-place of nations.¹⁶

⁹ Especially *Ueber den Fleiss in mehreren Gelehrten Sprachen* (1764), *Haben wir noch jetzt das Publicum und Vaterland der Alten* (1765), and *Ueber die Neuere Deutsche Litteratur, Fragmente* (1766-1768). *Sämmtliche Werke*, vols. I. and II.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. V.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vols. XIII. and XIV.

¹² *Ibid.*, XIII. 257.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XIV. 84.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII. 147. Cf. *idem*, pp. 257-258.

¹⁵ Cf. F. W. Paul Lehmann, *Herder in seiner Bedeutung für die Geographie* (1883).

¹⁶ *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 37-38. Cf. XIV. 92-93.

Peculiarities of climate and physical geography originally differentiate one human group from another, but the differentiation may be enhanced by subsequent historical development, particularly by tradition and education within and by contacts without. Three of the chapter-headings in the *Ideen* read as follows:¹⁷ "The feelings and inclinations of men are everywhere conformable to their organization and the circumstances in which they live, but they are everywhere swayed by custom and by opinion"; "The happiness of men is in all places an individual good, and consequently it is in all places climatic and organic and also the offspring of use, tradition, and custom"; "Ready as man is to imagine he produces everything from himself, he is nevertheless dependent on others for the development of his faculties". Tradition is here used synonymously with education, and "all education", the author explains, "must spring from imitation and exercise, by means of which the model passes into the copy".¹⁸ Every nation has its distinctive manner of thinking and acting, founded on its own internal tradition.¹⁹ The more secluded a given nation is, the stronger becomes its internal tradition. "A secluded people, which dwells among mountains far from the sea-coast and from intercourse with other nations, which derives its knowledge from a single place, and, in proportion as this has been more early received, fixes it more firmly by brazen laws, such a nation may acquire great distinctiveness of character and long retain it, but", Herder adds, "this confined backwardness will be far from giving such a nation that useful versatility which can be gained only by active competition with other nations."²⁰ In Herder's view, historical development of most nationalities has been conditioned both frequently and favorably by what later anthropologists were to term "cultural diffusion", though Herder, true to his first principle of geographic determinism, insisted that the adoption of foreign manners and customs must always be according to "the relation of the land from which they go to the land in which they come and operate".²¹

Because of climatic differences and through varying historical development, every nation, every folk, acquires a character, a personality. The folk-character of Herder is not quite so mysterious and mystical as Hegel's *Geist* nor quite so metaphysical as Le Bon's "National Soul", but I doubt whether, in the multitudinous studies

¹⁷ Chapters IV., V., and VI. of Book VIII. *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 319-353.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII. 347.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XIV. 125.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XIV. 92.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XIII. 37.

which have been made of Herder, sufficient attention has been paid to the abiding influence of his folk-character upon social psychologists in general and upon national psychologists in particular. To Herder, folk-character is the national counterpart of the monad which Leibnitz conceived to be the controlling element in individual personality. Everywhere Herder sees folk-character at work but nowhere does he exactly define it. He is content to observe that it is "singular, wonderful, inexplicable, ineradicable, and as ancient as the nation",²² and to suggest rather vaguely and variously that it is the result of "human powers" and that it is "national human power" itself. He has a theory, however, as to how it originated. "Since the individual man can not well exist by himself, a higher maximum of co-operating powers forms itself with every society."²³ And though it is created by environmental forces of time and place, climate and tradition, it gets into the blood, as it were, and may survive in individual members of a nationality for a goodly number of generations after they have left the environment which created it.

Active human powers [says Herder] are the springs of human history, and, as man originates from and in one race, so his body, education, and mode of thinking are genetic. Hence that striking national character, which, deeply imprinted on the most ancient peoples, is unequivocally displayed in all their operations on the earth. As the mineral water derives its component parts, its operative power, and its flavor from the soil through which it flows, so the ancient character of peoples arose from the family features, the climate, the way of life and education, the early actions and employments, that were peculiar to them. The manners of the fathers took deep root and became the internal prototype of the descendants. The mode of thinking of the Jews, which is best known to us from their writings and actions, may serve as an example: both in the land of their fathers and in the midst of other nations they remain as they were, and even when mixed with other peoples they may be distinguished for some generations onward. It was and is the same with all other peoples of antiquity—Egyptians, Chinese, Arabs, Hindus, etc. The more secluded they lived, nay frequently the more they were oppressed, the more their character was confirmed, so that, if every one of these nations had remained in its place, the earth might have been regarded as a garden where in one plot one human national plant, in another, another, bloomed in its proper form and nature, where in this corner one kind of national animal, in that, another, pursued its course according to its instincts and character.²⁴

Herder recognizes that in the long run a change of environment will effect a change of folk-character, but descendants of emigrants for several generations are far more likely to exemplify the per-

²² *Ibid.*, XIV. 38.

²³ *Ibid.*, XIV. 227.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XIV. 84.

sonality of the people they have left than to assume the character of the nation among whom they have settled. "In India, the great market-place of commercial nations", he remarks, "the Arab and the Chinese, the Turk and the Persian, the Christian and the Jew, the negro and the Malay, the Japanese and the Gentoo, are clearly distinguishable, and thus it happens that on the most distant shores everyone bears the character of his native habitat and folkway of life."²⁵ The author is convinced that "the character of the Germans still resembles in many leading features the picture drawn by Tacitus" and that "the ancient Gaul is still discernible in his modern descendants".²⁶

Herder is sure that culture is the result not of individual endeavor but of the operation of folk-character. It is a nation as a whole which conceives and engenders culture. Culture is essentially national, and every nationality has a distinctive culture. Individual artists, poets, and prophets are only the most receptive and at the same time the most productive organs of the people; they are merely the agency by which a national language, a national literature, a national religion comes to light: the creative power is folk-character.

Of all expressions of folk-character, national language is the most significant and the most precious. "A philosophical comparison of languages", Herder asserts, "would constitute the best essay on the history and diversified character of the human heart and understanding, for every language bears the stamp of the mind and character of a people."²⁷ Each nation begets a language of its own; and a national language is at once the offspring and the guardian of a folk-character. A people can think naturally and produce great literature only in its own vernacular.

All who use a learned language wander as if their mind was in a dream; they think with the mind of others and are but imitatively wise. For is he who employs the art of another himself an artist? Nay, rather he in whose soul native thoughts arise and form a body for themselves, he who sees with the spirit as well as with the eye and describes not with the tongue but with the mind, . . . he is properly a man . . . and even a god among men.²⁸

Such is the outline of the theory of cultural nationality which Herder sketched in the *Ideen*. He essayed no compact summary of it such as would have delighted political philosophers of the later German nationalist school. It is implicit, rather than explicit, in

²⁵ *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 261.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XIV. 262.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XIII. 363.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII. 369-370. Cf. *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*, Br. 10 (1793), *Sämmtliche Werke*, XVII. 58-59.

the *Ideen*. Yet here as elsewhere Herder provided such a storehouse of specific illustrations of his general theory that nineteenth-century nationalist philosophers (and statesmen too) could draw copiously upon it for support of the downright dogma that a nationality is a primary grouping of the human race, naturally and providentially interposed between humanity and the individual, a grouping of persons who live within natural boundaries, possess a common soul, speak a common language, cherish common historical traditions, and constitute a distinct cultural society. This is the outstanding contribution of Johann Gottfried von Herder to the nineteenth-century doctrine of nationalism.

III.

Less outstanding, because more indirect, were certain other very real contributions of Herder to the doctrine (and practice) of nationalism. I here refer to the numerous ways in which he inspired intellectuals of his and succeeding generations to engage in work which could not fail to render them confessors and doctors of the nationalist evangel.

In the first place, Herder was a pioneer, at least on the Continent of Europe, in the stimulation of romantic appreciation of folk-language and folk-literature. This he did by precept and by example. From his early writings at Riga on the "newer German literature" to his last publication of the *Adrastea*,²⁹ he was perpetually commenting on national literature and urging his contemporaries to cherish it and be true to it. His tastes were catholic, to put it mildly. He loved German literature of the Middle Ages, the *Meistersänge* and the *Minnesänge*, and he lauded the indigenous German literature of his own day. He admired British literature; he was enamored of Shakespeare, and to the last he perceived in Ossian the pure soul of the primitive Kelt rather than the artifice of the romantic Macpherson. He besought the Holy Roman Emperor to tolerate and honor Magyar, Rumanian, and other native languages. He praised Spanish literature and translated the *Cid*. He wrote a book on Hebrew poetry and reconciled his rationalism and his romanticism by finding in the Bible a revelation not so much of theological truth as of the most exquisite folk-literature and folk-legend. In old Slavic literature he discovered beauties not only to Germans but to the Slavs themselves, and the roots of literary Pan-Slavism lie in the soil which Herder tilled. He crowned his precepts with example when he published at Weimar an exceedingly valuable

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vols. XXIII., XXIV.

and original collection of folk songs, containing translations from Norse, Lappish, Finnish, Spanish, Lithuanian, Serbian, English, and a number of other languages.³⁰ Professor Vaughan of Leeds is of opinion that in this collection "we have what is the most enduring monument of [Herder's] genius. . . . The very design of the work, an universal *Corpus Poeticum* of primitive races, was entirely without precedent. It supplied the material for a comparative criticism which he himself at the moment did not attempt".³¹

Herder never became a systematic or first-rate philologist, but his linguistic interests and enthusiasm did much to foster in others the study of comparative philology. Scientifically interested in the acquisition of exact knowledge and romantically disposed to acquire such knowledge as would throw light upon the various nations of mankind, he was doubly impressed with the importance of research into all the languages of the world. There was to him a close and mystical connection between the language and the character of a folk, and in the *Ideen* he makes a singularly informing and eloquent plea.

Not only do the organs of speech vary with regions, not only are there certain sounds and letters peculiar to almost every nation, but the giving of names, even in denoting audible things, nay in the immediate expression of the passions, in interjections, varies over all the earth. With respect to visible things and subjects of cool reflection, this variation is still greater; and in allegorical expressions, in figures of speech, it is almost infinite. The genius of a people is nowhere more displayed than in the physiognomy of its speech.

And he adds with mingled regret and hope: "Why can I yet cite no work that has ever in slight degree fulfilled the wish of Bacon, Leibnitz, Sulzer, and others for a *general physiognomy of peoples from their languages*?"³² As the event proved, the answer to this query was almost immediately forthcoming in the work of Adelung, the Grimms, and a host of other savants. And it was not long before comparative philologists in Germany, in Bohemia, in Russia, in England, and elsewhere, were doing the very thing which Herder would have had them do; they were exalting nationality.

In the domain of anthropology it was the same. Herder was exasperated that the scientific spirit of his age was concerned more with botany and zoology than with man.

³⁰ *Alte Volkslieder* (1774) and *Volkslieder* (1778-1779). *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. XXV. Cf. also *Nachdichtungen aus der Griechischen, der Römischen, der Morgenländischen Litteratur*, vol. XXVI.

³¹ C. E. Vaughan, *Periods of European Literature*, vol. X., *The Romantic Revolt* (1907), pp. 210-211.

³² *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 363-365. Italics are Herder's.

Is human nature alone unworthy of that accurate attention with which plants and animals are described? Yet, as in modern times the laudable spirit of observation has begun to be excited towards the human species and we have descriptions of some nations, though but few, with which those of De Bry or Le Brun, not to mention the missionaries, will bear no comparison, it would be a valuable contribution if anyone who can would collect such scattered descriptions of the varieties of our species as are authentic and thus lay the foundation of a sound *natural philosophy and physiognomy of mankind*. Art could hardly be employed in a more philosophical pursuit, and an anthropological map of the earth, similar to the zoological map sketched by Zimmermann, in which nothing should be noticed except real diversities of man, but these in all their appearances and relations, would crown the philanthropic work.³³

Anthropology as a science blossomed after Herder's death, but Herder had already indicated a series of trysting places wherein anthropology as well as philology might indulge youthful amours with nationality.

And history, too. Herder is certainly one of the "new historians" of whom we have been hearing much in our own day and country. His *Ideen* is an almost perfect example of the "new history"; it is the *Outline of History*, the *Contributions of the Social Sciences*, and the *Mind in the Making*, all rolled into one, and it is complete in two volumes. It begins with chaos and the creation, treats of our earth as a star among stars, explains the development of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, and then, with the aid of geology, anthropology, philology, psychology, economics, and comparative religion, touches the high spots of everything human at all times and in all places. It is no narrow political history; it is sociological and cultural, and it relates to the present the distant past of Asiatic, African, and American, as well as European peoples.

This "new history" was newer in the eighteenth than in the twentieth century. Herder invoked scientific ideals of historical research and writing and he used his vast canvas for ends that were at once humanitarian and national. Much of the older historical writing with which he was familiar was based on uncritical use of inaccurate sources.³⁴ Moreover, he discovered in it a general lack of appreciation of the genetic principle which to him seemed to be the key to all problems of human development. In his opinion, the habit of attributing historical development to the inscrutable will of a quite arbitrary Providence usually led to absurd contradictions and was the result of ignorance or lack of perception or both.³⁵ Not

³³ *Ibid.*, XIII. 251; cf. also XIV. 33. Italics are Herder's.

³⁴ *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, bk. XIII., ch. VII. *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIV. 145-146.

³⁵ *Ideen*, bk. XIV., ch. VI. *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIV. 198-203.

altogether free himself from casting his historical burdens upon the Lord,³⁶ Herder's work, taken as a whole, was an insistent exhortation for more painstaking collection and use of historical material, and this exhortation of his was heeded by the scientific historians of the nineteenth century.

But the majority of the scientific historians of the nineteenth century were national historians, and in this respect too their immediate precursor and exemplar was Herder. In theory, it is true, his history was broadly and nobly humanitarian (he lived in the eighteenth century); in fact, however, it treated of humanity, folk by folk, nation by nation, and its effect was to emphasize national history. In yet another way Herder's conception of history was of significance to later nationalist historians; I refer to his idea that "we can not judge everything according to our enlightened time" and that national legends and mythical exploits of national heroes are honorable expressions of national character and must be considered in relation to the time and place in which they were expressed. "Every nation", he says, "bears in itself the standard of its perfection, totally independent of all comparison with that of others."³⁷

No one doubts, I suppose, the influence of historians, anthropologists, philologists, and litterateurs upon the formulation and propagation of the doctrine of nationalism in the nineteenth century. The first man who was at once a litterateur and an anthropologist, a philosopher and a "new historian", and who brought his whole many-sided genius to bear on the study of nationality was Johann Gottfried von Herder.

IV.

Herder made specific contributions to German nationalism. He was himself a German, and from his manifold studies of all manner of lands and peoples he seldom failed to draw a moral applicable to his own people and his own land. He repeatedly reminded his readers that Germany was not sufficiently conscious of her ancient cultural heritage nor did she esteem her own individuality as she might very properly do. In the outline of one of his projected essays, for example, he remarks upon the fashion prevalent among Germans of affecting to despise their own country as if nothing original, nothing worthy the serious attention of civilized Europe, could ever come out of it. He intended in this essay to enumerate the achievements of the German people and to close with a de-

³⁶ *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 140-141, 370, or other similar passages *ad lib.*

³⁷ "Ueber die Legende", *Zerstreute Blätter* (1797), *Sämmtliche Werke*, XVI.

395. Cf. also *ibid.*, IX. 530-532.

nunciation of the slavish imitation of foreigners which caused German inventors and thinkers and artists to go begging for support abroad.³⁸

Already, in the *Ideen*, he had insisted that the active honoring of the fatherland was the *sine qua non* of solid, genuine development. "The savage who loves his wife and child with quiet joy and glows with natural ardor for his tribe as for his own life, is in my opinion a more real being than that cultivated ghost who is enraptured with the shadow of his whole species. . . . The savage has room in his poor hut for every stranger. . . . The deluged heart of the idle cosmopolite is a home for no one."³⁹ Germans especially should possess an appreciative affection for Germany.

To banish foreign cultural influences in order that the native German culture might grow and flourish was Herder's constant purpose. He was, of course, no pathfinder in the matter of banishing foreign thought and forms from Germany. Before ever he had left Königsberg, the preliminary skirmishing had been done by Bodmer and Breitingen, who had routed the advance guard of the French classicists and left their own successors in an advantageous position.⁴⁰ It remained for the latter, however, to turn this advantage to good account. It was their task to give form and content and prestige to the German literature which Bodmer and Breitingen had championed. Form and prestige were given by brilliant writers who now appeared in quick succession—Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, Goethe, Schiller, and others. But it was Herder who gave the new German literature its most striking nationalist content.

One reads with some misgiving Dr. J. G. Robertson's opinion that "all that is best in the next hundred years of German intellectual history—and much that has made for progress in that of Europe as a whole—may be traced back to Herder's stimulating initiative".⁴¹ This is to claim too much for Herder; the literal proof of such an opinion would be difficult. But there is evidence in support of a slightly modified version of Dr. Robertson's judgment. Indeed, there can be little doubt that Herder had direct influence upon the succeeding generation of German nationalists.

³⁸ *Welchen Rang die Deutsche Nation unter den Gebildeten Völkern Europas Einnehme. Sämmtliche Werke*, XXXII. 519.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, XIII. 339.

⁴⁰ Charles Joret, *Herder et la Renaissance Littéraire en Allemagne au XVIII^e Siècle* (1875), ch. I. Cf. Karl Biedermann, *Deutschland im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (1880); Hermann Hettner, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (1879); and Karl Hillebrand, *German Thought from the Seven Years' War to Goethe's Death* (1880).

⁴¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, X. 386.

First, it is certain that Herder gave to German litterateurs a fuller appreciation than they formerly possessed of the wealth and value of the source-material which lay to hand within Germany itself. Thereby a literature more truly German than even Luther's Bible was stimulated into being. And incidentally this was to give rise to a German school of music which before long entirely eclipsed Italian forms and became a basic bond of union among Germans.

Secondly, it is significant that the first German attempt at an ordered history of literature was made by an acquaintance of Herder. It will be recalled that up to this time literary studies had been consecrated to one of two things—criticism of contemporary writings or discussion of ancient classical works. A continuous history of national literature was a new thing. Herder's reiterated plea for a recognition of the genetic principle in all human activities undoubtedly supported, if did not inspire, Friedrich Schlegel's *Geschichte der Alten und Neuen Litteratur* (1812) with its nationalist bent and implications. And whether or no it was acknowledged, the animating spirit of the long line of German literary histories that followed was again the genetic and folk principle popularized by Herder.

Thirdly, Herder had much to do with the establishment of the science of comparative philology in Germany. For not only did he urge in general terms the importance of linguistic research, but it was a timely hint from him which drew Schlegel's attention to Sir William Jones's discoveries in India and paved the way for the subsequent epochal achievements of Schlegel, Humboldt, J. and W. Grimm, Bopp, Max Müller, Steinthal, and Lagarde.

Fourthly, Herder's demand for a science of history and for its application to the study of nations was answered not only generally by the rise of scientific history and anthropology in Germany but also specifically by the plan and execution of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, that granary of supplies for German nationalist historiography throughout the nineteenth century.

Fifthly, Herder preached incessantly at Riga and at Weimar a radical reform of elementary German education,⁴² and was enabled by the posts which he held to practise what he preached. At Weimar, for example, where he was to all intents and purposes the duke's minister of education, he remodelled the school curriculum so as to make it a more useful preparation for practical eighteenth-century German life. For a strict Latin régime he substituted a carefully graded programme of instruction in the mother-tongue, reading, writing, arithmetic, the sciences, and so forth, and relegated

⁴² Cf. especially his *Schulreden* and *Schulbücher*, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. XXX.

Latin to the upper school.⁴³ This getting back to German foundations at the expense of Latin tradition which had endured so long in Germany was typical of Herder's aim in every sphere of interest and represented the planting of the seed which was to bear abundant harvest in Humboldt's later reform of Prussian education.

Sixthly, Herder contributed also, though perhaps less tangibly, to the subsequent strength in Germany of the idea that national religion is preferable to any world-religion. He himself was in an embarrassing position in this respect, for he was by conviction and profession at once a Christian and a champion of indigenous forms of religion. He extricated himself from the dilemma by blaming Roman Catholicism for proselytizing Germany and by commending Luther for reasserting something of the ancient German spirit in religion. Having secured in this manner a safely Protestant footing for himself, he was free to describe the havoc that had been wrought in Germany by the imposition of a foreign and exotic religion. Christianity ("the religion of the monks") had done irreparable harm to the tales, songs, customs, temples, and monuments of primitive but glorious German Paganism.⁴⁴ Moreover, the Catholic hierarchy had taught alien despotism to the free German peoples and had imposed it upon them. The colloquial Latin of the monks "helped to keep the vernacular languages of the European nations, and with them the peoples themselves, in barbarism. But it was particularly instrumental in depriving the people of its last share in public affairs because it was ignorant of Latin".⁴⁵ It was unfortunate, again, that foreign sacred writings were imported, for it is difficult for one people really to understand the thought of another people.

It is incontestable that the misconception and misuse of [the Hebrew sacred books] have been detrimental to the human mind in various respects, and the more as they have operated upon it under the claim of being divine. How many absurd cosmogonies have been framed from the simple and sublime story of the Creation given by Moses. . . . For centuries the forty days of the deluge have formed the peg on which historians of the human race have deemed it indispensable to hang all the phenomena of the structure of our earth. . . . How many great men, among whom Newton himself is to be reckoned, have the Jewish chronology and the Apocalypse robbed of time which might have been employed in more useful inquiries! Nay, even with regard to morality

⁴³ J. Mace Andress, *Herder as an Educator* (1916).

⁴⁴ "Nothing tended so much to suppress the mode of life of the northern nations as Christianity, by which the heroic religion of Odin was totally subverted." *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIV. 383-384.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV. 415. Cf. also *Ueber die Neuere Deutsche Litteratur, Fragmente. Sämmtliche Werke*, II. 246-248.

and political institutions, the writings of the Hebrews, by being misconceived and misapplied, have imposed fetters on the minds of those nations by which they have been acknowledged.⁴⁶

And so forth.

In religion, as in other aspects of culture, slow growth from within the folk was more to be desired than ready-made borrowings from neighbors. It seemed as though Herder in his numerous passages on religion⁴⁷ was forever seeking to reconcile faith with reason and Protestant Christianity with German Paganism and was thereby helping to fashion, probably unwittingly, the new synthesis of German nationalist religion which was to find mystical expression in the nineteenth century in the music of Wagner and the fiction of Chamberlain.

Above all these special contributions to German nationalism was Herder's vindication of the indefeasible right of Germany (and of every other nation) to its own life. His unique contribution along this line needs no further amplification. Suffice it to say that the arresting phrases which flowed from his pen year by year from 1764 to 1803 took lodgment in the public mind and popular heart of Germany and helped to nourish therein the inclination toward unity and independence which were brought to sudden fruition by the aggressions of Napoleon. Prussian regeneration and the German War of Liberation are almost unthinkable without the preparatory career of Johann Gottfried von Herder.

V.

Herder was an eighteenth-century humanitarian and liberal. The cultural nationalism which he espoused was not an end in itself; it was a means of understanding and appreciating humanity as a whole. Nor did it involve any stern obligation of "manifest destiny" in bearing the "white man's burden" and exercising sovereign sway over "lesser breeds". The nineteenth-century nationalism of which Herder was the prophet was the liberal self-determining nationalism of a Mazzini, a John Stuart Mill, a Francis Lieber, and a Laveleye; it was equally good and rightful for all races and all continents. Most emphatically it was not the imperial nationalism of Treitschke, Homer Lea, Roosevelt, and Mussolini.

⁴⁶ *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIV. 64.

⁴⁷ Cf. also, in addition to the above passages quoted from the *Ideen*, his sermons, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. XXXI.; his *Christliche Schriften*, vols. XIX., XX.; his *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, vols. XI., XII.; and the nine articles in vol. VII., *passim*.

Herder inveighs frequently against the subjection of one nationality to another and especially against the incorporation of diverse nationalities in a despotic empire. He detests imperialism.

The most natural state [he asserts] is *one* people with *one* national character. This it retains for thousands of years, and this is most naturally formed when it is the object of its native princes; for a people is as much a natural plant as a family, only with more branches. Nothing therefore appears so directly opposed to the end of government as the unnatural enlargement of states, the wild mixture of various breeds and nations under one sceptre. A human sceptre is far too weak and slender for such incongruous parts to be engrafted upon it: glued together indeed they may be into a fragile instrument, termed an instrument of state, but destitute of inner life and of sympathy among the parts. Empires of this kind, which render the name of fathers of their country hardly applicable to the best of monarchs, appear in history like that symbol of monarchy in the vision of the prophet, where the lion's head, the dragon's tail, the eagle's wing, and the paws of the bear were joined in one unpatriotic figure of a state. Such monstrosities are pieced together like the Trojan horse in order to guaranty one another's immortality, although, being destitute of national character, there is no life in them, and nothing but the curse of fate can condemn to immortality such a forced union. For the very statecraft which framed them is also that which plays with men and peoples as with inanimate objects. But history sufficiently shows that such instruments of human pride are formed of clay, and, like all clay, will dissolve or crumble into bits.⁴⁸

Herder is particularly vehement against European imperialism overseas. He has a regard as tender for the national character and national culture and national rights of Chinese and Hindus as for those of European peoples. Nature and Providence have created nationalities, he maintains, for the express purpose of rendering despotic subjugation more difficult and of preventing

all the four quarters of the globe from being crammed into the belly of a wooden horse. No Nimrod has yet been able to drive all the inhabitants of the wide world into one park for himself and his successors; and though it has been for centuries the object of united Europe to erect herself into a despot, compelling all the nations of the earth to be happy in her way, this happiness-dispensing deity is yet far from having obtained her end. . . . Ye men of all parts of the world who have perished in the lapse of aeons, ye have not lived and enriched the earth with your ashes that at the end of time your posterity should be made happy by European civilization.⁴⁹

He even hints that nationalist revolutions and forcible opposition to foreign domination may be praiseworthy and conducive to human progress.

Only amid storms can the noble plant flourish; only by opposing struggles against false pretensions can the sweet labors of man be victorious. Nay,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII. 384-385. Cf. *ibid.*, XIV. 139-140, 185-186, etc.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XIII. 341-342.

when men often appear to sink under their honest purposes, it is only in appearance so. In a subsequent period the seed germinates more beautifully from the ashes of the good, and when irrigated with blood seldom fails to shoot up into an unfading flower. I am no longer misled, therefore, by the phenomenon of revolutions: it is as necessary to our species, as the waves to the stream, that it become not a stagnant pool. The genius of humanity blooms in continually renovated youth and is regenerated as it proceeds, in families, in generations, and in nations.⁵⁰

Herder might well be adopted as patronal saint by the patriots of all "oppressed" or "subject" nationalities throughout the world to-day. His gospel is theirs, as it was the gospel of exploited Germans at the beginning of the nineteenth century. And his hope is the hope of liberal nationalists the world over. He is very optimistic—and so are they. He is sure that despotism and war alike will cease with the triumph of the principle of nationality. Each people, with its folk-character, will then enter the domain of the ideal, conscious of the dignity and worth of its peculiar heritage, loving its past, working with informed ability toward the future consummation of the promise of the past, respecting the similar-dissimilar achievements of other peoples, reaching out toward the goal of a fulfilled humanity, the common goal toward which all nations will have come struggling up each in its own way. It is inconceivable to Herder that one free nation can or will wage war against another free nation.⁵¹

And yet . . . and yet . . . Herder, like the gentle dew from Heaven, has fallen upon both the just and the unjust. After Francis Lieber there was Treitschke; after J. S. Mill, Homer Lea; after Laveleye, Barrès; after Mazzini, Mussolini. Only the nineteenth century separates Herder from the Great World War of the Nations.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

⁵⁰ *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 353.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XIII. 155, 160, 322; XIV. 221-225, 242-243.

REVOLUTIONARY SYMBOLISM IN THE JACOBIN CLUBS

THERE was used in parts of France during the more excited days of the Revolution a republican sign of the cross, in the name of "Marat, Lepelletier, la liberté ou la mort".¹ As the Jacobins commonly lacked not only a sense of humor, but even a feeling for its moral equivalent, irony, it may be assumed that the users, and even the inventor, of this extraordinary device were at the moment wholly in earnest. The parallel between the French Revolution and movements more purely, or at least more formally, religious has of course been too obvious to escape historians. Before De Tocqueville and Taine, however, the parallel had been drawn. As early as the autumn of 1790, an unknown agent of the state of Bern wrote to his government: "This is not an ordinary revolution. It is a kind of religion which has its fanatics and its apostles."²

The subject, though not new, is inexhaustible. Not only is the interpretation of the Jacobin religion a problem in which differences of opinion are always to be expected, but the industry of French local historians is continually producing a new supply of unassimilated facts. MM. Aulard, Mathiez, and Dommanget have written excellent accounts of the development of the various revolutionary cults.³ With a somewhat more evident philosophical bias, De Tocqueville, Taine, and A. Cochin have sought to criticize the workings of the Jacobin conscience.⁴ The religious elements in the ordinary proceedings of the *sociétés des amis de la constitution* and their successors have not however been so closely studied. The members of these societies took part in public manifestations of the revolutionary cults, those of *la patrie*, of Reason, of the Suprême Being; but very early in their regular club meetings they began to develop a ritual of their own, a ritual at least as suggestive of religious practices as of parliamentary procedure. A study from this point of view of some of the

¹ Dommanget, *La Déchristianisation à Beauvais* (1922), pt. 2, p. 106.

² Letter of Oct. 22, 1790, in State Archives of Bern, quoted by A. Stern, *Revue Historique*, March, 1889, p. 313 and n.

³ Aulard, *Le Culte de la Raison et le Culte de l'Être Suprême* (1892); Mathiez, *Les Origines des Cultes Révolutionnaires* (1904); *La Théophilanthropie et le Culte Décadaire* (1904); Dommanget, *La Déchristianisation à Beauvais*.

⁴ De Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution* (1856); Taine, *Origines de la France Contemporaine* (1876-1894); Cochin, *Les Sociétés de Pensée et la Démocratie: Études d'Histoire Révolutionnaire* (1921).

surviving minutes of these clubs ought therefore to be not unfruitful.⁵

The symbolism employed by the clubs must, of course, be understood as one aspect of the religious enthusiasm that marked the attempts to spread the revolutionary cults throughout France; and, although it is difficult to compress such manifestations into a summary account, the activities of the clubs will lose most of their meaning if they can not be thus referred to the general phenomena of revolutionary religious symbolism.⁶ Of the revolutionary cults, the first in time as in importance may be called simply that of *la patrie*. With the fall of the Bastille it found its first symbol in the tricolor cockade. Then *autels de la patrie*, simple stone blocks, suitably inscribed with moral aphorisms of the Enlightenment, were erected on village greens and in front of city halls. Trees of liberty—and here the revolutionists adopted for themselves the immemorial custom of the may-pole—were planted by municipalities and patriotic societies. As the Revolution developed, party symbols like the Mountain, symbols of emergency like the *œil de surveillance*, and symbols more directly borrowed from Christianity, like the martyred trinity, Marat, Lepelletier, and Chalier, were introduced. People were gathered together for ceremonies built up around these symbols. The “federations” of July 14, 1790, at Paris and in the provinces were probably the most sincere and the most universally shared of such moments of collective emotion. But there were also fraternal meals held in the open air, where the youths served simple dishes to their elders, assembled with no distinction of rank or wealth. More obvious imitations of Christian practice began to appear. There were civic marriages, civic baptisms, civic burials. Revolutionary songs were written, and the songs became hymns. The Declaration of the Rights of Man took on the authority of scripture.⁷

⁵ The minutes of most of these societies have been lost, and the remaining ones are often incomplete. This is true despite the seizure of the papers of the clubs ordered by the government in the year III. The documents were after all not quite official, and they were certainly among the most incriminating records of the Terror; many of the government agents themselves had a Jacobin past to efface. Yet enough of the documents have survived to form a very adequate base for a judgment of the ideas and practices common to the clubs. This paper is founded upon a study of the proceedings, in whole or in part, of some sixty clubs representing all the regional divisions of France.

⁶ The best brief summary of this symbolism is in Mathiez, *Les Origines des Cultes Révolutionnaires*, pp. 29-62.

⁷ A festival in honor of Equality held in *Commune Affranchie* (Lyons) in the spring of 1794 will illustrate this symbolism. In the long procession of officials, national guardsmen, and members of patriotic societies there were carried a carpenter's level in the name of equality, busts of the great Frenchmen, Marat,

In this general cult of *la patrie*, there grew up special cults, much of a piece with the parent cult, and only to be distinguished from it by some dramatic quality, by a personality or a patriotic creed. The cult of Reason, culminating in the ceremony at Notre Dame that forms one of the picturesque commonplaces of the Revolution, has a completeness of its own. So too has that of the Supreme Being, in whose honor Robespierre led the famous procession of 20 Prairial. After the terror the cult of *la patrie* was in part continued in what came to be known from its calendar as the *culte décadaire*. Still other odds and ends of eighteenth-century thought were fused into the "theophilanthropy" associated with the name of La Révellière-Lépeaux.

The "societies of friends of the constitution" early adopted a kindred religious symbolism for their ordinary sessions. This is the more remarkable because these clubs were originally gatherings for social enjoyment and political discussion, partly modelled on Anglo-Saxon originals, and there seems on the surface no more reason for their adoption of a semi-religious ritual than there would be for a similar step by a poetry society or a college debating club. The society at Castres, for instance, originated in a *cercle littéraire* founded in 1782; that of Colmar in the *Tabagie Littéraire* of 1785; that of Paris, as is well known, in a caucus of Breton delegates to the Estates-General.⁸ There was certainly an important masonic element in these societies; but though that may explain their liking for ritual, it can hardly explain all the forms their ritual assumed.⁹ The more active supporters of the National Assembly in a town would come together and organize a club for the interchange of what the eighteenth century called *lumières*. They wanted above all to take part in the fascinating political activity now at last open to ordinary Frenchmen; they therefore copied closely the procedure of the National Assembly. Officers were elected, motions made, previous questions moved and adjournments taken, just as if the club were a responsible parliamentary body.

Lepelletier, and Chaliier, busts of Brutus, William Tell, and Rousseau, "foreigners worthy of being Frenchmen", a statue of liberty, tables inscribed with the laws, jars and baskets of food for the communal feast which was to mark the height of the celebration, and "other emblems of the present cult of Frenchmen". *Journal Républicain des Deux Départements de Rhône et de Loire*, nos. 29 and 31, 18 and 22 ventôse, an II.

⁸ Dupéron, "La Société de Castres", in *Bulletin des Sciences Économiques et Sociales*, 1897, p. 393; Leuillot, *Les Jacobins de Colmar* (1923), p. 449; Bouchard, *Le Club Breton* (1920).

⁹ See Martin, *La Franc-Maçonnerie Française et la Préparation de la Révolution* (1926).

The club would commonly meet in an unpretentious room, often rented from an innkeeper, and at first quite unadorned.¹⁰ It is, however, in the matter of furnishings that the first trace of the Jacobin love of symbolism is to be found. Busts of the heroes of the Enlightenment soon appeared to encourage the supporters of the constitution. Later, busts of Marat and of other revolutionary martyrs were venerated as the images of the saints had been;¹¹ but for the present the clubs contented themselves with debates on the exact membership of their pantheon. At Paris, busts of Benjamin Franklin and Dr. Price were placed beside the bust of Mirabeau, still dead in glory. A member protested indignantly that the bust of the "father of liberty" was lacking. So Rousseau was added at once; and, upon other protests, Mably and Sidney joined the group.¹² The tricolor was soon suspended over the president's chair; but in the early and more hopeful days it was usually accompanied by the American, English, and sometimes the Polish flags in honor of the other peoples of the universe virtuous enough to be free.¹³ As the monarchy visibly declined, the Phrygian bonnet came into fashion with the radical republicans. Doppet, addressing the Paris Jacobins in March, 1792, contrived, while fumbling in his pocket for his notes, to fish out a liberty cap. The cheers of the club forced him to put it on, and even Robespierre could only postpone its formal adoption. Under the republic the president of almost every club was required to wear the cap as a symbol of his office.¹⁴

Later, at the height of the Jacobin power, the clubs usually met in abandoned churches or convents turned over to their use by the government. Even though all accessible "signs of fanaticism" were removed it must have been difficult for the Jacobins to preserve in such precincts the philosophic preoccupation with the present so necessary to reformers. Marat, Lepelletier, and Chalier, the martyred trinity, filled the niches formerly held by the saints. The tri-

¹⁰ The members of the society at Ars-en-Ré brought their own chairs. De Richemond, "Délibérations de la Société d'Ars-en-Ré", *Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XXXIV. (1904), 86.

¹¹ At Limoges, for instance, the bust of Marat was carried in procession through the streets, and the shops closed during the ceremony. Fray-Fournier, *Le Club des Jacobins de Limoges* (1903), p. 181.

¹² Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins* (1889-1897), III. 291.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 290; Labroue, *La Société Populaire de Bergerac* (1915), p. 192. The society at Bergerac by a curious use of synecdoche referred to the American flag as *celui des Bostoniens*.

¹⁴ *Journal des Débats de la Société . . . séante aux Jacobins, à Paris*, no. 158 (Mar. 11, 1792). Doppet, who later became a general in the revolutionary army, claims rather ingenuously in his memoirs that the whole thing was an accident. Doppet, *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires* (1797), p. 45.

color, now without allies, and often flanked by the symbolic pike, was furled behind the rostrum.¹⁵ A framed copy of the Declaration of the Rights of Man was sure to hang in a place of honor; and the words "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité, ou la Mort", would be generously inscribed upon the walls.

To a hall thus filled with visible reminders of what was expected of him, the Jacobin came less for deliberation than for edification. At Aix-en-Provence, each member as he entered the hall cried out: "Vive la République! Vive la Montagne! Vivent les sans-culottes!"¹⁶ Usually, however, the meeting was begun by the presiding officer according to a formula that varied somewhat from place to place. The president at Mayenne addressed the club, "Frères, surveillance, énergie, fraternité", and the public gathered to watch what was certainly the most interesting spectacle in town, "Citoyens, tranquillité et silence!"¹⁷ At Thonon the formula ran: "Au nom du peuple souverain. Égalité, Liberté, Fraternité ou la Mort. Reconnaissance aux braves Montagnards, Honneur aux mânes de Marat, Lepelletier, et autres martyrs de la Révolution, par l'imitation de leurs vertus. La séance est ouverte."¹⁸ Republican prayers and hymns opened the meetings of the society of Auch.¹⁹ At Limoges the president first sang a couplet of the Marseillaise, and then was joined by the club in unison.²⁰

Hymns were sung at other times in the course of the session, sometimes by the club, sometimes by patriotic ladies who volunteered their services. Hymns to Nature, to the Mountain, to Liberty, and to Reason abound, often the work of local Jacobins. But the Marseillaise was from the first the favorite tune, though only later were its words not to be tampered with. The society at Rodez, for instance, listened to a poem on the marriage of priests, set to the tune of the Marseillaise, with the refrain:

La nature et l'hymen sont les premières lois,
Le coeur, le coeur nous dit assez nos devoirs et nos droits.²¹

¹⁵ Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, III. 382.

¹⁶ Ponteil, "La Société Populaire des Antipolitiques d'Aix", *Revue Historique de la Révolution Française* (1918), XIII. 280.

¹⁷ Galland, "Les Sociétés Populaires de Laval et de Mayenne", *Bulletin de la Commission Historique de la Mayenne*, deuxième série (1902), XVIII. 37.

¹⁸ Mugnier, "La Société Populaire de Thonon", *Mémoires de la Société Savoisienne* (1898), XXXVII. 160.

¹⁹ Brégail, "La Société Populaire d'Auch", *Bulletin de la Comité des Travaux Historiques* (1911), p. 164.

²⁰ Fray-Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

²¹ Combes de Patris, *Procès-Verbaux de la Société Populaire de Rodez* (1912), p. 191.

The society of Chateau-Thierry sang its republican hymns to an organ accompaniment.²²

The hymns were frequently followed, properly enough, by a sermon. Neither practical matters of communal administration nor even personal quarrels could fill out the proceedings of most of these societies. To judge by the minutes that have survived, much of the average meeting was taken up with moral discourses, republican confessions of faith, and other abstractions in the taste of the time. The recording secretaries have usually confined themselves to mentioning the subject of the moral discourse—the Voice of Nature, the Golden Age, Patriotism and Virtue—and the satisfaction of the audience. Those whose substance has been preserved seem now as empty abstract and as dull as the moralities of Robespierre; but occasionally there is a passage where literary fashion conceals less completely the emotions underneath:

It is thou, O holy Revolution, who hast brought us happiness; it is thou whom I should love with all my strength, whom I should defend with my life-blood, that thou mayest triumph over the tyrants banded against thee! Thou, O holy liberty, O holy equality, who make it possible for me boldly to say: I am but a poor peasant, I am but a simple workman, and my son may become a magistrate, a legislator, a ship's master, a general.²³

Other, and perhaps more superficial, likenesses between the ordinary proceedings of these clubs and the traditional services of religion are easily collected. The society at Cherbourg kept in its hall a box deliberately labelled "Tronc pour les pauvres" and inscribed "Souviens-toi que tu as des frères malheureux".²⁴ After the sermon of *décadi*, the society at Ars-en-Ré was in the habit of taking up a collection.²⁵ The secretary of the society at Chateau-Thierry thus describes another ceremony: "Bézu announces that he is father of a new republican. He asks that the birth registration take place in the midst of the society and that the president and the citizenness Andrieu be witnesses, to which request they consent. The child is brought into the meeting amid reiterated applause and the president delivers from the tribune a moral discourse on the errors of prejudice." The witnesses, who evidently correspond to godfather and godmother in this republican christening, named the infant Chaliér Bézu.²⁶ The society at Thonon provided an adjoining

²² Rollet, "Procès-Verbaux de la Société de Chateau-Thierry", *Annales de la Société Historique de Chateau-Thierry* (1881), p. 187.

²³ Teissère, "Un discours dans un Club en 1791", *Annales de la Société d'Études Provençales* (1905), II. 223.

²⁴ Galland, "La Société Populaire de Cherbourg", *Bulletin de la Comité de Travaux Historiques* (1906), p. 333.

²⁵ De Richemond, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

²⁶ Rollet, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

room "for the instruction of young people during the meetings of the society". The Jacobins had discovered the uses of the Sunday School before that institution became common in organized churches.²⁷

There is no doubt a danger in pushing the religious analogy too far. Much of the time of these clubs was taken up with political debates, with town affairs, with personal intrigues and, later, when the clubs were partially incorporated into the revolutionary government, with actual administrative work. Yet perhaps the modern separation between church and state has made us to-day a bit oversure that salvation in politics, at any rate, is of this world. The Jacobins were certainly not so clear on this point. Not only were their meetings in good part filled with hymns and exhortations, set phrases and ceremonies, but their official phraseology abounds in reminiscences of Christian theology. Sometimes the crudeness of the parallel betrays either plain stupidity or the calculation of the showman, as in the following notice from the organ of the club at Limoges: "Pater, Ave, Credo, acts of faith, hope, love, contrition, *confiteor*, decalogue, and revolutionary commandments of the Mountain, by citizen Foucaud."²⁸ This, like the republican sign of the cross, may perhaps be dismissed as an historical curiosity. But throughout the proceedings of these clubs there recur, more naturally and more unexpectedly, evidences of the Jacobin desire to save the fleeting and impotent individual by uniting him to the eternal group.

As early as 1790 the Jacobins of Paris were told that they had achieved the "apostolate of liberty".²⁹ The word apostle subsequently was on everyone's lips. The town clubs sent "apostles" or "missionaries" out into the country districts, still mostly in unphilosophic darkness. Ordinary propaganda is not sufficient to spread the "*évangile révolutionnaire*" in such places, says the organ of the club of Besançon. "The publications of the societies are not sufficient, few people read them; but everyone likes to listen to a man who has come especially to warm his compatriots' zeal by his discourse, and to raise their souls to the enthusiasm of liberty."³⁰ In at least one club, the number of these apostles was deliberately set at twelve.³¹ The mission undertaken was no light one, for in many parts of France the hostility of the peasants subjected these

²⁷ Mugnier, *op. cit.*, p. 161. Robert Raikes, regarded as the founder of the modern Sunday School movement, established his first school in 1782.

²⁸ *Journal du Département de la Haute Vienne*, no. 19, 29 frimaire, an II.

²⁹ Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, I. 406.

³⁰ *La Vedette, ou Journal du Département du Doubs*, no. 82, 1 brumaire, an II.

³¹ Aulard, *Le Culte de la Raison et le Culte de l'Être Suprême*, p. 127.

conscientious Jacobins to bodily danger. The society of Aix announced that it would face "its tyrants with political gospel in one hand and homicidal steel in the other".³² At Lunéville, special seats were set aside during the meetings for the "proselytes".³³ The poet laureate of the same club produced an invitation to destroy the Inquisition in Spain which the minutes declare "digne du *cantique* des Marseillais".³⁴ Members of the regenerated society of Saverne were allowed to remain in good standing so long as "no one accused their faith".³⁵ On the second register of the club of Bergerac, ending March 5, 1792, is inscribed in large letters "Registre Sacré".³⁶

There is to be found a tendency to allegory which has obvious analogies with European traditions of religious instruction. "O PEOPLE! You saw in time the snare set for you; and from the lofty summit you were occupying you did but descend, your mass filled all the irregularities, and there appeared an enormous MOUNTAIN, at the very spot where once had been a *plain*, at first fertile, then dry and arid, and finally swampy."³⁷ Sometimes there are phrases of an unction no doubt unjustly associated with certain aspects of religious belief. A constitutional priest addressing the society of Bordeaux saw fit to phrase his adhesion to revolutionary cause thus: "I believe in the all-powerful National Assembly, creator of good and of liberty."³⁸ And the president of the society at Bergerac hailed "the election of our new [constitutional] bishop, which will cause to flow through our souls the precious balm of a Constitution established on the unshakeable base of a holy religion".³⁹ A more exalted state of mind is evident in the inaugural address of a president at Thann. His election raises him as it were above himself but makes him feel all the more his own insufficiency; he is aware that only the *lumières* of his fellows can make clear to him the narrow path where he burns to walk.⁴⁰ Such too are the feelings of a

³² Ponteil, *op. cit.*, XIII. 285.

³³ Baumont, "La Société Populaire de Lunéville", *Annales de l'Est* (1889), III. 361.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 349. The italics are mine.

³⁵ Fischer, "La Société Populaire de Saverne", *Revue d'Alsace* (1869), XX. 128.

³⁶ Labroue, *op. cit.*, p. 205, n. 2.

³⁷ *La Vedette, ou Journal du Département du Doubs*, no. 9, 20 pluviôse, an II. The "plain" is, of course, the neutral centre party in the convention.

³⁸ Flottes, "Le Club des Jacobins de Bordeaux", *Révolution Française* (1916), LXIX. 340.

³⁹ Labroue, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁴⁰ Poulet, "L'Esprit Publique à Thann pendant la Révolution", *Revue Historique de la Révolution Française* (1918), XIII. 218.

member of the society of female friends of the constitution at Besançon: "O precious effects of *patriotisme*! I feel that it raises me, that it expands my soul; I feel that I am more than myself."⁴¹ Occasionally there is proof that this exaltation could be shared. The club of Eymoutiers took, amid an "indescribable delirium", an oath prescribed by the department of the Haute-Vienne: "I call down anathema upon kings and tyrants, anathema upon dictators, upon triumvirs, upon false defenders, upon false protectors of the people; anathema upon any who under the title of chief, general, stadholder, prince or any other name whatsoever would usurp a superiority, a pre-eminence over his fellow-citizens; and I swear to pursue him to the death."⁴²

It is not merely, then, that the Jacobins often employed a vocabulary borrowed from Christian practice; it is also true that their emotions must be accepted as a variety of religious experience. This ought to be evident from much of the foregoing; but it is still more clear in the accounts of the successive purgings which, at the word of order from the Paris club, the Jacobins universally underwent.⁴³ These *épurations*—the word is not quite translatable—were of two kinds. Politically at least the more important *épuration* was merely a device for getting rid of undesirable elected members of the municipal and district administrations. A list of all the members of the administrations would be read from the platform, and the "people" assembled in the rooms of the society would decide what ones should be retained. In practice the meeting was of course packed, and the whole operation carried out at the dictation of the representative on mission sent out from Paris, who usually presided at the meeting. Psychologically, however, the other sort of *épuration* is more interesting. Sessions were held to determine the orthodoxy of the whole membership of a society, a process which often meant the stringing out of meetings for days. Only the private concerns of comparatively unimportant men were at stake, and the representatives on mission rarely bothered to attend these meetings. The usual procedure was for each member to take the platform in turn and justify his orthodoxy before a single judge chosen for his purity, or a small core of members admittedly irreproachable. Frequently a list of questions formed the test. What were you in 1789? What have you done up to the present for the Revolution? Have you been in any monarchical club or counter-revolutionary military organization, or signed unpatriotic petitions? The result was something

⁴¹ *La Vedette, ou Journal du Département du Doubs*, no. 9, Dec. 4, 1792.

⁴² Granier, "Un club Limousin", *Annales Révolutionnaires* (1923), XV. 316.

⁴³ Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, V. 48 ff.

strikingly similar to "experience meetings" of certain Protestant sects. Indeed, the members of the society of Thann were called upon to "make a clean breast of it all at the bar of the assembly".⁴⁴ At Limoges, the secretary writes of the "*confession générale*".⁴⁵

These confessions are unfortunately not often recorded. But even from these bare records, it is easy to imagine the tautness of nerves, the contagion of excitement, which wait upon the dramatic possibility that under pressure something secret and damning will emerge. A provincial journalist protests against the *épuration* at Besançon:

For more than a *décade* the meetings of the society have been consecrated to the *scrutin épuratoire*. It would seem that for the past few days the temple of liberty has been converted into a gladiatorial arena, into which each patriot has been obliged to descend in succession to make with his bloody wounds a spectacle for the public. . . . While reproaching one another for what are after all peccadillos, we have given and taken wounds whose scars we shall always bear.⁴⁶

A member of the Lyons society writes of these *épurations* in terms that make equally clear how far they were tests of conscience and of ability to withstand a common inquisition: "This tribunal of the conscience of man and the justice of the people is terrible indeed, but it is also just. The most practised audacity, the most refined hypocrisy disappeared before the watchful and penetrating eyes of the sound members of the society and of the numerous citizens who filled the galleries."⁴⁷

Most of the accepted confessions must have been dull enough, as that of Citizen Rebours of Fontainebleau. "I have scrutinized carefully my conscience and my life, public and private, and I find myself perfectly pure. I imbibed my revolutionary principles in England, and I have retained them. They caused me under the old régime to be distrusted by my superiors. . . . I took part in the events at Paris from July 12, 1789, for two days and two nights, etc."⁴⁸ The rejections are rather more interesting. At Beauvais, men were excluded from the society for having "abased the holy Mountain by calling it a handful of Maratistes", for calumniating another patriot, for intriguing to get public office, and for remaining a bachelor at forty. The rejection of one poor man, because he

⁴⁴ Poulet, *op. cit.*, XIII. 538.

⁴⁵ Fray-Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁴⁶ *La Vedette, ou Journal du Département du Doubs*, no. 10, 23 pluviôse, an II.

⁴⁷ *Journal Républicain des Deux Départements de Rhône et de Loire*, no. 7, 4 nivôse, an II.

⁴⁸ Constant, "Un Club de Jacobins en Province", *Le Correspondant* (1876), CII. 753.

"lacked the degree of warmth necessary for a real republican", prompted another to defend himself by claiming that "if his physique was cold, his morals were warm".⁴⁹ An official at Colmar seems to have been rejected partly because he was a "dear grocer".⁵⁰ It clearly will not do to forget that the Jacobins were human beings after all, and that their politics were not always transcendental.

For much of the feeling it is tempting to catalogue as religious is no doubt merely a form of group-excitement and could as readily have been aroused by a murder-trial or a good fire. And yet surely the only objective test of our emotions is the object on which they are spent. These people were aroused at meetings of the Jacobin clubs, and they were aroused during the partially religious ceremonies that have been described. Of course their emotions were mixed, and before the drama enacted many remained spectators, and even critics, rather than participants. The secretary at Thonon somewhat irreverently describes an emotional soprano who sang patriotic duets with a club-member. "The *sans-culottides* transports of this citizen-ness, the energy, the lively and animated expression of her song, the mutual and repeated embraces with which she favored her partner, contributed not a little to excite the joy and laughter of the society."⁵¹ These inspired women were, of course, familiar figures in the clubs. A curious example of group-emotion, to be taken rather more seriously, is found in the records of the club of Pau. A delegate brought back to the president a fraternal embrace from Monestier, representative on mission. The president embraced in turn the person next him, and the embrace "was consequently carried, given and received from neighbor to neighbor, even into the galleries, a spectacle which brought joy and tenderness to all".⁵² This is no doubt the sensibility in fashion at the time; yet the historian, more than most men, should be aware that fashion is usually sincere.

The minutes of these clubs not infrequently mention "philanthropic prayers", a devotional exercise in which there is a more unmistakable union of ritual and emotion. This is the more obviously so because the absurdity of prayer to the god of the deists must have been clear to all but the very devout. Such a prayer was composed by the committee of correspondence of the Lunéville society and given by the president during the regular meeting. After addressing

⁴⁹ Thiot, "Les Sociétés Populaires de Beauvais", *Bulletin de la Société d'Études de l'Oise* (1908), XX. 966-967.

⁵⁰ Leuillot, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁵¹ Mugnier, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁵² Laborde, "Un Club Féminin pendant la Révolution", *Revue du Béarn* (1911), II. 465. The incident above described took place, however, in the masculine club.

the Eternal Being, who showed his existence so visibly in the harmony of the material universe, who had made for each need a corresponding satisfaction, the prayer suddenly cries, "Que ta foudre fasse justice de tous nos ennemis connus et cachés! Ils sont les tiens, Dieu vengeur!"⁵³ The transition from the clock-maker God to the avenging God is surprising enough; but it is quite of a piece with other Jacobin borrowings from religious tradition.

These borrowings—or better, perhaps, these similarities—are not exhausted by a description of the ritual of club meetings, the curious religious phraseology that crops up in unexpected passages, and the emotional abandon of men who lose desire and shame in the achievement of the group. It is possible to sketch from the proceedings of the clubs the outlines of a polity held together by concepts primarily theological. Grace, sin, heresy, repentance, regeneration have their place in these records. Of course, no one individual is assumed to go through this cycle. The theological parallel is not a literal one; but it is not a forced nor an imaginary one.

That Robespierre and his more sincere followers conceived themselves to be the small band of the elect is of course a truism. The conception of election, however, like so much else in the Terror, goes back surprisingly far in the Revolution. Desmoulins speaks at the Jacobins in 1791 of "the very small number of those *to whom only the witness of their conscience is necessary*, the small number of men of character, incorruptible citizens".⁵⁴ This insistence on an inner, emotional conviction of righteousness rather than on external rules—the very old opposition of faith and works—comes out again in the proceedings of the Paris club. "One must distrust", says the speaker, "liberty unaccompanied by virtue"; and by virtue he understands "not the mere practice of moral duties, but also an exclusive attachment to the unalterable principles of our constitution".⁵⁵ The club at Limoges was told: "It is not enough, in order to belong to a truly republican society, to call oneself republican, to have done guard duty, to have paid one's taxes; one must have given sure indications of hatred for kings and nobles, for fanaticism; one must have passed through the crucible of perilous circumstance."⁵⁶ The idea of grace is actually complemented in this club by the addition of a new Jerusalem, the city of the elect. Paris, for its work in the revolution, is to be "that holy city".⁵⁷

⁵³ Baumont, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

⁵⁴ Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, III. 214. The italics are mine.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 235.

⁵⁶ Fray-Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

There are also the damned. The Jacobins did not feel of their opponents merely that they were wrong, or inconvenient; but that they had sinned. A member at Rodez recalled to the society that just a year before, a deputation from the Tarn had "soiled the precincts of the society with the venom of federalism". The society therefore decided "as *expiation* for that scandalous session, to consecrate a portion of the present session to patriotic songs".⁵⁸ At Bergerac the society burned the papal bull condemning the civil constitution of the clergy, in order to purify the paper from "the outrageous blasphemies which insult our sublime Constitution".⁵⁹ Some aristocrats at Vesoul having kissed the tree of liberty in mockery, the local club decided to purify it. So, with the president at its head, and with four members carrying vases of pure water and braziers of incense, the club marched in procession to the tree, where, after everyone had sworn to preserve it forever after from all contamination, "the tree was purified with the lustral water, and the president threw on the heated tripods generous handfuls of the most exquisite perfumes".⁶⁰ The club at Auch had so strong a conviction of sin that it adapted for its own use the attitude of the Church toward burial in consecrated ground. It proposed to have two town cemeteries, one for good citizens, the other for bad.⁶¹

Heresy is, of course, one of the easiest ways of falling into sin. The word itself was by no means shunned by the Jacobins. Even under the monarchy, Brissot is found at the Paris club objecting that an opinion of Barnave's is "a great heresy".⁶² The rejections of members at the various *épurations* are, of course, usually for heresy of some sort. One man was excluded at Thann because, although at first he had been a good *patriote*, "the corrupting contact of his brother-in-law had completely perverted him"; another, though himself pure, because his maid was not.⁶³ At Carcassonne one of the questions put was: How long did you lack confidence in Marat and the Mountain? Several were excluded for honestly confessing that they had had a period of doubt on this subject.⁶⁴ The pressure of foreign and civil war made the Jacobins more than usually exacting towards their proselytes. One society at least penalized those con-

⁵⁸ Combes de Patris, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁵⁹ Labroue, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁶⁰ *La Vedette, ou Journal du Département du Doubs*, no. 68, June 29, 1792.

⁶¹ Bregail, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

⁶² Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, II. 189.

⁶³ Poulet, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

⁶⁴ Mandoul, "Le Club des Jacobins de Carcassonne", *Révolution Française* (1893), XXV. 326.

verted after 1792 by not allowing them to hold office.⁶⁵ Collot d'Herbois at Paris was seeking to get re-admitted to the society some of those who had followed the Feuillants in the schism. "Many of these", he said, "are exceedingly repentant, and would like to efface from their lives the days they spent at the Feuillants." Yet at Robespierre's insistence they were rejected.⁶⁶ And, along with heresy, there is the concept of blasphemy. This is from a report of a session of the Paris club: "An officer, an exchanged prisoner, gives an account of the condition of the French and the Austrian armies. But as he reports some violent words used by the enemy general, he is interrupted. Billaud-Varenne reminds the orator that he is repeating expressions which ought not to soil the mouth of a republican."⁶⁷

The idea of regeneration lies somewhat apart from the subject at hand; it belongs rather to the whole philosophy of the Revolution than to the procedure and policy of the Jacobin clubs. Yet there are certain significant instances where the idea crops up in the clubs; and these may well complete the roll of theological elements in their proceedings. The taking of the Bastille became the symbolic date, the moment when man was born anew, washed clean of the evils of the old régime. A little provincial society, accordingly, when it celebrates the "holy festival" of July 14, refers to it as the day "when man is resuscitated and born anew in his rights".⁶⁸ The society of St. Jean de Luz held a festival to celebrate the "abolition of royalty and the *resurrection* of the republic". It is hard to see how the word resurrection can here be taken in any but a theological sense.⁶⁹ Finally, the society at Saverne gave proof of the most extraordinary faith in the completeness of the rebirth brought about in 1789, for its secretary refers to "les ci-devant Juifs".⁷⁰

At this point no doubt the parallel is somewhat forced. In any such study of the proceedings of the Jacobin clubs account must be taken of the verbal sensibility of the age, the journalistic ambitions of young recording secretaries, the presence of numerous sham Jacobins with a sardonic love of extremes, the natural exaggeration and lack of imagination of the propagandist, and—though doubts on the matter are surely permitted the historian—the possible existence

⁶⁵ Fray-Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁶⁶ Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, III, 313.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 618.

⁶⁸ Labroue, "La Société Populaire de la Garde-Freinet", *Révolution Française* (1908), LIV, 155.

⁶⁹ Annat, "La Société Populaire de St. Jean de Luz", *Revue du Béarn* (1910), p. 170.

⁷⁰ Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

of a sophomoric sense of humor. Take the religion of the Jacobin clubs with a grain of salt, if you will, but take it just the same. After all, when men have died for a pose, there can be no harm in calling it a faith.

With the actual tenets of the Jacobin faith—that is, with the positive beliefs a man must hold to be orthodox—this paper is not concerned. Nor is it concerned with a criticism of the methods employed by the Jacobins to impose themselves on France. All that concerns the philosopher at least as much as the historian. For the present purpose it is enough to record that the Jacobins, even in their regular meetings, did at times do certain things hitherto customarily done in churches. That is, there is traceable in their proceedings a ritual, a religious vocabulary, and the framework of a theology. Much of this, like the revolutionary credo and pater, and the revolutionary martyrs, is crudely borrowed from Roman Catholicism. That a good deal of this was done deliberately and without illusions by leaders desirous of holding together and using the ignorant masses, need not affect the extraordinary impression this borrowing gives of the sheer power of persistence possessed by the immemorial practices of the Church. But it is to be noted that the public celebration of the revolutionary cults, with its processions, its altars, its incense, and its liturgy, is more suggestive of Catholic origins than the proceedings of the Jacobin clubs. It must be evident from the foregoing that the responsive recitations, the hymn-singing, and the sermons recorded in the minutes of the clubs are curiously reminiscent of Protestant ways. So too is the insistence on faith rather than works (upon which it has here been possible to touch but lightly). Finally, the enthusiasm and proselyting zeal, the liking for public confession, has in it a touch that contemporary Englishmen would have recognized as "methodistical".

To conclude, however, that this is additional evidence for the view that the French Revolution, seen in the large, was a continuation of the Protestant Reformation is perhaps unwarranted. For may it not be possible that the Jacobins acted in some respects like the Protestants because they were faced with similar problems? Certainly it would be hard to maintain that the handful of French Protestants had a direct influence on the clubs. The Jacobins, like the Protestants, were in revolt against the Catholic Church. They were both obliged to revolt in the name of individual liberty; but they were also obliged to assume corporate form in order to exist. That is to say, they were obliged to make the individual ultimately subject to the restraint of the group. But by a suitable ritual—

group singing, sermons addressed to all alike, a common impersonal authority (Bible or Declaration of Rights), public confession—both were able to make that restraint appear to the individual like liberty. Because their methods were the same, however, it does not follow that their ends were the same. Ritual, in the widest sense, is necessary in any society, and the line between political ritual and religious ritual is by no means clear.

For ritual is to the individual evidence of the real existence of the group, evidence on a par with that of other real existences as they show themselves to his senses. Although its content is no doubt important, and although it may affect the imagination of certain individuals, ritual itself is perhaps less important than the ideas, as it certainly is less important than the desires, of those who employ it. The persistence of certain ritualistic devices of organized Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, in the Jacobin clubs is therefore not inconsistent with the existence of real opposition between Christianity and Jacobinism. Clothes are an essential external expression of the fact that man is a social and political animal, but very different men can wear the same clothes. Ritual is but the costume in which men clothe the group. The figure is perhaps more accurate than at first appears. “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité”, is one of the symbols that hold men true to the Third Republic, as it held them true to the First. But surely there are no more Jacobins, and the France of Poincaré is not the France of Robespierre?

CRANE BRINTON.

CIVILIZATION IN TRANSIT¹

A QUARTER of a century ago Edward Eggleston published a volume whose title set the reader thinking before he turned the cover, *The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century*. Americans, then, did not invent their culture, but had to bring its elements from Europe bit by bit, however much they might be modified by transplantation. The thoughtful reader, setting side by side before his mind's eye a picture of the shaggy wilderness the colonists had to conquer and that of the age-old communities they had left behind, might readily presume that, though the individuals were hardly conscious of it, the process which the book would trace was neither short nor simple. What Eggleston considered was not the fundamental economic problem of staying alive in a new country, but the saving and carrying forward of arts and sciences, those refinements and specializations which come from intelligently living together. The transit, quite obviously, was not completed in the seventeenth century, nor is it yet complete; and when a given institution or practice reached the western shores of the Atlantic it yet had far to go. Few men could have realized this more vividly than Eggleston himself, who had spent the years of his young-manhood as a circuit rider in southern Indiana and the farther West and been a herald and exemplar of civilization in the backwoods.

Much has been written of the man with the axe, slowly cutting back the forest, fighting off malaria and mortgages as well as wild beasts and Indians and horse-thieves and establishing American ideals of energy and self-reliance. These men and women of the cabin did the basic work; they cleared the way and built foundations. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they constituted more than nine-tenths of our population. But if all had been of this type who made their way across the sea and across American hills and valleys it would have taken many centuries to build a great civilization. In their wake followed pioneers of ideas and special competence, quite as brave and worthy. As the woodsman-farmer with his axe and hoe took a risk, whether untamed nature would let him live, so these men with the book, the scalpel, the compass, to say nothing of the microscope and test-tube, took a risk, whether the social soil was deep and rich enough to sustain their specialties. How professional competence was transplanted to America makes an interesting study.

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Let us begin with a well-known figure, the family doctor. The herbalists and leeches who came over during the first century were certainly not highly skilled, even when they made healing the sick their chief concern and not merely a side-line of the Christian ministry. But their obvious usefulness at last stirred certain native youth to equal or surpass them, not through mere apprenticeship but by resort to the original sources of instruction in Europe. In 1734 young William Bull, of Charles Town, returned with his M.D. from the University of Leyden, and six years later Isaac Dubois, of New York, could claim the same distinction; during the thirty-five years that followed scores of young men undertook the arduous journey with the same ambition, most of them taking up their study in Edinburgh. Two so graduated, Drs. William Shippen and John Morgan, returned to Philadelphia in the seventeen-sixties prepared to set up formal courses of instruction. "The time was ripe", and from their efforts grew the medical school of that city, soon rivalled by a second at King's College in New York. In both cases the staff was largely of British training and the methods closely imitative, even to the printed doctor's thesis, oftentimes in Latin, solemnly defended before the assembled faculty. In time it was loudly boasted, and finally believed, that one might become a first-rate doctor without going to Europe, and by the early years of the nineteenth century these and other medical schools were staffed with their own product. It had taken about two centuries to transfer medical science to America.

The major phenomena of the transit are well illustrated by this type example. Four stages are discerned: first, when foreign practitioners of the specialty are received by the pioneer community; second, when the native youth go to the old country to attend upon instruction; third, when institutions of the special learning are established in the new land, though still dependent on the metropolis for the equipment of their teachers; fourth, when the institutions have sufficiently developed to maintain themselves.

He who applies this key to others of the older professional specialties will be surprised to see how well it works. It enables us to see the present stage of transit in various concerns. In great music we are still to a considerable degree in the first stage—so obviously true is this that certain *virtuosi* sprung from old American village stock, like Mme. Nordica and Ricardo Martin, have thought it added to their personal prestige to Europeanize their names. In pictorial and plastic art we are emerging from the second stage into the third. In university scholarship we reached the fourth stage only at the end of the last century; it was not long ago that a German Ph.D. was

deemed essential to a first-class professor. In dentistry we have *reversed* the process to the third stage; in architecture, in some forms of applied science, and perhaps in business organization, we have reversed it to the second. After these reflections we may, perhaps, propose a generalization applicable to the normal conditions of modern history: professional competence rises through provincial to metropolitan status by the process of reception, attendance, dependent organization, and self-maintenance. If we were to stifle our sense of humor we might even call this a "law". At least it has the two major requisites of a sociological law, in that when baldly stated it is so ponderously cryptic as to be unintelligible, and when explained it is so obvious that it need not have been stated at all.

It must be understood that in this use of the word "provincial" there is no reference of necessity to political dependence. Metropolis and province may change places without regard to politics; ideas flowed from France into England in the Norman days, and from England into France during the first half of the eighteenth century. Sometimes, indeed, the victors adopt the culture of their victims, as when in the phrase of Horace:

Greece, conquered Greece, her conquerors subdued
And clownish Latium with her arts imbued.

The importation of culture has oftentimes been artificially stimulated by autocrats—assumption by fiat—as is recalled by mention of the names of Peter the Great and Mustapha Kemal, to say nothing of the ministers of Mutsuhito. And the export has been stimulated quite as well. Christian missions have been a most important agency in carrying secular culture abroad as well as religious, if, indeed, the two can be sharply distinguished. Many patriotic Frenchmen, for example, who believe the Catholic faith a silly superstition contribute to its propagation beyond the seas, proud that "backward areas" are thus becoming Gallicized. Publications of hyphenate societies supported at least in part from the old home-land abound in many places. But the process has worked normally without artificial aid. Cataclysms may stimulate it, as when in the seventeen-nineties the *émigrés* from France and Santo Domingo brought French opera, cotillions, and fine cooking to America. Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, in a discourse delivered in 1821, declared that European wars had been the cause of a quickened transit of books from the Old World to the New, that some distinguished refugees had brought their libraries, that booksellers, deprived of markets at home, had brought their stocks in increasing number: "The storm from the east has wafted, in short, an abundance of precious things to these regions." But,

again, the process can not be generally explained as a concomitant of great disturbance in the metropolis.

The operation in particulars, indeed, seems strikingly accidental, and this not only in the professions but in the trades as well, where, of course, the first stage merges directly into the last. Naturalists tell us that in the islands of the South Sea the wind and flying birds carry spores and seeds from one land-area to another, where if the soil conditions are propitious a plant springs up and a part of the flora is thus reproduced beyond the water. Almost as fortuitous seem the circumstances by which carriers of civilization have been transferred to America.

Take, for example, the case of Samuel Slater, in 1789 an apprentice spinner in the employ of Richard Arkwright's partner in Belper, England. Learning by chance at the age of twenty-one, when his term of service had expired, that there was some curiosity in America as to Arkwright's patents, he resolved to try his fortune overseas. But the statute of 22 George III., chapter 60, framed according to old mercantilist doctrine, forbade the taking out of England of any machinery, models, or mechanical drawings and, indeed, the migration of artisans. So young Slater by a feat of concentration memorized the entire series of wheels and bands and rollers with precise dimensions and, disguised as a countryman, slipped by the English customs officers without their once suspecting the illicit cargo that he carried in his mind. On arriving in New York he heard that Moses Brown, a Rhode Island Quaker, had made some trials at cotton spinning, and wrote him a letter setting forth what he could do. The answer came quite promptly: "If thee canst do this thing, I invite thee to come to Rhode Island, and have the credit of introducing cotton manufacture into America." Thereupon he went to Pawtucket, the one most fortunate place in the country, where water-wheels and ships were found within the same small town, and there he built his frames and did become what Moses Brown had prophesied. The seed had landed on good soil.

It is somewhat puzzling to the reader of industrial statistics to account for the concentration of the brass manufacture in the Naugatuck Valley in Connecticut. There is neither copper, nor zinc, nor coal found in that vicinity, nor is it exceptionally well placed for transportation; why, then, should eighty-five per cent. of America's brass be made there? The answer is, the accident of the carrier. In 1820 an artisan named Crofts left a Birmingham brass-works as an emigrant. On landing in America he drifted about and finally into Waterbury. Here he found some humble manufacturers mak-

ing notions for tin-peddlers, among other things a few brass buttons from old copper kettles and ship bottoms and imported zinc. Hiring out as a hand he showed his new employers better methods, was made a partner, and was sent back to Birmingham some seven or eight times to recruit more skilled workers; on the basis of this skill the brass business was established.

If one works through the records of any branch of human effort in America, one comes upon these carriers, individual men and women more or less conscious of the function they perform. In 1805 one Ferdinand Rudolph Hassler came from Switzerland to Philadelphia, bringing with him some books and mathematical instruments. Through the good offices of Secretary Gallatin, his compatriot, and the interest of President Jefferson, he was given a place as a teacher at West Point, and thus brought the knowledge of analytical geometry to America; he advised the government as to a method of charting the coastal waters, was sent abroad to buy more instruments, and on his return began the United States Coast Survey. The man with the special competence had happened to meet the special need. About the same time, in 1816, there came to the military academy Claude Crozet, who had been schooled at the Polytechnique in Paris—and thus began the study of descriptive geometry in this country; having been an engineer under Napoleon and having had the severe training in higher mathematics that most of our practitioners sadly lacked, after seven years' teaching he became an employee of Virginia and gave the state a system of roads which made it for that time a model. This was the contribution of two Europeans to American mathematics. English books were usually the seeds of early American architecture, but there were human carriers too, that we can recognize, like Richard Upjohn, who in 1829 brought to New England the ideas of the Gothic revival, later to flower in his Trinity Church in New York City. Similar stories could be told for almost every branch of art and science.

But some have transferred to the province parts of the metropolitan environment itself. In 1714 the ablest young thinkers of Connecticut were spinning out dry dichotomies of dry ideas—working knowledge out of their own heads, as the Reverend Samuel Johnson wrote in reminiscence. Then there came to Yale a library which Jeremy Dummer, the colonial agent, had sent from the old country, and for the first time New England came into contact with John Locke and Isaac Newton and modern thought. The effect, as Johnson writes of it, was sudden and tremendous; he himself and other clergymen left Calvinism and stirred the religious thinking of the

Puritan colonies as it had not been stirred before—all because of a library. In 1796, or thereabouts, Dr. Adam Seybert, of Philadelphia, brought back from Europe a cabinet of minerals, the second in the country; it was to this collection that young Benjamin Silliman, of New Haven, brought a little box of stones for comparison and identification, and thus was started on his way to be the first great American master of geology, and it was the elaborate cabinet which Colonel George Gibbs brought across the water that aided Silliman to make Yale the centre of such studies. In 1794 Dr. David Hosack returned with a duplicate collection of plants from the herbarium of Linnaeus, and shortly afterward brought in seeds, slips, and shrubs to form his botanical garden, specimens from which made up the core of the great establishment in Bronx Park; such new advantages made the study of botany by Americans a very different thing from what it had been before.

The fine art of Europe was started westward only when American wealth had sufficiently accumulated to secure it. There were collections as early as the seventeen-nineties, like that brought to Boston by James Swan, and that to Philadelphia by William Hamilton, but they had little cultural value while shut within a few private houses. It was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century, about 1870, to be exact, that private fortune seriously took up the task of educating the public taste by transferring European art to open galleries in this country. Notable collections of Italian primitives and other pieces were given to the New York Historical Society by Thomas Jefferson Bryan and to Yale by James J. Jarves; William W. Corcoran in 1869 endowed a museum in Washington to receive his importations; in 1870 one group of philanthropists organized the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and another the Metropolitan Museum in New York City. Such benefactions though conspicuous for scale were not different in spirit from earlier and more modest transfers like that accomplished by Daniel Wadsworth and his associates for Hartford in 1842 and that by the Reverend A. W. Freeman who brought copies to the Indiana colleges in the 'sixties and 'seventies. By reason of such establishments artists could see something of the legacy of bygone centuries without leaving their own soil. The process was continued by Morgan, Frick, and a host of others, until now, apparently, American purchasers are so much the reliance of those who market the historic art of Europe that collections, like that of Lord Leverhulme, are moved here intact for the auctioneer. Thus, in the transit of civilization one factor has been the removal of environment itself.

The transit as a whole, apparently, was speeded by the Revolution, which for a time so developed the sentiment of nationalism that it irked us to depend on Europe for anything. The audience at the John Street Theatre, New York, on April 16, 1787, applauded the prologue of Royall Tyler's play, *The Contrast*, with its announcement of an innovation:

Exult each patriot heart—tonight is shewn
A piece which we may fairly call our own;
Where the proud titles of "My Lord! Your Grace!"
To humble Mr. and plain Sir give place.
Our author pictures not from foreign climes
The fashions or the follies of the times;
But has confin'd the subject of his work
To the gay scenes—the circles of New York.

In the introduction to her novel *Dorval, the Speculator* (1801), Madam Wood, of Portland, echoed the same sentiment: "Hitherto we have been indebted to France, Germany, and Great Britain, for the majority of our literary pleasures. Why we should not aim at independence, with respect to our mental enjoyments, as well as our more substantial gratifications, I know not. Why must the amusements of our leisure hours cross the Atlantic? . . . The following pages are wholly American; the characters are those of our own country."

The customary deference and dependence, it is true, were not easily thrown off. In colonial days many whose ancestors had lived here for a hundred years and who themselves had never left our shores still spoke wistfully of England as "home". William Dunlap, the leading theatrical manager at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was not a little irritated by the general distrust of American playwrights; *The Contrast* itself was none too successful. The *New York Columbian*, praising a new play in 1819, was impressed with its own courage: "We advance this opinion without waiting for the fiat of an English audience, or an English review." Fenimore Cooper, the following year, did not dare confess the American authorship of his first novel and sent it out more safely as the work of an anonymous Englishwoman. The highest encomium his later admirers could pronounce was to call him the American Scott; many, however, thought this hardly in good taste, not because it indicated undue deference to British standards, but because the comparison seemed presumptuous. Nevertheless, the national consciousness was coming. Most Americans were extremely sensitive when British critics dismissed us as provincial. The bitter vehemence of C. J. Ingersoll, Robert Walsh, and Paulding, who tried to prove that we

were not, was perhaps in itself a telling bit of evidence that we still were; but, for all that, there was a growing sentiment that it was time for Americans, even in concerns outside of government, to assume "the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitled them".

The science of botany gives an interesting example. Since it did not reach the status of a specialized profession in Europe until far on in the nineteenth century, it can not well be subjected to our "law". Yet it had an interesting process of its own in transition. First came European explorers, like Mark Catesby and Peter Kalm; then, somewhat overlapping, Americans who were the correspondents of great scholars in the old countries, such as John Clayton, who sent collections to Gronovius, and John Bartram, who supplied the English Quaker, Peter Collinson. But the amateur botanists of the United States, mostly doctors of medicine or of divinity, resented foreign domination, especially such European christening of American plants. "We ought", wrote the most distinguished of them, the Reverend H. E. Muhlenberg, in 1811, "we ought to be jealous for our American names. Why should we have the trouble of finding, and other nations the honor?" In this concern, as in many others, patriotism spurred us to catch up with Europe. Sometimes the cultural self-reliance was encouraged by the old country; the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810) and the American Bible Society (1816) were formed because English organizations not unnaturally refused to undertake the administration of American philanthropy. But generally the new nation insisted on becoming as free as possible in every way.

Every circumstance that favored this great enterprise was heartily welcomed. Every discovery of materials in America—of some mineral useful in the arts, some root or bark that could contribute to our pharmacopoeia—was hailed as an amendment to the Declaration of Independence. When in 1810 the first trained veterinary surgeon landed in New York, Americans expressed their gratification that the transit of that science had begun; the naturalization of merino sheep was applauded like a victory on the battle-field. When in 1807 Joel Barlow's epic poem was published in Philadelphia, patriots deplored that it had been found necessary to make the illustrations in England, while the first volume of Alexander Wilson's handsome *Ornithology* was welcomed the following year with special satisfaction because in type, ink, paper, engraving, and binding it was American—everything except the reds and blues used in the coloring of the birds, which had to come from France. But we were not to be made free from

European skill as promptly as we thought. There is now nearing completion the sumptuous six-volume work of Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, which traces the physical growth of New York City, or at least its principal borough, during the three hundred years since its foundation by the Dutch. It is a striking circumstance that much of the paper and the fine engraving has had to be imported from Holland. New York is, then, in some slight degree, still New Netherland.

Our emancipation has indeed been gradual, every step painfully worked out. In our texts of learning we have risen slowly from Noah Webster's spelling book, which supplanted the English Dilworth, to the latest American treatise for advanced collegiate study; our first college text-book in economics was a mere adaptation of the Scottish McCulloch; our American texts in the classics were slightly rearranged from European editions; our greatest achievement in mathematics up to 1830 was Bowditch's translation of Laplace. In 1894 Professor Florian Cajori published a general history of mathematics. The reader notices that he mentions but few Americans—none until the eighteen-seventies, the time of Benjamin Peirce. The patriotic American in his chagrin ascribes this omission to ignorance of what had been achieved on this side of the Atlantic; then he finds that the professor had four years before published a history of mathematics in the United States, a book of four hundred pages. He who well knew the contribution of America in this branch of higher learning could see, when called upon to take the broad view, how negligible it was.

In chemistry, physics, and other fields, despite the rapid strides of recent years, the story is still much the same. In the list of winners of the Nobel Prize for research in pure science America does not figure brightly. It is the office of our Department of Commerce to watch our national expenditures; in a recent address Secretary Hoover pointed out that we are spending ten times as much for cosmetics as for advancing scientific knowledge. This is not true, he observes, of older civilizations. We still have much to learn from Europe; the transit of civilization to America is by no means complete.

Let us turn, however, to follow it from the Atlantic shore. To illustrate our law of transit let us look for a moment at the South. In the colonial period it was more truly a cultural province than the North, which was well advanced in the third stage when the South was in the middle of the second. The Revolution cut it off some-

what from the metropolis across the water and it became a cultural province of the North. First, there were young Northerners who went South to practise their professions, like Abraham Baldwin, the Connecticut lawyer, who is called the "Father of the University of Georgia". The New England Society of Charleston, formed in 1819, had prominent professional men upon its rolls. There were many in later times who thus went South to teach, men like Eli Whitney, William H. Seward, William Ellery Channing, Sergeant S. Prentiss, Amos Kendall, and Jared Sparks. Overlapping with this stage, the Southerners began in much greater number to send their sons to college in the North, and in the early decades of the nineteenth century from ten to thirty per cent. of the attendance at Yale and Princeton was from that section. M. Moreau de Saint Méry, visiting the latter college in 1794, remarked the surprising number of young men from Virginia and the Carolinas. In the professions the tendency was even more impressive; for a long time Georgia led the states outside Connecticut in attendance at the Litchfield Law School, with South Carolina as a close competitor; about half the students at the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania were from the South. When news of the Richmond Theatre fire of 1811 reached Philadelphia, scores of Virginians then enrolled—one incredulous reporter said more than a hundred—met to listen to a memorial sermon.

Meanwhile the third stage had begun. Many collegiate institutions were established, but they were staffed by men of Northern training. In 1804 the president of the University of Georgia was Josiah Meigs, of Middletown, Connecticut, who had studied at Yale and taught there; the president of the College of South Carolina was Jonathan Maxcy, of Attleborough, Massachusetts, who had studied at Brown and taught there; the president of the University of North Carolina was Joseph Caldwell, of Lammington, New Jersey, who had studied at Princeton and taught there. The upland colleges were most of them heavily indebted to Princeton. Jefferson, who contemplated importing directly the whole faculty of the University of Geneva for his institution in Charlottesville, was an exception. Up to 1830, at least, the South was a cultural province of the North. Then came the explosions that began the rift between the sections—the abolition movement, the ominous slave rebellion, the tariff controversy, Webster's reply to Hayne; the South became painfully self-conscious, declared her cultural independence and developed a literature of her own. It will be remembered that J. P. Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, the South's first novel of importance, appeared in 1832, Poe's first story in 1833, Simms's *Guy Rivers* in 1834, and the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1835.

The seaboard South, when political independence was achieved, was a settled country and a fairly well-defined geographical area. But "the West" throughout American history, until recently, has been a relative term, a phenomenon of movement, a degree of settlement; what was the west of one generation was the east of the next, when the procession of the Indian, the hunter, the trader, the cattleman, the pioneer farmer, had passed by and thriving towns and cultivated countryside developed in its wake. In tracing civilization from east to west within our country we follow a transit from an organized society to one of rude beginnings, quite as obviously as in tracing the transit from Europe to America.

It is necessary first to notice, somewhat gloomily, that civilization, generally speaking, declines when it strikes the frontier. This might almost be advanced as the second law of transit. Compare the intellectual tone of New England in the sixteen-forties with that at the end of the century, and the contrast is depressing. We may quote from the unpublished autobiography of President Samuel Johnson, of King's College, writing of his student days in New England about 1714: "The condition of learning (as well as everything else) was very low in these times, indeed much lower than in the earlier time while those yet lived who had had their education in England and first settled the country. These were now gone off the stage and their sons fell greatly short of their acquirements, as through the necessity of the times they could give but little attention to the business of education." The concentrated light of local history reveals this falling off; the late Henry R. Stiles in his minute review of *Ancient Windsor*, for example, observed that the second generation did not fill the places of the fathers. The earlier leaders had been trained in Cambridge, England, the later in Cambridge, Massachusetts—and there was a difference. It is easy to forget the quiddities of the library and drawing-room when living in a forest, and even in the extreme instance to relapse into barbarism as "squaw men".

In 1840, to advance somewhat more than a century in time and less than a thousand miles in space, the percentage of illiteracy in Indiana was fourteen; ten years later it was twenty-two. Appreciation of special training fell apace. Neither the Indiana frontier, nor any other, developed any overpowering respect for the professional man; it must be remembered that it was Andrew Jackson who deprofessionalized the civil service of the country. In 1817 the Indiana legislature, made up of men who had come from older communities, laid down careful rules for examination by the courts of all candidates for the bar; in accordance with procedure slowly worked out by

centuries of experience, the judges in the cases tried before them expounded the law, leaving to the jury the decision of the facts. But the constitution of 1851 permitted any citizen of ordinary decency to practise law, and allowed the jury, however ignorant, to determine what rules of law should be applied. The legal standards for medical practice were likewise relaxed in the frontier environment to make way for the botanical practitioners and other short-schooled doctors. In fact, it must be confessed that medical standards in general declined for a time after their transit to America.

The delicate plant can not immediately take root in a wilderness. Men and women of refinement can not easily become frontiersmen, as the colony of Napoleonic exiles at Demopolis, in Alabama, sadly illustrates. If one such could, he would soon find that his mind was starving. The frontier can not furnish an environment of sympathy. Many Europeans later known throughout the world as great masters have in their youth contemplated a removal to America. Robert Boyle and Comenius thought seriously of following the suggestion of their friend John Winthrop, jr., and crossing to Connecticut, but had they set up in our half-won countryside would one have become the father of modern chemistry and the other the father of modern education? Goethe planned to come, but as an American would he have written *Faust*? Coleridge and Southey had a romantic project of starting new careers in the upper Susquehanna Valley, but had they done so in the seventeen-nineties would they rank to-day among the great figures of literature? Whatever momentum such men might have had upon arrival their mental energy would have spent itself without sympathy, constructive criticism, and the stimulus of competition. The frontier can not furnish support for its own distinguished minds; generally they must reach development in the metropolis. "It is certainly remarkable", observed the writer of an article on Lindley Murray in the *Literary Magazine* for January, 1804, "that the natives of America who have arrived at eminence in arts and letters have done so in a foreign country." Really it was not remarkable at all. Would Benjamin West have become a painter of world renown if he had stayed in Pennsylvania? Would Benjamin Thompson have discovered the laws of heat as a citizen of Woburn, Massachusetts? But we can not too closely limit Omnipotence; miracles may happen and genius flourish in an unpromising environment—there was Franklin, for example.

The frontier is handicapped by lack of leisure and by the migratoriness of its life, as well as its distance from the centres of culture.

But while it forgets its heritage somewhat, its equalitarian standards, resulting from the homogeneity of its population, lead it to diffuse whatever it retains. It stands hopefully for mass education and therefore lays a broad, firm basis for culture as it may be imported and developed. Leisure as it comes is rather evenly distributed and Culture, written with a large C, becomes everybody's business. The woman's club of the modern type was born in the Middle West in the eighteen-fifties.

But this culture, as we have seen, is constantly modified, or, if you will, increased, by contacts with the outside world. There are constantly presented new modes from which the community may choose for imitation. The accidental carriers, the "Typhoid Marys" of ideas, are sometimes effective and sometimes not; probably the carrier's influence is most immediate when he is not much unlike the mass he touches. Indiana was mentioned, a few lines back, as a typical frontier society a hundred years ago, and perhaps the Hoosier State will serve as well as any other for our illustrations. Robert Owen's "boatload of knowledge" that pushed up the Wabash to New Harmony in 1826 was doubtless of considerable consequence to the little world of political theorists, but not much to Indiana. An elaborate history of the state has been written without mentioning the socialistic experiment which happened to take place upon its soil but which had small part in its development. It would be difficult, indeed impossible, to trace the course of the myriad unconscious carriers who were effective. Perhaps most culture, though seldom the highest, has been transmitted by such means. But many of the carriers are conscious, resolute, and constructive, yet fully sympathetic with the frontier; we may call them the civilizers. It has taken splendid courage to assume and carry through this rôle. In the early days it took physique. Could the circuit rider thrash the rowdies, the "scorners", who stood ready to break up the meeting? Could the school-teacher's digestion endure the ordeal of boarding around a neighborhood devoted to a hog-and-hominy cuisine? Could the conscientious doctor survive the forty-mile rides through the wintry forest?

But quite apart from these raw perils patent to the sense, the civilizer always took a risk. Could he hew a way to the light through the thicket of ignorance and prejudice, as the previous pioneer had chopped his way through oak and cypress, or would he succumb and shamefully settle down to live like others in a mental shade? Was the frontier yet ready for him? There comes to mind the case of Baynard R. Hall, the first functionary in the higher education of

Indiana. Indiana wanted him, but only moderately; education was not yet its ruling passion, and it paid him but two hundred dollars for a year's instruction. It was not the money that thrilled him, however, and held him to his purpose of building a state university, but the thought that he was, as he said, "the very first man since the creation of the world to read Greek in the New Purchase". It was pleasing to his vanity, no doubt, to reflect that he was the man—young professional men have often been moved to go west by the thought that they would seem more important there than at home—but I think, as a whole, the civilizers have thought as much of civilization as of themselves. The material compensation probably did not tempt them. The circuit riders got an annual payment of from fifty dollars to two hundred, and that would have been better if it had not so often been paid in "dicker", in beef, corn, butter, potatoes, leather, buckwheat flour, feathers, coon-skins, and the like.

It took courage, too, to carry to the frontier the instruments of civilization such as the printing press. This is not the tool of a man, but of a community; and to sustain it the community must be literate, moderately well-to-do, and with an economic life sufficiently organized to need an advertising medium. There was certainly a risk in taking it to the frontier. The covered wagon is familiar to us all as an epic theme, but behind it have come other arks and vehicles and beasts of precious burden, freighted with as fine a hope and driven by as stout a courage, carrying, indeed, the instruments and records of the human mind. Across the screen of memory toils the Conestoga-wagon team over the Alleghanies, in 1786, to the shabby little river town at the forks of the Ohio, laden with the press, the type, the ink, the paper that were to make up John Scull's *Pittsburgh Gazette*; then from here a short year later there sets out the flat-boat of John Bradford with another rude printing press and some type cut out of dogwood, which, after being jolted into sad confusion on the rough wood-way from the river down to Lexington, does full part to build the fame of that "Athens of the West"; and then in 1804, when seventeen years of effort have driven the pioneer's axe deep into the old Northwest, Elihu Stout, a printer on this paper, supported by the same faith, straps a press and type athwart pack-horses and threads the path to far-away Vincennes. The advance of civilization by *Gazettes*!

In the pageant of the arts and sciences these humble equipages have their place, and the men who guided them. It was a desperate enterprise. Take, for example, the first newspaper in the capital of Indiana, the *Indianapolis Gazette*, printed on a clumsy Ramage press

in 1822, a year after the city's foundation, in a one-room log cabin, "part of which was occupied for a family residence". The nearest post-office was sixty miles away, so that President Monroe's message delivered in the first week of December was prime news in February. The picture can be reproduced a hundred times in American history. The paper-making frontier crossed the Alleghanies not long after that of the press; it was only six years behind in Kentucky and five in the Western Reserve; but it was not till 1820 that the first type foundry was established in the Mississippi Valley. Meanwhile, books were published, especially at Cincinnati. It had taken the printing business in all its essentials thirty-five years to cross the mountains, but in the colonial period it had taken a hundred and thirty-three years to cross the sea.

Herbert Spencer's famous law was that life proceeds from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from the simple to the complex. On the frontier one can actually watch the evolution of social species. In New England during the eighteenth century there were few clergymen, doctors, or lawyers but did some farming; certainly this was true in the early days of Indiana. Consider the case of the Reverend John M. Dickey, in Washington County in 1815, as it is reported: "Mr. Dickey . . . aided the support of his family by farming on a small scale, teaching a singing class, and writing deeds, wills, and advertisements. He also surveyed land and sometimes taught school." But this clergyman-schoolmaster-lawyer was already on the way to specialization, as apparently he did not practise medicine. Seventeenth-century ministers, even important ones like Giles Firmin and Gershom Bulkeley, had cured the body with the soul, exhibiting, as Cotton Mather said, an "Angelical conjunction". It would be interesting for a state historical survey to trace graphically on the map the moving frontier of the professional family doctor in its state, to see how far he was behind the thin edge of the population mass; then to see the line of first throw-off from that stem, the trained apothecary; then the line of the second branch, the dentist; then that of the third, the modern surgeon; then those of successive specialties. History is an enterprise in space as well as in time, and such maps we now recognize as an important part of its records. No one can tell what deductions might be made if such a series were set before a scholar; for the map reveals as well as illustrates. It must be remembered that it was in examining the census maps of 1890 that Professor Frederick J. Turner saw in many phases the significance of the frontier in American history.

We speak as if this march of civilization were the stuff of history alone, yet a journey from one ocean to the other would reveal how it proceeds to-day. Where is the public library frontier in 1927? The picture gallery frontier? The chamber-music frontier? What is passing into New Mexico? Montana? Arkansas? Quite obviously it is not wholly a matter of East and West. In each region throughout the country there is a centre which as a provincial town, relatively speaking, receives its culture, and as a metropolis transmits it in every direction to its countryside. Each province profoundly modifies the culture it receives; each metropolis is affected by its provinces, which throw back challenges as well as contributions in the shape of their ambitious youth, who in their energy and more equalitarian standards tend to break up old stratifications—but all this is another story. It is enough here to remember that civilization is still in transit; as we move about we are all carriers in greater or less degree, and each can say with Tennyson's Ulysses, "I am a part of all that I have met".

DIXON RYAN FOX.

THE FREE NEGRO IN MISSISSIPPI BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

BETWEEN the two great social classes in ante-bellum Mississippi, the whites and the slaves, there lived a third group composed of free negroes and mulattoes. Though this group was always comparatively small in Mississippi it received much attention from the white people—attention that was usually hostile and was caused by a lively apprehension of the potential dangers that lurked in the existence of this class.

A study of the laws passed by the state legislature for the government and control of the free colored element will afford partial evidence of the hostile and fearful attitude of the white people toward the free negro. Such an examination will also form the background of our knowledge of the social and civil condition of this same group, though this background will have to be modified and supplemented by other facts before our ideas of the status of the free negro will approach reality.

Probably the key to the condition of the free negro and mulatto¹ can be found in the assumption that all colored persons were considered slaves unless the contrary could be proved. This principle was most clearly stated at various times by the Supreme Court of Mississippi. In an opinion of this court it was held that "the laws of this state presume a negro *prima facie* to be a slave".² A few years later a lower court was upheld in certain instructions it had given to a jury, namely, that "if the jury believed that the plaintiff was a negro, it was *prima facie* evidence that he was a slave".³

This theory is apparent in laws that were passed at various times requiring free colored persons to procure certificates of their unshackled condition. The general substance of these laws can be given briefly.⁴ Every free negro was required to present himself at court, county or probate, and give evidence of his non-servile condition. If the proof was satisfactory the court would have the negro supplied with a certified copy of the record. This certificate would

¹ Any person of one-fourth or more negro blood was a mulatto in the eyes of the law of Mississippi. Hutchinson's *Mississippi Code* (1798-1848), p. 514.

² *Randall v. the State*, 12 Miss. 349.

³ *Talbott v. Norager*, 23 Miss. 572. The same principle is also to be found in *Heirn v. Bridault and wife*, 37 Miss. 209, and in *Coon v. the State*, 20 Miss. 249.

⁴ Hutchinson, p. 524 (law of June 18, 1822), and p. 533 (law of Dec. 20, 1831).

show the name, color, stature, and any distinguishing features or scars of the recipient, and this bit of parchment was all that stood between the free negro and many possible troubles. The certificate had to be renewed every three years and each time there was a fee of one dollar—in 1831 increased to three dollars. If a white man employed a negro who claimed to be free but who could not produce his certificate, the employer was subject to a fine of ten dollars.⁵ And if any captain or master of a steamboat or other river craft employed an alleged free negro who was not supplied with the required certificate, he made himself liable to the very heavy fine of a thousand dollars and in addition a possible prison sentence of from six months to a year.⁶

As for the negro who could not produce his registered bit of paper or parchment, there was the danger of being seized by some unscrupulous white person and either held or sold as a slave.⁷ Any alleged free negro who did not possess a certificate might be jailed, and upon failure to establish his freedom in a certain length of time the law required his sale at public auction.⁸

Not only was the free negro's continuation of his unshackled state dependent upon his certificate, but even after he obtained it his troubles were not over. This class was decidedly hampered in its freedom of movement. For instance, a free negro could not go to another county in search of employment without running the risk of being treated as a vagrant, for any free negro found outside his own county would be so treated unless he could show that he had some honest employment at the time.⁹ Furthermore, no firearms, ammunition, or military weapon could be kept by a free negro without a license which was voidable at any time.¹⁰

Limitations were also placed on this class in vocational and other directions. It was illegal for a free person of color to sell any goods—whether his own or as agent for another—in any place other than in the incorporated towns of the state.¹¹ Even in the towns there were some goods that a free negro could not sell, such as groceries and spirituous liquors. The business of keeping a house of entertainment was also closed to this class.¹² The risks that a boat-

⁵ Hutchinson, pp. 524-525.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 533.

⁷ *Randall v. the State*, 12 Miss. 349.

⁸ Hutchinson, p. 525.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 948; *Revised Code of Miss.* (1857), p. 255.

master ran in employing a free negro, who did not have a certificate, to some extent militated against the free negro in this industry. It is probable that the interstate movements of this business required strict regulation so far as negroes were concerned, to prevent the possible escape of slaves. One more industry that was closed to all negroes, bond or free, was that of typesetting in a printing establishment. The employer was liable to a penalty of ten dollars a day for each negro he employed.¹³ The idea behind this regulation can be better understood if we remember that a very heavy penalty was attached to printing or circulating any literature intended to create unrest and dissatisfaction in the slave population. Death was the penalty for a free negro or mulatto who broke this law.¹⁴

The civil and political status of the free negro differed from that of his slave brother chiefly in the fact that the slave could not own property while the free negro could.¹⁵ The free negro did not have the right to vote, to serve on a jury, or to be a witness in a case in which a white person was a party. But negroes or mulattoes, whether slave or free, were competent witnesses in criminal cases against negroes or in civil pleas where free negroes or mulattoes should alone be parties.¹⁶ An instance of the general knowledge and understanding of these limitations on the free negroes can be found in the case of *Raby et al. v. Batiste et ux.*¹⁷ It was alleged that a man named Augustine was a mulatto and the settlement of this racial point was necessary in disposing of certain property. In proving that he actually was of mixed blood, witnesses were produced who testified that he did not vote, or act as a juror, and never testified against white men in court.

The Supreme Court of Mississippi experienced considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory norm for deciding certain cases involving the property rights of free negroes.¹⁸ If a negro were legally emancipated in the state the case offered no difficulties for as we have stated above the right of such a person to hold property was settled favorably. But it was a different matter if the free

¹³ Hutchinson, p. 948.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 948.

¹⁵ Compare the case of Fanny Leiper, a free negress, who owned a house and lot in Natchez, and was upheld in her ownership by the highest court in the state, with the opinion of the same tribunal in another case, where it held that a slave had "no more right to purchase, hold, or transfer property, than the mule his plough". See *Leiper v. Hoffman et al.*, 26 Miss. 615, and *Hinds et al. v. Brazeale et al.*, 3 Miss. 837.

¹⁶ Hutchinson, p. 515.

¹⁷ 27 Miss. 731.

¹⁸ See the lengthy opinion of the court in *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235.

status had been attained in contravention to the laws and policy of the state. As an example of this the case of Nancy Wells may be stated. Nancy was a mulatto slave who was emancipated by her owner in Ohio in the year 1846. This was entirely legal, but her return to Mississippi a year and a half later was not. She worked as a free servant in the home of her former owner for a short time and then married a negro barber of Jackson, Mississippi, whose name was Watts. The latter was also a free negro. For some reason Nancy left her barber husband and returned to Ohio in 1851. In the meantime Nancy's master died in 1848 and left some property to her. This part of the will was contested and it finally became necessary for the highest court in the state to decide whether the bequest should be delivered to her. In a lengthy and exceedingly interesting opinion in April, 1859, the court ruled against Nancy.

The Dred Scott decision, the difference between national and state citizenship, and the application of international comity to the relation existing between the sovereign states of the Union were some of the interesting points discussed in this case. Briefly, the court held as follows. Following the line of argument presented in the Dred Scott case, an African has never been a citizen of the United States. On the other hand, any one of the sovereign states may confer state citizenship upon a negro; but a sister state has an equal right to decide what will be the effect of this act within her territories. The laws of one state having no extraterritorial operation in another state, the enforcement of these laws in the latter state depends on the comity of nations. But international comity does not require the enforcement of the act of a foreign state if this act is contrary to the laws or policy of the first state. Since the policy of Mississippi was to preserve slavery and to prevent emancipation, the action of Ohio in emancipating Nancy Wells was not binding in the state of Mississippi. Since this meant that Nancy was still considered a slave by the state of Mississippi, she could not, so far as that state was concerned, possess any property.

Part of this argument was reinforced by a different line of reasoning, which shows the venom that was creeping into the feeling of Mississippi toward the Northern states. The court practically stated that international comity no longer existed between Mississippi and Ohio, because the latter was constantly committing acts that were against the policy of Mississippi by freeing slaves from the latter state, making them citizens of Ohio, and even conniving at the escape of slaves.¹⁹

¹⁹ Mitchell v. Wells, 37 Miss. 235.

This interesting subject might be pursued at much greater length. Only one other instance will be given, that of a mulatto named Marcelette Marceau who was the widow of one Chatteau. She had once been a citizen of Louisiana and had been illegally brought into Mississippi from New Orleans. Though she had probably never seen Africa, the Mississippi courts held that she was a citizen of Africa. Since international law applied only between civilized nations and Africa was not in this category, the comity of nations would not operate in her behalf. As she had entered Mississippi contrary to the laws of the state she was classed as an alien enemy *prohibita* and was entitled to none of the privileges of a citizen.²⁰

These cases, decided shortly before the Civil War, show the handicaps of the free colored race in their largest proportions. Earlier cases had not been decided so completely against negroes in the same class as those given above.²¹ And through this whole discussion it must be remembered that the right of a free negro to acquire or hold property was never questioned, provided the free status had been attained within the state of Mississippi by some legal method. It was only where a free negro illegally entered the state or was emancipated in another state that this right was denied, and even in this latter case it was not uniformly withheld.

There were several ways by which the class of free negroes and mulattoes was increased. It was unconstitutional for a slave to be set free without the consent of the owner unless some distinguished service had been rendered by the slave to the state.²² No case has been found where a slave was freed under this clause of the state constitution.

The basic provision concerning the emancipation of slaves occurred in a law that was passed June 18, 1822. According to this act, slaves might be manumitted by will or by a properly witnessed and recorded document, if it could be proved to the satisfaction of the state legislature that some meritorious act had been done by the slave for the owner or for the state. A special act of the legislature was necessary to validate each proposed emancipation.²³ The annoyance of getting such a special bill passed probably acted as a deterrent in some cases. It was also doubtless difficult to persuade

²⁰ *Heirn v. Bridault and wife*, 37 Miss. 209.

²¹ *Leiper v. Hoffman et al.*, 26 Miss. 615; *Shaw v. Brown*, 35 Miss. 246; *Harry and others v. Decker and Hopkins*, 1 Miss. 36.

²² Even then the master had to be paid a full equivalent of the slave so emancipated. See constitution of Mississippi of 1817, art. VI., sec. 1, repeated in the constitution of 1832. Hutchinson, p. 34.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 523.

the legislature to a belief in the meritorious act of the slave. It is interesting to note that in the year following the passage of this act, that is, in 1823, only three negroes were granted their freedom under the terms of this law. Petitions were introduced requesting the emancipation of about twice this number.²⁴ Generally speaking, the legislature granted such petitions very sparingly. For example, in 1826 the legislature was requested to pass bills manumitting twelve slaves. None of these passed. Similarly, five years later petitions were introduced praying the emancipation of at least ten slaves, and here again the legislature was adamant.²⁵

Although only a minority of the proposed emancipations were allowed to take effect, the legislature did empower some of the petitioners to free certain specified slaves. In practically all cases security had to be given that the ex-slave would be of good behavior and would not become a public charge. Among the several instances that could be cited of slaves set free by petition of the owner and a special act of the legislature,²⁶ we find that Lewis and Nancy, slaves of ex-Governor David Holmes, were started on their path of freedom by the will of the ex-governor.²⁷ Another case of emancipation that deserves to be remembered can be best told by quoting the act of the legislature.

An Act, to emancipate Bill, a person of color.

Whereas, William Smith, of the county of Hancock, was in his early childhood, by the dispensations of Heaven, deprived of his parents and thrown on the cold charities of the world, with no other patrimony than the negro slave hereinafter mentioned, who by his unwearied industry and fidelity, sustained his young master through this helpless season of life, and enabled him to acquire an education adequate to discharge the various duties of a free citizen, and in addition hath accumulated for his master property sufficient to enable him to obtain an easy competency: Therefore, on the petition of the said Smith,

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi, in General Assembly convened*, That William Smith, of the county of Hancock, be, and he is hereby authorized to emancipate from the bonds of slavery, his negro man named Bill, saving the rights of creditors, and provided that the said Smith shall give bond to the state of Mississippi, with good and sufficient surety, to be approved by the county court of said county, and recorded by the clerk thereof, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars conditioned for the good behavior of the said Bill, and that he shall not become a public charge.²⁸

²⁴ *Journal of the General Assembly of Mississippi*, 1823, *passim*.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1826 and 1831, *passim*.

²⁶ *Laws of the State of Mississippi*, 1817, p. 205; 1828, pp. 15, 46-47; 1833, pp. 119-120.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1833, pp. 125-126.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1827, pp. 56-57.

Since we are here interested only in the free colored and mulatto population of Mississippi, it is not necessary to discuss the laws governing the emancipation of slaves who were removed from the state. Some were returned to their native land, Africa.²⁹ Others were removed to free states and there emancipated. Before 1842 there was very little objection and no legal obstacle to manumission under the condition that the negro stay outside the state after obtaining his freedom.³⁰ But though there was up to 1842 no legal objection to a slave-owner taking any number of slaves to Ohio or some other free state and there giving them their freedom, it was illegal at all times for these freedmen to return to Mississippi.³¹

Nevertheless, this law was sometimes broken, and those who were freed outside the state and then returned were examples of a second, although illegal, method of increasing the free negro population of the state. Instances of this can be given, but it is difficult to give any estimate of the total number of infractions. Those who most successfully evaded the law received the least attention. One rather notorious case was that of a slave-owner who carried with him to Ohio a negro woman and her son, there freed them and brought them back to Mississippi with him, and willed all his property to the boy. The courts held that the negress and her son were still slaves,³² but the fact remains that to all intents and purposes they were free negroes from the time they returned from Ohio to the day their former master died. They would probably have so continued had not the property involved brought the case before the court.³³

Rarely, a slave would be brought into Mississippi whose term of slavery was limited to a definite period of time. For instance, Mary Kenny, of Kentucky, willed that a slave by the name of Sam should be free when he became thirty-one years old.³⁴ If such a will had been made in Mississippi it would have had no force, unless the legislature had also passed a special act. Yet this same will, made in Kentucky and in accordance with the laws of that state, would operate to procure the freedom of Sam.³⁵ Cases such as these would give additional increments to the free colored population.

²⁹ J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a Province, Territory, and State*, pp. 388-391.

³⁰ Hutchinson, p. 538 (law of Feb. 26, 1842); *Leech v. Cooley*, 14 Miss. 93; *Leiper v. Hoffman et al.*, 26 Miss. 615.

³¹ Hutchinson, pp. 524 and 537; *Hinds et al. v. Brazealle et al.*, 3 Miss. 837; *Leiper v. Hoffman et al.*, 26 Miss. 615.

³² *Hinds et al. v. Brazealle et al.*, 3 Miss. 837.

³³ For a similar instance see *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235.

³⁴ *Sam, colored, v. Fore*, 20 Miss. 413.

³⁵ A similar case will be found in *Roach v. Anderson*, 28 Miss. 234.

Still another mode of illegally adding to the size of the free colored class was simply to turn a slave loose, without either the prerequisite act of the legislature to sanction it, or the illegal ruse of first freeing the slave on free soil and then allowing the slave to return to the state. An interesting commentary on this state of affairs is to be found in a letter to a Natchez paper. The letter, which follows, was signed "Civis".

Agreeably to the provisions of the act of December 20, 1831, still in full force, no negro or slave is permitted to be manumitted or set free, and still remain in the State, without the special action of the legislature of this State. All manumissions made otherwise are null and void, unless the slave so manumitted leave the State, never to return: and as soon as he returns, by that very act, he forfeits his freedom and becomes again liable as a slave, to the creditors of the last owner, by whom, it is pretended, he is manumitted. In this condition we believe are at least fifty negroes and mulattoes now in Adams County, who affect to be free. It is a matter of notoriety, that within the last five years, a large number of slaves in this county have been thus illegally manumitted; and after having gone up the river, set foot upon the soil of Ohio or some other free or abolition State, received from them certain certificates, which are called "free papers"; forthwith they return to Mississippi, to reside as "free people of color". In many instances, we believe, the Probate Courts disregarding, or misapprehending the spirit and intention, as well as the plain letter of the law, in such cases, have granted to them certificates as required by the act of December 20, 1831, after having taken bonds and security as prescribed by that act. In this they have defeated the very object of the law, *viz*: the non-accumulation of free negroes in the State.

Such as do return, are liable under the law, to be taken up and sold by the sheriff as slaves.³⁶

Another instance of this way of adding to the free colored population should be given at some length because of the light it throws on several phases of the free negro question. An Adams County slave, Fanny Leiper, was set free by her master some time before the year 1834. Her owner went through none of the legal requirements in this matter. He simply ceased to command her as a slave and gave her her freedom, informally, if the expression may be used, but, so far as he was concerned, completely.

Fanny was a mulatto of considerable ability, for she bought a lot in Natchez in 1834 for \$175, and within two years she had built and paid for a house valued at \$1500. There she resided for about ten years, until 1845, when she moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. She did not sell her property, but appointed R. S. Hammitt of Natchez to be her agent in renting the house. But Fanny was not long in her new surroundings before she had to return to Natchez because of a dispute that had arisen concerning the house and lot.

³⁶ Natchez *Mississippi Free Trader*, May 13, 1841.

When the last payment had been made on the house in 1836, an attorney had advised Fanny to have the deed drawn jointly to herself and some white person. This advice was given, and in fact followed, because of the strong feeling in the state at that time against the free colored class. So Fanny had the deed drawn jointly to herself and to a Mr. Joseph Winscott, a river steamboat engineer who was occasionally in Natchez, but whose residence was in New Orleans. Though Fanny had the deed framed in this way, she very shrewdly took no occasion to inform Winscott of this. However, she several times discussed the whole affair with Malvina Hoffman, her next-door neighbor, who was also a free woman and colored.

After Fanny's departure to Cincinnati, Malvina took the part of the villain. She told Winscott of the joint deed to the property, and in conjunction they fraudulently secured the keys to the house from Fanny's agent, rented the house, and divided the spoils.

When Fanny returned and brought suit for her property Malvina and Winscott answered that Fanny had never been legally emancipated, and was therefore a slave and incapable of holding property. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the state, where Fanny was entirely upheld in her plea. In the decision of the court it was held that since Fanny's master recognized her as a free person, and since she had moved to Ohio—apparently a *bona fide* removal—she was really a free person and capable of holding property. After stating that "the conduct of the defendant Winscott, as it appears from his answer, would commend him as little to favorable consideration in a court of equity, as in good morals; and the position of the defendant Hoffman does not appear to be much more commendable", the premises were ordered returned to Fanny, together with any rents and profits that had accrued since it was out of her control.³⁷

Free negroes occasionally came into Mississippi from other states, although this was against the public policy of the state as expressed in her laws. The re-enactment of any law with increased penalties implies that infractions of the law had taken place, and the law of 1822³⁸ which made it unlawful for free negroes or mulattoes to immigrate to Mississippi was strengthened and the penalties made more rigorous in 1842.³⁹ One instance of the breaking of this law we have already mentioned, namely the case of Marcelette Marceau. Certain phases of the affair should be mentioned here because of their bearing on this law and because they illustrate public opinion in this regard.

³⁷ *Leiper v. Hoffman et al.*, 26 Miss. 615.

³⁸ Hutchinson, p. 524.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 537-538.

It will be remembered that Marcelette was a mulatto who had been a citizen of Louisiana and had illegally immigrated to Mississippi. Though her skin was not much darker than that of a white person, her hair was kinky and she generally kept it covered. It might be stated that if her character was at all a fair example of that of her class, the law against the immigration of free colored people into Mississippi could hardly have been too harshly enforced. But the law was not enforced at all in her case. Had it been, she should have received thirty-nine lashes and been ordered to leave the state under pain of sale into slavery. Instead she lived on terms of equality with certain white people and eventually had three or four slaves bequeathed to her. The court, however, did not allow her to possess this estate. But here is one of the remarkable facts in this affair. Although the people of Pass Christian, where Marcelette lived, seriously considered ejecting her from the community, no steps seem to have been taken to prosecute her under the law forbidding the immigration of free persons of color to Mississippi.⁴⁰

Occasional cases can be found in which a free negro was allowed to remain in the state in spite of the fact that he could not meet the usual legal requirements. Special acts of the legislature permitted this from time to time.⁴¹ The reason for this leniency is usually not stated, but in one case we find that permission to remain in the state was given to "a free man of color, named Alexander Reed, in consideration of services rendered by him in the war with Mexico".⁴²

Since legal emancipation was difficult to consummate, and illegal manumission was beset with dangers, at least one attempt was made to provide virtual freedom but to leave the legal status of the slave unchanged. The will of Lewis Weathersby endeavored to do this for Tom and Lucy, who are mentioned in the following lines.

I give and bequeath to my son Ludovick, my servants Tom and Lucy, and their children, Matilda, Sylvester, Andrew, and Dicey, in trust and under the following conditions, viz.: I do hereby enjoin it upon my said son, to make the said slaves as comfortable in life as possible; that he furnish them and their children with a house separate from others; that he provide a horse, farming utensils, and a small tract of land for their use; that he sell their crops, furnish them with a milch cow and two hundred pounds of sugar, and one hundred pounds of coffee, yearly; and that, in consideration of these things, he shall require of them reasonable service, and should Tom and Lucy at any time be able to raise a sum of money sufficient to compensate said Ludovick, say three hundred dollars for each

⁴⁰ *Heirn v. Bridault and wife*, 37 Miss. 209. The only other case of what might be called social equality between whites and mulattoes is to be found in *Shaw v. Brown*, 35 Miss. 246.

⁴¹ *Laws of Mississippi*, 1828, pp. 61-62; 1833, pp. 131-132; 1854, p. 295.

⁴² *Ibid.*, December, 1856-February, 1857 (adjourned session), p. 104.

of their daughters, Matilda and Dicey, then he shall give up said Matilda and Dicey to said Tom and Lucy, to serve and comfort them in their old age.⁴³

When this case was brought before the courts it was held that the bequest to Ludovick was valid, but that the attendant conditions were not binding.

A final mode by which the free colored class in Mississippi increased was through children of free parents. The child of a free negro or mulatto woman was of course free.

By way of summary, the free negro element in Mississippi could be legally recruited by emancipation within the state in the way provided by act of the legislature, by the birth of a child to free parents, by the lapse of the term of servitude of a slave coming from another state, or occasionally under other conditions when legalized by special act of the legislature. The class could be illegally augmented by a master freeing his slave without going through the procedure required by law, and by the immigration of free negroes into the state—whether *bona fide* free negroes, or Mississippi slaves who had been taken to a free state, there manumitted and then returned to the state.

In spite of the various ways of increasing the free negro class within the state of Mississippi, this element was never large. In the year immediately preceding the induction of Mississippi into the Union, there were 235 free persons of color within the state.⁴⁴ In 1860 the number of this same class was 773. However, the growth of this element in Mississippi's population was not gradual and regular, and the number of free persons of color at the chronological terminals of the period 1816 to 1860 can not be taken as the extreme limits of the size of this group. Reference to the attached table ⁴⁵

⁴³ Weathersby *et al. v. Weathersby*, 21 Miss. 685.

⁴⁴ Mississippi became a state in 1817. The number of free negroes, *i.e.*, 235, can be found in the *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register* for 1917, p. 66. It should be noted that the totals given on that page are for the entire Mississippi Territory of that time, which comprised the present states of Mississippi and Alabama. In several instances these totals have been erroneously quoted as applicable to the present boundaries of the State of Mississippi.

⁴⁵ Year	No. of free colored.	Percent. of change.
1800	182	—
1810	240	+ 31.86
1820	458	+ 90.83
1830	519	+ 13.31
1840	1,366	+ 163.19
1850	930	— 31.91
1860	773	— 16.87

This table, with the exception of the last line, is from the *Census of 1850*. The number of free colored in 1860 is given in the *Census of 1860* (Population).

shows that the free negro class increased from 240 in the year 1810 to 458 a decade later. This increase was evidently considered alarming, for in 1822 laws were passed prohibiting emancipation except by a special act of the legislature, prohibiting the immigration of free negroes into the state, and circumscribing the life and activity of those within the commonwealth.⁴⁶ The result of these laws was to diminish the increase in this class between 1820 and 1830 to only 13.3 per cent. In the previous decade it had been 90.8 per cent.

But between 1830 and 1840 the enforcement of these laws must have been relaxed, although there was a law passed in 1831 requiring all free negroes between the ages of 16 and 50 to leave the state within ninety days on pain of being sold into slavery for five years.⁴⁷ But the force of this was largely taken away by the proviso that all who could prove to the probate court that they were good characters and not in the class of undesirables would be given a license allowing them to remain.

The number of free negroes and mulattoes reached the high-water mark of 1,366 in the year 1840, an increase of 163.2 per cent. in ten years. Again it was felt necessary to enact laws to limit the increase of this class, and in 1842 these laws were forthcoming. If a free negro entered Mississippi from some other state it was required that he be whipped and ordered to depart within twenty days on pain of being sold as a slave.⁴⁸ This bit of anti-slavery legislation seems to have been efficacious for in 1850 there was evident an actual decrease of 31.9 per cent. since the last census, and in 1860 the number of free negroes and mulattoes had further decreased to 773.

The comparatively small increase in the size of this group from 1800 to 1860 is an indication of the hindrances placed about their class. In this period the free negro part of the population increased only 324.72 per cent. while the total population of the state grew 8,841.3 per cent.⁴⁹ A variety of reasons can be adduced to explain the slow growth of this part of Mississippi's population. On the one hand, the prohibition of the immigration of free negroes operated against any great increase of this class, and on the other hand, the difficulties incident to manumitting slaves helped to keep the number of free negroes small. Furthermore, restrictive and hostile legislation was doubtless the cause of the departure of some members of the class to other regions, and a few were probably resold into slavery because of infractions of the laws of the state.

⁴⁶ Hutchinson, pp. 524-525.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 533.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 537.

⁴⁹ *Census of 1860* (Recapitulation).

A final cause of the slow growth of this class lay in the occasional voluntary return of a free negro into slavery. In a single session of the legislature of Mississippi bills were passed to enable three negroes to effect this change of status. Jim Wall, a negro, was empowered to become the slave of Daniel Williams, both of whom were residents of Wilkinson County. In Tallahatchie County, William Webster was authorized to attach himself as a slave to Dr. Atherald Ball. In the third instance both of the parties were women of Hinds County. Ann Mataw, a free woman of color, was given the right to become the slave of Elizabeth G. Purdom. The difference in the terminology of these acts is small. One of these we will quote because of the light it sheds on the procedure used in voluntarily assuming the rank of a slave.

An Act for the relief of James Wall, a free man of color.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi,* That Jim Wall, a free man of color, of the county of Wilkinson, be, and he is hereby authorized, to become the slave for life of Daniel Williams of said county, and for that purpose may appear before the police court of said county, by petition or otherwise, setting forth his desire to become such slave.

Section 2. *Be it further enacted,* That should the said Daniel Williams appear in said police court, at the time of said application by the said Jim Wall, or at any time thereafter, and signify his assent to become the master of the said Jim Wall, it shall be the duty of said police court to order and decree the said Jim Wall to be the slave for life of the said Daniel Williams, as fully to all intents and purposes as other slaves are held in fee simple, giving to the said Daniel Williams as full, and complete and absolute ownership of the said Jim Wall as if the said Jim Wall had been born the slave of the said Daniel Williams, subject to all the laws of descent and distribution in this State.

Section 3. *Be it further enacted,* That this act take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved, February 11, 1860.⁵⁰

In regard to the habitat of the free colored people of Mississippi, there are two outstanding points. In the first place, a disproportionate number of this class lived in the southwestern corner of the state, and in the second place, a rather large proportion were to be found in the cities and towns.

In 1816, one year before Mississippi became a state of the Union, there were fourteen counties in the territory that is now contained within the bounds of the state. An east and west line marking off the southern quarter of the state would include twelve of these counties. The other two, Claiborne and Warren, bordered the Mississippi River and extended a little north of this imaginary line.

⁵⁰ *Laws of Mississippi, 1859-1860*, pp. 243, 259, and 352.

It is interesting to note that Adams County, in almost the extreme southwestern corner of the present State of Mississippi, contained over half of the free negroes within the territory.⁵¹ Half of the counties did not have more than one free person of color.

In 1840, which marks the highest number of free colored persons in Mississippi at any of the census years, the problem was essentially a local one. There were at this time in the state 1,366 free negroes and mulattoes and 572 of these could be found in only four of the fifty-six counties.⁵² These four counties were in the southwest and all bordered the Mississippi River. Adding a few of the adjoining counties, we find that considerably more than half of the free negroes within the state lived in the relatively small area that we have just mentioned.⁵³ It is thus evident that the problem created by this class was of peculiar concern to these few counties. The difficulty was further aggravated by the fact that in this section of the state the slaves were considerably more numerous than the whites.⁵⁴ Anything that might cause unrest among the slaves was a source of grave apprehension to their owners, and it was felt that free negroes did cause some trouble.

A second fact of some interest in regard to the habitat of the free colored people is the relatively large number of these people who lived in the towns and cities of the state. In 1840 the two counties in Mississippi with the largest number of this class were Adams and Warren. The total number of free persons of color in the first named county was 283, and 207 of this number were residents of the city of Natchez. In comparing this with the whites and slaves, we find that ten per cent. of the slaves in Adams County lived in the city of Natchez, 57 per cent. of the whites, and 73 per cent. of the free colored. Almost the same state of affairs existed in Vicksburg in this year. Vicksburg contained 71 of the 104 free persons of color residing within the county.⁵⁵ Ten years later, when Adams County was the home of 258 free colored persons, only 45 of the number lived outside the bounds of Natchez. The remaining 213 were city dwellers.⁵⁶

⁵¹ The number of free negroes in these counties was 129, while there were 235 in the entire state. See note 44. Also, see map of Mississippi in 1816 in the *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register* for 1908, p. 387.

⁵² These four counties were Adams, Jefferson, Claiborne, and Warren.

⁵³ Compare the *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (1840) with a map of Mississippi.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ These comparisons are based on statistics contained in the *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (1840).

⁵⁶ *Compendium of Census of 1850.*

No data have been found on which to draw conclusions regarding the place of residence of free negroes in other counties in the state. The laws that we have mentioned ⁵⁷ prohibiting free negroes from vending any goods outside the limits of towns would, however, probably have some effect in the direction of keeping this class within the urban sections of the state.

Some information has already been presented concerning the life and occupations of several members of the free colored class. It is well at this point to supplement this information. A good many members of this element of society attained a position well above that of the lowest economic plane of life. For example, in 1830 there were 519 free persons of color in Mississippi, and seventeen of this number were not only themselves free, but even owned slaves. Including the families of free negro slave-owners, 45, or about one-eleventh of all the free negroes in the state, were either slave-owners or members of a slave-owning family. From one to seventeen was the range in the number of negroes possessed by colored masters, and the average size of these estates was about four and one-third slaves.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Hutchinson, p. 534.

⁵⁸ The following table is an excerpt from "Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830", in *Journal of Negro History*, IX. 65, and is the list for the State of Mississippi.

<i>Adam's County</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>	<i>Total of slaves and family.</i>	<i>Age group of owner.</i>
Winn, George.....	16	17	55-100
<i>City of Natchez</i>			
Carey, Robert M.....	2	4	10-24
Miller, Jas.....	5	12	24-36
Battles, Harriet.....	1	3	24-36
Gilson, Sam.....	5	6	10-24
<i>Claiborne County</i>			
Willis, Mary.....	1	5	36-55
Bell, Henry.....	4	5	36-55
Butler, Hanibal.....	1	5	36-55
Martin, Samuel.....	1	7	36-55
Simpson, Gloster.....	2	5	36-55
Harris, Hardy.....	1	6	55-100
Holly, Christopher.....	3	5	55-100
Moore, David.....	5	6	24-36
<i>Hancock County</i>			
Asmard, Charles, Sr.....	3	4	100-
Benoit, Bernard, Sr.....	6	8	55-100
Perkins, William P.....	17	18	10-24
<i>Warren County</i>			
Miller, Elisha.....	1	3	24-36

One of those listed in the census of 1830 as a free negro slave-owner was Christopher Holly of Claiborne County. In the year just mentioned he possessed three slaves. Shortly before 1859 he died and left eight heirs, three of whom were minors who wished to sell their shares in the estate and move to another state. A special act was passed by the legislature to enable them to do this, and the proviso was attached that the shares should not be sold for less than twenty-one hundred dollars each—a figure that indicates that the estate of Christopher Holly was of considerable size.⁵⁹

Samuel Gilson, who lived in Natchez, was another colored master in 1830. At that date his slaves were five in number. Fourteen years later Gilson carried his slaves, now increased by one addition, to Cincinnati, Ohio, and there emancipated them and settled them on free territory.⁶⁰

In addition to farming, it is very probable that many free negroes found a means of livelihood on the various types of river craft.⁶¹ At least two others were barbers. Watts, a colored barber of Jackson about 1848, has already been mentioned. The leading barber at Natchez in the years just before the Civil War was a free negro named McCarey. As a side line, he taught a school, the pupils consisting of the offspring of others of his own class. His own children attended this school, and one of his sons, William, was subsequently sheriff of Adams County in the Reconstruction period.⁶² Free negroes were occasionally found doing odd jobs of one sort or another such as cutting wood to be used at the capitol during the meeting of the state legislature.⁶³

Numerous laws have been mentioned in this paper that show the circumscribed condition of the free negroes. Since these laws were made by the white people of the state, it is evident that the latter class did not look on the free colored people of the state with any favor. Regardless of the character of those within this class, it was felt by the whites that the mere existence of a free negro class operated as a perpetual reminder to the slaves of their own servile condition, and further suggested to them the possibility of a change from this state. We do not have to depend entirely on the laws of the state to show the feeling of the white people against the free negroes; for the same state of mind was exhibited in private letters

⁵⁹ *Laws of Mississippi*, 1859-1860, pp. 276-277.

⁶⁰ *Journal of Negro History*, IX. 42.

⁶¹ This seems evident from the rather frequent laws, already mentioned in this paper, regulating the employment of free negroes on boats.

⁶² *Journal of Negro History*, II. 356.

⁶³ *Laws of Mississippi*, 1846, p. 169; *ibid.*, 1854, p. 182.

and in newspapers. The following lines are from an unsigned letter to a Wilkinson County paper. The entire letter is rather ungrammatical. "There can be no doubt but that the sable African who has acquired his freedom in the mode sanctioned by the laws of a sovereign state, has rights which belongs not to the slave, and that they exert a most pernicious influence on the slave population wherever it can be felt, it is a fact which cannot be controverted." The free negroes are further referred to as "this useless and dangerous portion of our population".⁶⁴

In 1831 we find Dr. John Ker, a prominent citizen of Natchez, in writing to his friend, Major Isaac Thomas, of Louisiana, stating as an incontestable proposition that "the free colored people are more injurious to society than the same number of slaves, and their removal must therefore confer a greater benefit. The number of free colored people must inevitably increase in a progressive ratio".⁶⁵

In the 1831 session of the legislature of Mississippi there was "presented a petition from sundry citizens of Adams County, praying that a law may pass for the absolute and unconditional removal of free negroes from this state".⁶⁶ These were no uncertain words! Although the law asked for was not forthcoming, a bill was passed, which we have already mentioned,⁶⁷ that might have partially accomplished this end had it been rigidly enforced. As we have shown above it was not well enforced, but the legislature evidently expected that it would be efficient for an amendment was proposed that "it shall be the duty of the Governor, to transport all free negroes who may be banished under the provisions of this act, to the colony of Liberia, in Africa, at the expense of the county from which such free negroes may be banished".⁶⁸

The case of Fanny Leiper has already been told and in this trial it was stated as a matter of general knowledge, that about 1836, "there was a great spirit to remove from the State all free persons of color".⁶⁹ And we have also shown that the legislature passed adversely upon most of the petitions presented to it which asked for the emancipation of slaves. At one time, when a petition of this nature was before the legislature, it was moved that it be amended,

⁶⁴ Woodville (Miss.) *Republican*, Aug. 4, 1827.

⁶⁵ Franklin L. Riley, "A Contribution to the History of the Colonization Movement in Mississippi", in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IX, 348. This letter was dated June 25, 1831.

⁶⁶ *Journal of the General Assembly of Mississippi*, 1831, *House Journal*, p. 7.

⁶⁷ See note 47.

⁶⁸ *Jour. of Gen. Assem. of Miss.*, 1831, *House Jour.*, p. 252.

⁶⁹ Leiper v. Hoffman *et al.*, 26 Miss. 615.

"that the said persons of color named herein, shall be removed from within the state, and not return thereto, otherwise this act to be null and void"; and it was further proposed to extend this to include "all which have heretofore been emancipated, or which may be hereafter emancipated". Neither the original bill nor the amendments passed.⁷⁰

To give one more reference on this subject, Claiborne, in his *History of Mississippi*, states that the legislature limited the emancipation of negroes who were to remain in the state because "the residence of an intermediate class between the slave and the owner had been found incompatible".⁷¹

While nothing has been found to invalidate the conclusions we have reached regarding the sincere dislike and fear that the free negro class inspired in the hearts of the slave-owners of Mississippi, this subject can not be left here without giving an incomplete picture. It was the *class* that was feared and not the *individuals* that formed it. For example, we have cited the petition of certain citizens of Adams County, presented to the legislature in 1831, requesting the "absolute and unconditional removal of free negroes from this state".⁷² Twelve years later, at the request of this same county and Warren County, the board of police of any county in the state was given full power to license free persons of color to reside in the county on proof of good character and on condition that a majority of the citizens desired it.⁷³ Furthermore, individual members of the class were sometimes the recipients of property willed to them by white people of the state.⁷⁴ The numerous petitions presented to the legislature asking for permission to emancipate slaves would have largely increased the number of the free colored class if that body had granted them all; and it is worthy of notice that many of these emanated from the very counties that were most troubled by too many free negroes.⁷⁵ Another argument to uphold the view that we have stated is to be found in the readiness with which slave-owners were willing to grant freedom to their slaves. While some of these

⁷⁰ *Jour. of Gen. Assem. of Miss.*, 1825, *House Jour.*, pp. 102-103, 106, and 121. Another case is reported in this same *Journal*, p. 110.

⁷¹ Claiborne, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

⁷² *Jour. of Gen. Assem. of Miss.*, 1831, *House Jour.*, p. 7.

⁷³ Hutchinson, p. 540. It should be remembered that these two counties had the largest free negro population of any counties in the state.

⁷⁴ *Hinds et al. v. Brazeale et al.*, 3 Miss. 837; *Luckey et al. v. Dykes et al.*, 10 Miss. 60; *Leech v. Cooley*, 14 Miss. 93; *Hairston et al. v. Hairston et al.*, 30 Miss. 276; *Barksdale v. Elam et al.*, 30 Miss. 694; *Shaw v. Brown*, 35 Miss. 264; *Heirn v. Bridault and wife*, 37 Miss. 209; and *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235.

⁷⁵ *Jour. of Gen. Assem. of Miss.*, *passim*.

either removed or provided for the removal of the negroes out of the state, this was doubtless caused in part by the owner's knowledge of the laws against allowing them to remain; and in other cases no provision was made for taking the slaves to other lands. And so we see that the individual negro was often treated kindly. There seems to have been no widespread feeling that this or that free negro was causing trouble to the state. But there was a decided feeling that as a class they were a real source of danger—a feeling that was inspired by the fear that the slaves might be more unruly if they realized that a state of slavery was not the necessary concomitant of a dark skin.

An historical investigator, we are told, should hold himself purely to a presentation of facts and not be concerned with questions of ethics. Sometimes considerable reading is necessary to form an opinion that can be expressed very briefly. If the material investigated is in large part sordid and by no means pleasant to read, may it not be permissible to present the conclusions, without the attendant details, even though the conclusions touch on the field of ethics?

The creation of the free colored class in Mississippi was a monument to the best and worst traits in human character. Some of these slaves were freed by their masters because of an honest interest in their welfare, and a sense of gratitude for the faithful behavior of the negro. There were some slave-holders who felt that the very system was evil. Others, not going so far, had a strong attachment—even affection and love—for some if not all of their slaves. And actuated by such feelings they sought by will or deed to free their negro slaves so that they would not fall into unkind hands. It should be remembered that such an act involved a considerable financial loss. Many of the slaves so emancipated found their free home in one of the northern states or in Africa, though some of them remained in Mississippi.⁷⁶

On the other hand, our suspicions are sharpened when we notice the exceedingly high per cent. of the free colored class who had white blood in their veins. Of the 773 free persons of color in Mississippi in the year 1860, 601 were of mixed blood, and only 172 were black. Among the slaves this condition was entirely reversed. In this same year there were 400,013 slaves who were classed as blacks, and only 36,618 who were mulattoes.⁷⁷

The sordid side of the story is that many instances can be given in which a slave-owner emancipated a mulatto slave and in the deed or will of manumission acknowledged his own blood relationship to

⁷⁶ Examples of this will be found in the cases cited in the opinion of the court in *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235.

⁷⁷ *Census of 1860* (Recapitulation).

the slave.⁷⁸ The frequency with which cases of this kind came before the Supreme Court of the state was all too large, but some qualification should be made before this be taken as an indication of the general state of affairs. When property was bequeathed by a white man to his mulatto child, it was often difficult to predict the decision of the court.⁷⁹ It is probable that the variableness of the court in deciding such cases resulted in a large per cent. of these cases being appealed to the Supreme Court of the state.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

⁷⁸ *Hinds et al. v. Brazeale et al.*, 3 Miss. 837; *Barksdale v. Elam et al.*, 30 Miss. 694; *Shaw v. Brown*, 35 Miss. 246; *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235; *Jour. of Gen. Assem. of Miss.*, 1823, *House Jour.*, p. 80; *ibid.*, 1826, *House Jour.*, p. 29. For somewhat similar cases see *Heirn v. Bridault and wife*, 37 Miss. 209; and *Raby et al. v. Batiste et ux.*, 27 Miss. 731.

⁷⁹ See opinion of the court in *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

" MEDIEVAL "

[At Rochester last December, at a dinner of the medievalists held in the course of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Professor Burr read a brief paper entitled "A Word of Caution". The following discussion was presented by way of illustration in the course of his pleading for openness of mind and against unreasoning conservatism. The managing editor remembers that in 1895, at one of the earliest meetings of the Board of Editors, before the first number of the *Review* had appeared, the late Professor George B. Adams, the medievalist of the Board, moved that the spelling "medieval" be adopted, and it was so voted. This being thus the one word whose spelling has been fixed by decree of the Board of Editors, it has been a comfort to the managing editor to have the *Review's* practice fortified by the high authority of Professor Burr.]

How our conservative instincts may sometimes lead us all astray let me illustrate by a very commonplace matter that is yet not without an interest for all of us—the spelling of the word *medieval*. Till some twenty years ago it was my own habit to spell it with an *ae*. That, I carelessly assumed, must be the older spelling and the best authenticated. The other—with simple *e*—must be somebody's reform; perhaps one of Noah Webster's improvements. When, however, I found myself an editor of the *American Historical Review* I accepted without question the briefer spelling used by it, and made my own habit conform. But it was not long before my fellow editor George Burton Adams, who had taught the *Review* this spelling, retired from the board; and, as I now represented the Middle Ages, our chief, Dr. Jameson, asked me whether this orthography ought to be retained. Then, at last, I looked the matter up—and found that all my conservative presumptions had been wrong.

The word was, in the first place, not yet a century old. Our neighbors, the French, the Italians, the Spaniards, had it before us, and from them we doubtless borrowed it. They, of course, all spelled it with a simple *e*, as they spell all words which in ancient Latin had *ae*. But even in French, Italian, Spanish, the word *medieval* is not old. The name *Medium Aevum* for the Middle Age, from which, of course, the adjective comes, dates back, as we now all know, only to the early seventeenth century; and in the Latin itself, of which the Romanic vernaculars are but local forms, the

diphthong *ae* had given place to simple *e* centuries before Italian or French became a written speech. It happened in the most natural of ways. When, in the early Middle Ages, the *a* of *ae* was no longer sounded, the useless and misleading letter was joined to its fellow in what is called a ligature, or monogram, the front of the *a* becoming also the back of the *e*. Then, growing ever more superfluous, what was left of the *a* slid gradually down the back of the *e*, dwindling first to a loop, then to a hook, then to a mere tick, and by the twelfth century (in Germany not till in the thirteenth) it vanished altogether. Of course, then, in the Romance tongues, the word *medieval*, when long afterward they gained it, had no *ae*.

"Ah, but", I know you are waiting to reply, "the Classicists later brought back the *ae* to Latin spelling, and English spelling borrowed it from them; and so, when the word *medieval* came into English speech, it was assimilated to the rest." Well, that is just about what I said to myself; but that, too, proved a hasty assumption. The Classicists did find the *ae* in their older manuscripts, and resurrected it, in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, for their Latin texts; but it did not thereby enter the current English spelling of English words. Ask Dr. Samuel Johnson, the father of English lexicography. Nobody will suspect that staunch old Tory of any treason to the ancient classics. "AE or Æ", he says, is "a diphthong of very frequent use in the Latin language, which seems not properly to have any place in the English; since the *æ* of the Saxons has been long out of use, being changed to *e* simple; to which, in words frequently occurring, the *æ* of the Romans is, in the same manner, altered; as in *equator*, *equinoctial*, and even in *Eneas*." Wherefore, of the host of English words whose Latin original begins with *ae* (it is easiest, of course, to glance through those in which it is initial)—such as *emulate*, *enigma*, *equable*, *equal*, *equation*, *equator*, *equestrian*, *equinox*, *era*, *eternal*, *ether*, *etiology*, to take a handful at random—not one is spelled in Johnson's dictionary with an *ae*; and only for *enigma* is there a cross-reference from an *ae* spelling. The word *medieval*, of course, he does not have—it was not yet born in English; but our three other words from the Latin *aevum*—"coeval", "primeval", "longevity"—he does have, and for them he knows no spelling but that with simple *e*.

From Samuel Johnson's dictum I have found no dissent. Our later lexicographers one by one adopt his words or paraphrase them. Even the conservative Worcester, under *ae*, does naught but quote the words of Johnson—"A diphthong in the Latin language, which seems not properly to have any place in the English"; and he, too,

knows for "coeval", "primeval", "longevity", and their fellows no other spelling than that with simple *e*. Yet, for the new word "medieval", which his first edition (1846) is one of the earliest dictionaries to register, he uses the spelling *mediæval*, merely adding "written also *medieval*". Apparently the word was so fresh-coined that he felt bound to set it down precisely as he found it. For already the lexicographers were in retreat before the schoolmaster. The proper names with whose Latin spelling schoolboys had grown familiar in their text-books, the ancient terms used in the schoolroom study of antiquities, and the new words coined direct from Greek or Latin by men of science or the arts, had had successively to be released from Johnson's ban. As to all this the new Oxford Dictionary speaks, of course, what is now the latest word. More fully than Johnson it points out that interesting old usage of the Anglo-Saxons, who borrowed the Latin character *æ* to denote a sound of their own (that of our *a* in *hat*) for which they found no sign in the Latin alphabet. This use of *æ*, however, "disappeared from the language in the 13th century". "The character was reintroduced", admits the Oxford Dictionary, "in the 16th century in forms derived from Latin words with *æ*"; "but this *æ*", it adds, "had only an etymological value, and wherever a word became thoroughly English, the *æ* or *æ* was changed into simple *e*." "The *æ* or *æ* now remains", it then informs us, only in three groups of words: "(1) in Greek and Latin proper names" and "even these, when familiar, often take *e*"; "(2) in words belonging to Roman or Greek antiquities"; "(3) in scientific or technical terms", and "these also when they become popularized take *e*." Now, the word *medieval* is surely not a proper name, nor does it as yet belong to the antiquities. It must be, therefore, as a scientific or a technical term that the Oxford Dictionary, doubtless bending before what it feels to be the usage of medievalists themselves, records the diphthongal spelling *mediæval* before the briefer *medieval*. Clearly we may expect that when the word becomes "familiar" and "popularized" the briefer spelling will prevail.

Why have I cared to tell you all this? Not, I assure you, with any hope of influencing the general spelling of the word. That I count hopeless. Too many are the schoolmasters and the schoolboys, too many the pig-headed professors like me with conservative instincts. How little has availed the example of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, of the Cambridge Histories, of the *English Historical Review* or the American. What I *have* hoped is only to kindle, perhaps, in your minds a suspicion that even conservative instincts can

go amiss; that even the study of the Middle Ages needs men of every temper, of every conviction.

GEORGE L. BURR.

A SOCIETY FOR PRESERVATION OF LIBERTY, 1784

THE following interesting communication, *apropos* of the note entitled as above in our last number, comes to us from Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, of the Institute of Economics in Washington.

WASHINGTON, May 14, 1927.

The Editor, *American Historical Review*:

Sir:

In connection with the document published by Professor Hamilton in the *Review* of April, 1927 (pp. 550-552), there is considerable information available in the memoirs of Filippo Mazzei, one of its signers. These memoirs appeared in two volumes at Lugano in 1845-1846, under the title *Memorie della Vita e delle Peregrinazioni del Fiorentino Filippo Mazzei*.

The origin of the society in question is indicated in note 3, pages 514-516 of volume I., which I reproduce below in large part, as the volumes of Mazzei are doubtless inaccessible to most readers of the *Review*.

The letter to John Blair mentioned at the end of the note appears on pages 296-299 of volume II., dated "Mansfield, May 12, 1785". At the end of the letter Mazzei proposes the election of honorary foreign members such as the eminent Beccaria, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and others. There also appears (pp. 300-315) a lengthy study entitled "Osservazioni sulla proposta legge per regolare in Virginia la navigazione dei bastimenti marittimi". Mazzei refers to his visit to the governor's council in June, 1784, on p. 507 of volume I.; and throughout this section of his book he mentions many of the men whose names appear as signers of the document communicated by Professor Hamilton.

Nei primi tempi che ero in Virginia ebbi occasione di parlar con Jefferson dei gravi danni causati all' Italia dell' arginazione dei fiumi, e soprattutto alla Toscana dopo che il conte di Richecourt capo della reggenza permise il taglio dei boschi sui monti, di là dei limiti fissati dalla legge in tempo di repubblica, e che Leopoldo estese all' infinito, non provvedendo i gravi danni, che dovevano risulterne, cioè mancanza di abbondanti polle, che son tanto utili (poichè l'acqua, non essendo trattenuta, non puo filtrare, e formarle); frequenti inondazioni, alle quali succede scarsenza d'acqua, il che rende la navigazione difficile, pericolosa, e alle volte inesequibile nell' uno e nell' altro caso; il rialzamento del letto dei fiumi per la deposizione d'ottima terra (poichè l'acqua porta via la meglio); la necessità di rialzare continuamente gli argini, che in vari luoghi appena si posson reggere; e non par lontana l'epoca, in cui riprenderà l'acqua i suoi diritti, aprendosi la strada più conveniente con grave danno dei possidenti; e i posterì di quei che diboscarono, ed ebbero il vantaggio di 2, o 3 buone raccolte, avranno sassi dov'era terra e bosco.

Jefferson convenne che l'adozione di quella legge sarà cosa ottima; non però prima che ne sia dimostrata l'importanza, poichè il toglier la libertà al proprietario di far quel che gli pare sul suo, repugna troppo alla libertà; ma quando i capi di famiglia vedranno, che tende a liberar da cattive conseguenze i loro posterì, chiederanno la legge essi medesimi.

Il nostro governo, quantunque fatto in fretta, e in tempi turbolenti, era preferibile ad ogni altro, antico e moderno; ma non ostante si conobbe presto, che era suscettibile di miglioramento. Si convenne per altro d'aspettare che ognuno potesse accudirsi.

Al mio ritorno d'Europa, mentre Jefferson era in Boston per imbarcarsi e andar' a rimpiazzare il dott. Franklin, alcuni membri dell'assemblea proposero di farne la revisione, ed altri temevano d'urtare in Scilla per evitar Caribdi. Io proposi la formazione d'una società privata, col titolo di Società costituzionale per discuter privatamente tutto quel che doveva esser discusso pubblicamente e deciso dall'assemblea. Volevano farmi presidente; ricusai, prevedendo, che avrei dovuto ritornare in Europa dopo d'aver reso conto al governo della mia agenzia; e proposi il sig. Giovanni Blair, che fu approvato senza scrutinio a pieni voti.

Li eramo adunati più volte in Williamsburgo in casa del presidente con mia soddisfazione, ed essendo adesso coll'istoria della mia vita sul fiume Rappahanack in casa del signor Mann Page, dalle quale gli scrissi una lunga lettera, mi son ricordato d'averne l'abbozzo, l'ò cercato, l'ò trovato, e ve l'includo.

Yours very faithfully,

C. E. MCGUIRE.

AN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY VIEW OF MAGNA CARTA

A FEW years ago the work of Edward Jenks and W. S. McKechnie compelled a revision of the traditional interpretation of Magna Carta as the "palladium of our liberties". Their point of view however was not entirely new. In a recent number of the *American Historical Review* Professor A. L. Cross relates how it was anticipated by an obscure seventeenth-century thinker.¹ There are also certain scattered references in the early nineteenth-century radical press which prove that the reform movements of the 'thirties produced a similar unorthodox interpretation.

First, a London weekly of 1833, the *True Sun*, contains a brief but highly significant statement. It is evidently an item inserted as filler as there is no further note or comment.

It is vulgar to assume that the Barons, in proposing the terms of Magna Carta, considered that they were doing anything for the people at large. It must be remembered that although Peers led the army, people composed it; and it is curious to see that in the articles the Barons presented to the King, they include restrictions on *taillage*, a tax which fell upon the people, and *scutage*, which bore upon themselves—but in the Charter scutage alone is remembered. In fact Magna Carta is the charter of the Barons, and it happened to contain some excellent maxims, which they made for themselves, but which have been subsequently applied by the people.²

Secondly, on February 12, 1834, Robert Owen said in a speech before his National Labor Exchange in London: "No doubt they

¹ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX. 74-76.

² *Weekly True Sun*, Dec. 15, 1833. Italics in the original.

had all heard of the great charter which was granted by King John, and which might not improperly be called the non-producers' charter; it is now high time to bring forward a great charter for the productive classes also, and this we will call THE CHARTER OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY."³

Thirdly, at the height of the Chartist agitation the *Western Vindicator*, a paper of Bath owned by Henry Vincent, who was then confined in Monmouth gaol, made the following statement in an article examining the historical basis of Parliament's powers:

In the reign of John the Barons . . . forced from their reluctant Sovereign that *foundation* of English liberty, *Magna Carta* (1215), the only article of which (among numerous privileges to the Barons and some *allowances to freemen*) at all benefiting the great body of the people, the *villeins*, was that they should not by any fine be deprived of their implements of husbandry. The Charter was again confirmed on the accession of Henry III.; again and again infringed and re-allowed according as the King or the Barons gained the ascendancy. The people were little cared for. So stood affairs till 1265, when the Barons, who had taken arms against Henry III. for his repeated violations of *their* Charter, being masters, but fearing a reverse, sought to win the affections of the enslaved people by some slight pretense of regard for their interest.⁴

In these excerpts are manifest the results of sound Charter study on the part of some one. The author of the item in the *Weekly True Sun* had compared the *Articuli Baronum* with *Magna Carta* and arrived at conclusions at variance with those generally accepted. He noted the selfishness of the barons in exacting from the defeated monarch favorable terms for themselves while leaving their burgher allies in the lurch. It was known how a narrow feudal document by the extension of its terms to new classes came to be a bulwark of popular liberty. Robert Owen, the Socialist, put an economic interpretation on the same facts. In his opinion the Great Charter of 1215 was for the consuming classes; the one for the producers of wealth was still to be gained. The constitutional investigator of the *Western Vindicator* understood quite clearly the relation of the selfish barons to the Charter and to the people.

This interpretation of *Magna Carta*, which must have been accepted by many thoughtful radicals of the day, makes of some significance an editorial reference in the *True Sun* to Holloway Head, the scene of the great Birmingham meeting of August 6, 1838, which launched the Chartist movement, as the "People's" Runnymede.⁵ It may also explain the christening of the famous Six Points for which they agitated the "People's" Charter.

CARL F. BRAND.

³ An Owenite weekly, *The Crisis*, Mar. 1, 1834.

⁴ *Western Vindicator*, Dec. 14, 1839. Italics in the original.

⁵ *Weekly True Sun*, Aug. 12, 1838.

THE ORIGIN OF "MANIFEST DESTINY"

ONE can hardly read a work on the history of the United States in the two decades before the Civil War without meeting the phrase "manifest destiny", widely used as a convenient statement of the philosophy of territorial expansion in that period. One searches the histories in vain, however, for any statement of when or by whom the phrase was invented.¹ Considerable investigation points to the following hypothesis of its origin.

In a speech in the House of Representatives on January 3, 1846, opposing the resolution for the termination of the joint occupation of Oregon, Representative Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts used the following words:

There is one element in our title [to Oregon], however, which I confess that I have not named, and to which I may not have done entire justice. I mean that new revelation of right which has been designated as *the right of our manifest destiny to spread over this whole continent.* It has been openly avowed in a leading Administration journal that this, after all, is our best and strongest title—one so clear, so pre-eminent, and so indisputable, that if Great Britain had all our other titles in addition to her own, they would weigh nothing against it. The right of our manifest destiny! There is a right for a new chapter in the law of nations; or rather, in the special laws of our own country; for I suppose the right of a manifest destiny to spread will not be admitted to exist in any nation except the universal Yankee nation!²

This seems to have been the first occurrence of the phrase in Congress. It was taken up and made much of by both sides in the Oregon debate, openly avowed as an argument by the advocates of an aggressive policy and ridiculed by their opponents.³ Before the Oregon question was settled, the nation was engaged in the war with Mexico, and the enthusiasm for expansion at the expense of our southern neighbor served to popularize and perpetuate the phrase.⁴

Winthrop had ascribed the phrase to "a leading Administration journal". Examination of the columns of many Democratic papers brings to light in the *New York Morning News* for December 27, 1845 (just a week before Winthrop's speech), an editorial under the caption of "The True Title" which precisely fits Winthrop's description. It contains the following passages:

¹ In *A Dictionary of American Politics* by Professor Edward C. Smith (New York, 1924), p. 257, it is stated that this phrase "was derived from Webster's declaration that it was 'the manifest destiny for North America to become the home of a free people'". I have been unable, even with the courteous assistance of the editor of that publication, to find any substantiation for this statement.

² *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, p. 99.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 207, and Appendix, pp. 79-80, 92, 96, 99, 104, 110.

⁴ See especially Niles, *The Weekly Register*, LXXIII. 334.

Our legal title to Oregon, so far as law exists for such rights, is perfect. There is no doubt of this. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Buchanan have settled that question, once and for all. Flaw or break in the triple chain of that title, there is none. Not a foot of ground is left for England to stand upon, in any fair argument to maintain her pretensions. . . .

And yet after all, unanswerable as is the demonstration of our legal title to Oregon—and the whole of Oregon, if a rood!—we have a still better title than any that can ever be constructed out of all these antiquated materials of old black-letter international law. Away, away with all these cobweb tissues of rights of discovery, exploration, settlement, continuity, etc. To state the truth at once in its neglected simplicity, we are free to say that were the respective cases and arguments of the two parties, as to all these points of history and law, reversed—had England all ours, and we nothing but hers—our claim to Oregon would still be best and strongest. And that claim is by *the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent* [italics mine] which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us. . . . The God of nature and of nations has marked it for our own; and with His blessing we will firmly maintain the incontestable rights He has given, and fearlessly perform the high duties He has imposed.⁵

It was, I feel sure, this editorial which set Congressmen to talking about “manifest destiny” and thus insured the lasting hold of the phrase. But this was not the first occasion upon which the editor of the *Morning News* had used it. Mr. John L. O’Sullivan, editor of the *News*, was also at this time editor of a monthly publication, the *Democratic Review*.⁶ The issue of this magazine for

⁵ Files of the *Morning News* are rare. The only one I know of is in the possession of the New York Historical Society and extends from Aug. 21, 1844 (the first issue) to Sept. 7, 1846. The above editorial was also printed in the weekly edition of the paper, the *New York Weekly News*, for Jan. 3, 1846. For the history of the founding of the *Morning News* by Samuel J. Tilden and John L. O’Sullivan see John Bigelow, *Life of Samuel J. Tilden* (New York, 1895), I. 108–110.

⁶ The bound volumes of this magazine bear the title *Democratic Review*. In reality it was published under several varying titles from 1837 to 1859. Its first home was Washington, D. C., and its first issue, that of October, 1837, bore the names of Langtree and O’Sullivan as publishers. From January, 1840, to June, 1841, the name of S. D. Langtree appears as the only publisher. In or prior to July, 1841, the magazine was moved to New York and to the close of 1845 published variously by J. and H. G. Langley, by Henry G. Langley, and by J. L. O’Sullivan and O. C. Gardiner. Throughout this period Mr. O’Sullivan appears to have been continuously the editor-in-chief of the magazine. An article in the *New York Evening Post* of Aug. 6, 1845, speaks of him as “now the exclusive proprietor”. From 1846 on, the name of Thomas Prentice Kettell gradually supplants that of Mr. O’Sullivan until in January, 1849, Mr. Kettell is spoken of as “Sole Editor and Proprietor”, but Mr. O’Sullivan continued to be associated with the magazine until at least as late as 1852. From 1837 through 1851 the title was uniformly *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. From 1852 on, the title-page bears the various designations of *The Democratic Review*, *The United States Review*, *The United States Democratic Review*, and

April, 1859, contains the boast that the *Review* has "from its birth until the present moment, advocated the 'manifest destiny' of the American Republic" (XLIII. 2). The claim seems to be in part substantiated by an editorial article in the issue for November, 1839, on "The Great Nation of Futurity". The writer dwells upon the mission of American democracy to "smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than the beasts of the field", and pictures thus the future of the United States:

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest [here is a suggestion of the phrase] to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High—the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere—its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation an Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling, owning no man master, but governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood—of "peace and good will amongst men".⁷

Here, in the vision of a great and democratic nation, specially favored by Providence, whose "floor shall be a hemisphere", is the complete idea which was to be so conveniently summed up in the words "manifest destiny". From the style of the article as well as from O'Sullivan's known connection with the *Review* at the time, there can be little doubt that the article is from his pen.

But it was not till more than five years later, if my conclusion is correct, that the phrase "manifest destiny" was first used in this connection. In a combined number for July and August, 1845, the *Democratic Review* carried a leading article on "Annexation", denouncing the still lingering opposition to the last step in the annexation of Texas. All parties should now unite, urged the writer, especially since other nations have tried to intrude themselves "between us and the proper parties to the case, in a spirit of hostile interference against us, for the avowed object of thwarting our policy

United States' Democratic Review. The names of the publishers in these years also underwent numerous changes. Throughout its twenty-two years the magazine was an important organ of expression of the thought of the Democratic party at the North. But its interests were literary as well as political. Among its distinguished contributors were George Bancroft, Lewis Cass, Samuel J. Tilden, William Cullen Bryant, Bryant's son-in-law Parke Godwin, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Edgar Allan Poe. For glimpses of Poe's relations with the magazine and its editor see G. E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston and New York, 1909), I. 353, II. 123.

⁷ *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, VI. 426-430.

and hampering our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfilment of our *manifest destiny* [*italics mine*] to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions".⁸

Here, I am inclined to think, is the first appearance of "manifest destiny"—"our manifest destiny to overspread the continent". With the first word omitted, the phraseology appears almost contemporaneously in the *Morning News* of July 9, 1845, where the editor speaks of "our destiny to overspread this entire North America with the almost miraculous progress of our population and power". As already shown, language almost identical appeared in the *Morning News* of December 27, 1845. If further evidence is needed of O'Sullivan's connection with the phrase, we have it in a letter printed over his signature in the *Morning News* of January 5, 1846, where he speaks of "this destiny to overspread the whole North American continent with an immense democratic population". "Manifest" is here omitted, but the remainder of the language bears unmistakable evidence of kinship with the other passages quoted.

If it is asked why the use of the phrase in the *Democratic Review* of July-August, 1845, seems to have escaped notice, whereas almost immediately upon its appearance in December in the *Morning News* it became a catchword with the expansionist group, the answer is that on the first occasion it was used in referring to what was then virtually a closed issue—the annexation of Texas—but that upon its second appearance it was applied directly as an argument for taking possession of Oregon and appeared in the nick of time to be quoted by both sides in the debate on that troublesome and very live question in the House of Representatives in Washington.

To summarize the hypothesis here advanced: The author of the phrase "manifest destiny" was John L. O'Sullivan, editor in 1845-1846 of the monthly *Democratic Review* and of the New York *Morning News*. The phrase first appeared in an editorial article in the *Democratic Review* for July-August, 1845. It was repeated in an editorial in the *Morning News* of December 27, 1845, in reference to the Oregon question. Thence it was carried into the debate on the Oregon question in the House of Representatives and proved to be such a convenient summing up of the self-confident nationalist and expansionist sentiment of the time that it passed into the permanent national vocabulary.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

⁸ *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XVII. 5-10.

FIRST USE OF THE TERM "COPPERHEAD"

ANENT the first use of the term "Copperhead" as an opprobrious epithet applied to Democrats during the American Civil War, the late James Ford Rhodes wrote, "I have made and had made a considerable search for the first use of the term 'Copperhead'. The earliest that I have found it employed is in the *Cincinnati Commercial* of October 1, 1862".¹ Mr. Albert Matthews in a similar investigation wrote, "the earliest known instance is from Illinois, in reference to Indiana" in the *Chicago Tribune* for September 24, 1862.² Inasmuch as both of the above authors have curiously overlooked a conspicuous and widespread newspaper usage of the term some two months before the dates of their first findings, a further word upon the matter is illuminative.

The *Cincinnati Gazette* of July 30, 1862, notified its readers: "The Copperhead Bright Convention meets in Indianapolis today", referring to the state Democratic convention. Antagonistic to the convention was a serenade accorded General Lew Wallace, a despatch account of which the *Gazette* published July 31 under the caption, "A Glorious Sequel to the Copperhead Convention". An investigation into a considerable number of newspapers has not revealed an earlier use of the abusive title. Since "Copperhead" appeared in print without quotation-marks it might seem that the application of the word was not new at that time, or type-practice in the *Gazette* office was that of omitting quotation-marks for even fresh adaptations. These are matters probably incapable of proof. Whatever the more immediate facts, they were inconsequential in the light of the real significance of the affair, namely, that the new brand of reproach had fallen upon a subject which attracted more than a state-wide interest. On this account the new concept of "Copperhead", linked to the Indiana Democratic convention, was rapidly circulated throughout the Ohio Valley. This currency was brought about through the copy which was made of the *Gazette* July 31 despatch by widely separated newspapers. In Missouri, the *St. Louis Tri-Weekly Democrat* of August 1 copied the despatch with its "Copperhead" caption. In Illinois, the *Springfield Weekly State Journal* of August 6 made the same copy. In Ohio, the *Wooster Republican* of August 7 made the same copy and captioned it: "The Copperhead Democrats". Further citations might be made of newspapers which through the same method contributed together, within the short

¹ *History of the United States*, IV. 224, note.

² *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (1917), XX. 207.

course of one week, to widely acquaint the public mind of the Middle West with the new nickname.

Multiplied users soon diversified the application of the new term. An Indianapolis letter to the *Chicago Tribune* on August 3 reported grand jury proceedings against "some prominent Copperheads". This account was printed August 5 under the caption: "Preparing to Deal with Hoosier Copperheads". A letter to the *Cincinnati Commercial* on August 21 described a Democratic gathering at Lancaster, Ohio, as one where "the usual number of copperhead lies were told by orators". The letter was published under the indiscriminate caption: "Grand Copperhead Turnout in Fairfield County". These are fair examples of the rapidity with which the new term became generalized. The "Copperhead" cognomen was destined to become an important addition to Civil War nomenclature. After the apparently first appearance of the defamatory word in July, and its spread during August, a month followed during which the term seems to have dropped from the press. But the epithet had taken root in popular fancy and it began to reappear in the press during September and October. The first evidences of a scattered crop from a good seeding are the first findings of Messrs. Rhodes and Matthews, both of whom, from this point on, cite instances of the growing usage of the word. Aside from any antiquarian interest in the determination of the first use of the term "Copperhead" there is further value in its concrete evidence of the early rise of vitriolic politics during the Civil War period.

PAUL S. SMITH.

DOCUMENTS

Despatches from the United States Consulate in New Orleans, 1801-1803, I.

A PECULIAR historical interest attaches to those American consulates established in ports which at the time were foreign but which subsequently became a part of the territory of the United States. Professor R. W. Kelsey, and before him Josiah Royce, have shown how much of interest there is in the story of the United States consulate at Monterey, California, and Dr. Kuykendall has printed interesting despatches from consular American officers at Honolulu. The history of the consulate at New Orleans in the period of the cession of Louisiana and just before, 1798-1803, is also of interest.

At the time when the first consular officers of the United States were appointed, it was the custom of European governments to admit the establishment of no consuls in their colonies.¹ The new American government, however, had naturally a different conception of the relation of a colony to its European metropolis, and its citizens moreover began immediately, and especially after the opening of the great war in 1793, to have important commercial relations with colonial ports. Accordingly, among the fifty or sixty consuls or vice-consuls appointed by President Washington, we find consuls for French Hispaniola (Cap François and Aux Cayes), Martinique, and Isle of France, for Dutch Surinam, St. Eustatius, Curaçao, and Demerara, for Danish Santa Cruz, British Calcutta, and Spanish New Orleans; and to these President Adams added in his first year Swedish St. Bartholomew, Spanish Santo Domingo, and Havana.

The appointment of a consul in New Orleans was a natural result of the provisions respecting trade and deposit in the Pinckney Treaty of 1795. The status of trading foreigners before that time is fully set forth in retrospect by the experienced Daniel Clark:²

By the letter of the Spanish commercial laws, all trade is prohibited to her colonies, except it be carried on by natives, or naturalized residents.

¹ Moore, *Digest*, V. 17; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 88. D. B. Warden, *On the Origin, Nature, Progress, and Influence of Consular Establishments* (Paris, 1813), p. 219, prints a list of French consular establishments as they were in time of peace, i.e., before 1803; none was in any American port outside the United States. The same is true of his list of British consuls, pp. 281-282, if exception be made of the peculiar case of Brazil under John VI.

² *Proofs of the Corruption of General James Wilkinson* (Philadelphia, 1809), p. 84.

The extreme rigour of this rule defeated the execution, and the very existence of several of its colonies depended on its relaxation. This accordingly took place at New Orleans, particularly during the administration of the Baron de Carondelet. The first indulgence was granted, by extending the privilege to residents, altho' not naturalized. The second, by the officers of government contenting themselves with the simple declaration of any individual, commonly the consigner, that he was the owner of the vessel. This declaration was not made under oath, nor was it in most cases supported by any documents. Sometimes it was even accepted from a person who, though not actually resident, had declared his intention of making a settlement in the country, or who had obtained a license to introduce goods. It deceived nobody, but it furnished the officers of government with a very flimsy pretext for registering the vessel in their books as Spanish property, and thus preserving an apparent compliance with the law; but so little attention was paid to this formality, that the Governor and Intendant gave certificates that the vessel was American property, even while she stood on their Custom-house books as being owned by a resident.

The great increase of trade between New Orleans and the United States due to the more liberal provisions of the Treaty of San Lorenzo, the introduction of the sugar-cane into Louisiana, and the enlarged production of cotton, made it desirable to establish there a consul of the United States. On March 2, 1797, President Washington, as his last consular appointment, nominated to that office Propicio Jacinto Pollock of Pennsylvania, son of the well-known Oliver Pollock who had been so useful a financial agent of the United States in New Orleans and Havana during the Revolutionary War. This appointee however never went to New Orleans as consul, and ultimately he resigned.³

A year's interval occurred, during which the crying need for a representative of American commercial interests was informally supplied by Daniel Clark, resident merchant of Irish origin, born in Sligo in 1766. In a statement made to Congress in 1808, he says: ⁴ "I arrived from Europe, at New Orleans, in December, 1786, having been invited to the country by an uncle [Daniel Clark, sr.], of considerable wealth and influence, who had been long resident in that city. Shortly after my arrival I was employed in the office of the Secretary of the Government." On January 13, 1798, we find him writing to his friend Daniel Coxe of Philadelphia, "We are here

³ *Executive Journals of the Senate*, I. 228. H. E. Hayden, *A Biographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock* (Harrisburg, 1883), p. 20, says of the son, "About 1800 he removed to Oporto Rico [sic] and engaged in the coffee culture. He became very wealthy; but nothing more can be learned of him". May 23, 1797, he is mentioned as of Havana, and May 6, 1799, Secretary Pickering writes of him as having resigned. *Historical Index to the Pickering Papers*, pp. 402 and 9.

⁴ *Proofs*, p. 105*; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II., app. no. V.; *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, I. 704, II. III; *Annals of Congress*, 10 Cong., 1 sess., I. 1388.

without a Consul and his presence is highly necessary to prevent and put a stop to the numerous abuses which the Spanish Governm't force the Americans to submit to".⁵ In March, at the instance of Andrew Ellicott, the boundary commissioner, and Captain Isaac Guion, U. S. A., commanding at Natchez, he agreed to act, and Gayoso agreed to allow him to act, as vice-consul until a consul duly appointed by the President should arrive.⁶

Irregular as was his position, Clark proceeded to accomplish two useful things. Under the existing regulations, American vessels could not export from New Orleans the produce of Louisiana without paying duties of twenty-one per cent., quite prohibitive, and Spanish vessels could not export American produce which came down the river and was deposited at New Orleans, without paying six per cent. on the importation in addition to the ordinary export duty of six per cent.—twelve per cent. in all. With tactful and cogent representations Clark urged the intendant Morales to give greater freedom to commerce, under the hard conditions of wartime, by permitting American vessels to export the produce of the colony with the same freedom as Spanish vessels on payment of the same duties of six per cent., and to permit Spanish or Louisiana vessels to export American up-river produce, elsewhere than to Spain, as freely as American vessels on paying the same export duties.⁷ Morales conceded both points.⁸ Secondly, the acting vice-consul sent to Secretary Pickering a valuable general memoir on the commerce of Louisiana with the Ohio country.⁹

Meanwhile Clark was making an endeavor to be actually appointed consul. In view of the subsequent relations between the two

⁵ Dept. of State, Misc. Letters.

⁶ Ellicott and Guion to Clark, Mar. 2, 1798; Clark to Ellicott and Guion, Mar. 14, Clark to Pickering, Mar. 17, admitting that Gayoso had gone too far and that the whole proceeding was irregular. All in the State Department volume, Consular Despatches, New Orleans.

⁷ Clark to Morales, May 1, 1798, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Pap. proc. de Cuba, leg. 612-2. For photographic copies of this and other documents, and for intelligent summaries and notes of many others, the editor is indebted to Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville. Clark to Pickering, Apr. 18, 1798, Consular Despatches, N. O.

⁸ Morales to Clark, June 13, 1798, A. G. I., *ubi sup.* Clark to Pickering, June 14, Consular Despatches, N. O.

⁹ Maj. Constant Freeman to Pickering, Savannah, June 11, 1798, enclosing the memoir, *ibid.* Parts of it were printed, from a copy furnished by Wilkinson, in the pamphlet *A Plain Tale, supported by Authentic Documents, justifying the Character of General Wilkinson: by a Kentuckian* (New York, 1807), pp. 10-14. These were reprinted in Clark's *Proofs*, pp. 6*-9* (see also p. 106), and somewhat fuller extracts in Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, II., app. no. VI., and *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, I. 707-709.

men, Wilkinson in 1811 took a keen pleasure in printing, in what later became the second volume of his *Memoirs*,¹⁰ a letter which Colonel Daniel Clark, the uncle, had written him, March 28, 1798, saying:

I received a letter from my nephew Dan . . . desiring I would solicit your interest with the executive of your nation to appoint him consul at New Orleans, where he now, at the desire of Mr. Ellicott and Captain Guion, acts as Vice-Consul. Daniel is a young man of nice honour, and, as a trader, of fair character, extremely well affected toward the United States. He speaks Spanish and French; and, from a natural aptitude, and an experience of ten years, he has acquired great commercial knowledge, and a general acquaintance with the people, with whom he is a favorite.

Secretary Pickering, however, contented himself at this time with the appointment of a vice-consul, and no consul was appointed till more than a year later. His choice for the lesser appointment fell on William Empson Hulings of Pennsylvania, of whom, in a letter written from Philadelphia twenty-nine years later (1827), he gives the following account:¹¹

He had a medical education, and is usually called Dr. Hulings; but if he practised at all, it was only in early life. He belongs to the Unitarian Society here, . . . [He is] now, I suppose, about sixty five years of age. . . . He received from me, when secretary of state, a commission as Consul [read "Vice-Consul"] at New Orleans, where he had resided a number of years, while that place was in the hands of the Spaniards, and where he had acquired a decent fortune. He was a native of Philadelphia, and was recommended to me by an uncle, who was of my acquaintance, and so received from the President the office of Consul.

On March 14, 1798, Hulings was nominated by President Adams as vice-consul at New Orleans, and in a few days the nomination was

¹⁰ In *Burr's Conspiracy Exposed and General Wilkinson Vindicated*, and in *Memoirs*, II., app. no. VII. Five years later, the younger Clark wrote to Wilkinson, May 6, 1803, "From that trifling office which was unexpectedly and without solicitation conferred, and on that account alone accepted, I derived neither importance nor emolument; and be it continued, or conferred on another, I shall be equally vigilant and watchful of my country's interest". *Ibid.*, app. no. XIV. It is fair to remember, however, that he is speaking of the consulate actually bestowed in 1802. D. W. Coxe recommended him for consul, Philadelphia, Dec. 2, 1798, as "deserving of the candid and favorable opinion you [Pickering] expressed of him yesterday to me". Consular Despatches, N. O.

¹¹ T. Pickering to his son Octavius, at Salem, July 22, 1827, introducing "my very good friend, William Hulings Esqr. of this city; a gentleman who, with an easy fortune, has retired from business". Pickering Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. 38, p. 325; copy received by the kindness of Dr. Worthington C. Ford. Governor Claiborne, writing to Secretary Madison, New Orleans, Jan. 10, 1804, says: "Among the Inhabitants of this place who stand highest in Public estimation is a Mr. William E. Hulings, late Vice-Consul at this Port. He is a man of integrity, great commercial information, and a sincere Friend to the Government of the United States." *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, I. 332.

confirmed by the Senate.¹² In a letter of September 26 of that year Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of New Orleans, writing to his superior the Conde de Santa Clara, captain general of Cuba, describes Hulings as one who had formerly lived and traded in New Orleans, and says that on his presenting, June 25, a commission as vice-consul, dated March 19, he had admitted him to the exercise of that office "conformably to the treaty", meaning Article XIX. of the Treaty of San Lorenzo.¹³ The captain general, however, refused his consent, and the royal government in Spain sustained him, decreeing that Hulings was not to be admitted as vice-consul.¹⁴ Meanwhile, however, more than a year had elapsed and in fact Hulings officiated after a fashion for eighteen months.¹⁵

Not more fortunate was Pickering's next attempt. Desiring the appointment of a representative with full consular powers, he on April 12, 1799, recommended to President Adams the choice of Evan Jones of Louisiana as consul. President Adams issued to the latter a commission during the recess of the Senate, and nominated him when the Senate assembled December 5, 1799, when he was at once confirmed.¹⁶ Jones was "born and bred in the Province of New York", but in 1775 settled as a planter in West Florida, and on its conquest by Spain became a Spanish subject.¹⁷ In 1789 he was living on the west side of the Mississippi, where Wilkinson visited him.¹⁸ In 1787 he was made a sublieutenant in the Louisiana militia, in 1792 Carondelet made him a captain, and the rank was confirmed by royal patent. Pressed by Gayoso to undertake the duty, he served from September 13, 1797, to September 27, 1798, as commandant *pro tempore* of the district of La Fourche (La Fourche de Chetimachas). Many letters that passed between him and the governor on the business of his district are preserved in the Archives of the Indies; ¹⁹ they seem to show him to have been a satisfactory and tact-

¹² *Exec. Jour. Senate*, I. 265, 266.

¹³ A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1501, enclosing a copy of Hulings's commission; also (copies) *ibid.*, leg. 154-1.

¹⁴ Manuel Luis de Urquijo, minister of state, to Santa Clara, Aranjuez, May 20, 1799, *ibid.*, leg. 1737, replying to Santa Clara's of Nov. 10, 1798. Marqués de Someruelos, Santa Clara's successor, to the governor of Louisiana, Havana, Aug. 9, 1799, *ibid.*, leg. 154-2.

¹⁵ Hulings to the Secretary of State, Feb. 20, 1801. Consular Despatches, N. O.

¹⁶ Pickering to Adams, Apr. 12, 1799, *Hist. Index to the Pickering Papers*, p.

9. Commission dated May 11. *Exec. Jour. Senate*, I. 326, 327.

¹⁷ The main facts of his life are given in a (somewhat abject) letter to Someruelos, New Orleans, Aug. 19, 1799, Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1659.

¹⁸ Jones to Clark, Feb. 16, 1809. Clark, *Proofs*, p. 21*; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II., app. no. XXXVII.

¹⁹ Especially in Pap. proc. Cuba, legs. 118, 213, and 215.

ful official. Resigning at the latter date, at the age of more than sixty, he went to the States on a temporary errand of business, from which he returned as consul, arriving at New Orleans at the beginning of August, 1799.

When Consul Jones arrived at New Orleans with his commission, he found that Governor Gayoso had died a few days before. The temporary command fell to the senior colonel, Francisco Bouligny, who assured Jones that his own desire would be to recognize him as consul, but that he must first submit the question to the captain general at Havana. Meantime he presumed that Hulings would continue to act, and would act as Jones wished; and he accepted with complimentary phrases the latter's resignation of his commission in the militia of the province.²⁰

Six weeks later, when the Marqués de Casa Calvo arrived as governor, Jones anxiously inquired of him whether the captain general had given orders for his recognition. On the contrary, though the fact was not disclosed to him, the captain general had ordered that he should be at once arrested and sent to Havana, his fatal offense being that he had accepted such an appointment from the United States while still a subject and militia officer of Spain.²¹ When this order reached Casa Calvo, he replied to the captain general, late in October, that Jones was "a person of independent fortune, married, with grown-up children and a large family connection, and enjoying the esteem of the principal men", so that his arrest and deportation might cause commotions and murmurings, and the American government at Natchez might retaliate on Don José Vidal, who had been sent up there as Spanish consul; wherefore the governor thought fit to delay execution of the order while he consulted the captain general afresh. Under the circumstances, the captain general yielded as to arrest, but was positive against admission as consul, and the home government gave approval on both points.²²

²⁰ Bouligny to Pickering, Aug. 8, 1799, and Jones to Bouligny, Aug. 15, in Consular Despatches, N. O. Bouligny to Jones, Aug. 14 and 17, *ibid.* and in A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1659.

²¹ Jones to Casa Calvo, Sept. 24, 1799, *ibid.*, leg. 118. Someruelos to Bouligny, Sept. 3, *ibid.*, leg. 1573.

²² Jones to Pickering, Oct. 7, 1799, in Consular Despatches, N. O.; Pickering, Nov. 14, *Historical Index to Pickering Papers*, informs him that in order to become an American citizen he will have to be naturalized. Someruelos to Urquijo, Oct. 7 (two letters), Nov. 29, Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1737; Casa Calvo to Someruelos, Oct. 24, Someruelos to Casa Calvo, Nov. 21, leg. 1573; Urquijo to Someruelos, Mar. 22, Aug. 20, 1800, leg. 1737. On receiving orders from Havana that Jones and Hulings must not be allowed to officiate, Casa Calvo sent word to Vidal, who had been consul of Natchez since the American occupation of the place in 1798, that thenceforward he was to act "merely as an agent, under the ostensible title of com-

In spite of the refusal of recognition or exequatur, Jones continued in an informal way, for more than a year and a half, to look after the commercial interests of American citizens in New Orleans. The first of the despatches printed below, from the consular archives of the Department of State in Washington, shows the difficulties under which he labored in so ambiguous a situation. Finally, Casa Calvo wrote him the letter of April 30, 1801, to which allusion is made in that despatch, sharply reminding him of the prohibition addressed to him in October, 1799, complaining that he was found to be still functioning as consul, and commanding him to desist. A similarly emphatic reminder was sent to Hulings, ordering him to cease functioning as vice-consul.²³

Meanwhile, February 20, 1801, the American merchants in New Orleans, wearied with such a situation, petitioned their Secretary of State for the appointment of a consul for whom an exequatur might be obtained, and, having been "informed by Persons high in Office, that [Jones] will not be received in quality of Consul whenever the Court of Spain may judge expedient to admit of the Residence of one here, the reason of which they understand to be an offence taken against him for accepting an Appointment from another Country, without permission from his Sovereign, while bearing a Commission as an Officer in his Service", they urge the appointment of Hulings as consul.²⁴ The choice of the administration, however, fell on Daniel Clark, already one of the richest, perhaps the richest and most influential, of the Americans in New Orleans, and he received a recess appointment on July 16, 1801.²⁵ At a later time it was asserted that he was not an American citizen at the time of his appointment. On this point he said:²⁶

In 1802, when my nomination as consul of the United States at New Orleans was confirmed by the Senate, a commission was made out, in which I was styled a subject of Spain. On the receipt of it I waited on the President, and explained to him my situation there. I had never been a Spanish subject, but had been naturalized, as an American citizen, in the latter part of the year 1798, at Natchez. In consequence of this explanation, the commission was changed, and I received one, in which I was described as a citizen of the U. S. resident at New Orleans.

mandant of the port of Concordia which has been established opposite Natchez". Casa Calvo to Someruelos, Feb. 3, 1800, leg. 1573, answering Someruelos of Nov. 21, 1799, *ibid.*

²³ Casa Calvo to Jones, Apr. 30, and to Hulings, May 1; Jones to Casa Calvo, May 1; Hulings to the same, May 4; all in Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 137.

²⁴ Consular Despatches, N. O. Hulings also asked for the appointment, same date, *ibid.* Jones continued to reside in Louisiana, and later was a member of the legislative council of the territory of Orleans, joining with Clark in the opposition to Governor Claiborne. *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, III. 303.

²⁵ Records of appointments, Dept. of State. Commission in *Proofs*, p. 172*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

Clark, though he never was given an *exequatur*, officiated informally from the time of his appointment until the cession of Louisiana to the United States, without such friction as had arisen from the peculiar circumstances of Jones. On November 7, 1801, he set out for Philadelphia, partly on business, partly to make arrangements respecting Madame Zulime Desgranges, whose first child was born there before his arrival, and whom he married there in 1802—if we believe the witnesses whom the majority of the United States Supreme Court believed in 1867; or did not, if we disbelieve them as the majority of that court did in 1851.²⁷ Her second child was the celebrated Myra Clark Gaines, whose half-century of lawsuits over his estate, 1834–1884 (he died in 1813), was the *Jarndyce v. Jarndyce* of American judicial history.

Of all these matters the consular despatches naturally say nothing, but Clark was not inattentive to matters of the consulate. President Jefferson sent the nomination of him to the Senate on January 6, 1802, and it was confirmed on January 26. On February 18 we find him writing from Philadelphia, "I returned three or four days [ago] from Washington, where I had an opportunity of seeing the President and officers of government, by whom I was well received". He remained in Philadelphia till April 22, when his intended departure for New Orleans in the schooner *Eliza* is mentioned, and on June 22 wrote to Secretary Madison from New Orleans the despatch which is printed second on the following pages.²⁸ His later history as consul is sufficiently shown in texts and annotations of the documents which ensue, all taken from the consular archives of the Department of State. His subsequent public activities as territorial delegate in Congress and opponent of Wilkinson are well known.

Endorsements upon the despatches or statements in them show that letters passing between consul or vice-consul and Secretary of State took from twenty-three to sixty-one days in transit, on the average thirty-eight days.

I. EVAN JONES TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

NEW ORLEANS 15th May 1801²⁹

Having written at different times, a number of letters to your predecessor in office Mr. Pickering, respecting the situation of the Citizens of

²⁷ *Gaines v. Relf*, 12 Howard 472; *Gaines v. New Orleans*, 6 Wallace 642—and nine other cases in the court's reports, but these two give the testimony and documents. See especially 12 Howard 485, 487, 492.

²⁸ *Exec. Jour. Senate*, I. 404, 405. Letter in 6 Wallace 677; 12 Howard 487. He received his commission and sent his bond Apr. 20; letter of that date in Consular Despatches, N. O.

²⁹ Endorsed as received Aug. 20.

the U. S. trading to New Orleans, or passing thro' it, and not having had the honor to receive any answer to most of them, I have been almost discouraged from writing any more.

Considering however that the changes which have taken place in several of the departments, may, even long before they happened, have furnished ample occupation to the Chiefs, and remembering that my duty and affection for my native Country should never suffer me to see with unconcern the interests of her Citizens injured, nor her dignity unrespected, I venture Sir to offer you a few hints on the subject of those Citizens of the U. S. who navigate the Mississippi under the Treaty, who trade to New Orleans, or who only pass thro' it in their way from the Ohio etc. to the Atlantick States, or from these to the Natchez and upper Country.

All such, it has appeared to me, are more or less subject to inconveniences and even oppressions from which I think American Citizens should be exempt.

To begin—American Vessels bound into the Mississippi, are often delayed and endangered, and many have been lost, through the ignorance or negligence of the Spanish pilots, to put it upon no worse a footing.⁸⁰ The quantities of goods however which have been lost out of different vessels, only run ashore at first, at the mouth of the River, and afterwards wrecked, would afford grounds for placing it on a less favorable one.

These complaints I presume might be remedied, by having a small American Ship of war, stationed constantly within the mouth of the River. Such a ship might not only furnish pilots to American Vessels bound in and out, and afford assistance to stranded Ships, but would moreover answer many other good purposes.

The free navigation of the Mississippi, seems clearly to imply the right of bringing in our own Vessels, and of taking them out. Yet, a very respectable American merchant, for attempting to sound the Channel, in order to take his Vessel out, was imprisoned by order of the Spanish Governor of Louisiana!

American Vessels, as soon as they enter the River, are boarded by a Spanish officer, and required to give a particular manifest of their Cargos—To declare from whence they came, whither bound etc.

At the fort of Plaquemine, ten leagues above the mouth of the River, they are again stopt, and another ceremony of enquiry gone through.

On their arrival at New Orleans new difficulties present themselves.

I cannot speak particularly of Vessels bringing Merchandise for sale, and carrying away the produce of Louisiana, for those its alleged by the Spanish Government are only to be looked upon as Neutrals, voluntarily submitting themselves to the laws and regulations of Spain.

But, Vessels coming to take away deposited property, its pretended, are obliged to ask permission for the purpose; are subject to have a Custom house guard put on board them while loading, and to be searched before they sail.

⁸⁰ In 1798 Vice-Consul Hulings, soon after his appointment, had raised the questions whether American ship-captains might not come into and up the river without a pilot, and whether they might not take soundings in the river. The Spanish governor had replied that Spanish pilotage must be maintained, and that citizens of the United States could only take soundings in those parts of the river where one bank belonged to the United States. Hulings to Gayoso de Lemos, Aug. 14, 1798; Gayoso to Hulings, Aug. 16; Gayoso to Santa Clara, captain general of Cuba, Sept. 26; all in A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1501.

Embargoes too have repeatedly been laid on American Vessels in the Mississippi, contrary to the letter as well as spirit of the Treaty between the United States and Spain.

An American Ship called the Ocean belonging to New York, and commanded by Capt. Harrison, having lately arrived here, the Consignee was about to load her with Sugar, logwood, flour etc. and it was understood she was bound for London, or some other port in England; but, the Spanish Intendant, on a pretext that she was suspected to be a British Ship, tho' furnished with every necessary paper to prove the contrary, would not suffer her to load till a bond was entered into, in the Sum of \$15,000, to prove in some new way that she was American property, and with condition that she should not sail for England.

To this oppression the Consignee was obliged to submit, and the Ship is to go to Charleston!

Of late, the Custom house officers insisted, that no boat coming with American produce from the Ohio etc. should be allowed to deposite it in New Orleans, unless they produced a passport from the Spanish fort at Baton Rouge, about forty leagues above this City, but that innovation I opposed so strenuously, that for some weeks past, they seem to have left the matter on its former footing.

My intervention on that and other occasions however, has not been unresented, as you will see hereafter.

On the arrival of boats with flour, or other produce from the Ohio, they are immediately boarded, searched, and molested by the Custom house guards. To Ship their produce on board of such American Vessels as they find waiting for it, a permission from the Spanish Government must be obtained, and the Citizens of the U. S. who come down in such boats, previous to embarking on board of American Vessels bound to the Atlantic States are held to take and pay for passports from the Spanish Governor, which passports they exhibit at Plaquemine, before they leave the Mississippi.

Boats coming loaded with flour, having simply asked permission to sell, by way of trying the market, which they have found bad, have been obliged to pay a duty both inwards and outwards on the flour, before they have been allowed to ship it on board an American Vessel, altho' it had never been landed from boats, in any part of the Spanish dominions!

Respecting the oppressions exercised on many American Citizens, and especially on Seamen, I beg leave to refer to my letters to Mr. Pickering of the 1st march, 15 and 25 April 1800.³¹

Other transient Citizens too are often exposed to oppressions. In case of any difference amongst themselves, they are obliged to have recourse to Magistrates, to whose laws and language they are strangers, and who, not unfrequently, by way of rendering prompt justice to the parties, dispatch one or other of them to prison.

The case of a Gentleman named Rudge, lately here, seems particularly hard. He came out nine or ten months ago, with a power of Attorney from a house in New York, to recover a considerable sum they claim from a Mr. Zerban, to whom they had sold and consigned goods in New York, in 1799. Rudge, not finding Zerban in New Orleans, but understanding he was at the Natchez, went thither and met him; and not receiving a satisfactory account from him, brought a Suit against him, and held him

³¹ In that of Apr. 15 Jones describes particularly the tricks by which American ship-captains unjustly brought about the imprisonment of their seamen.

to bail in a considerable sum. Zerban is a native of one of the U. S. and was supposed to be a Citizen of those States when Rudge brought his Suit, since he sat just previous thereto, as a grand Juror at Natchez.

The Suit being so brought, Zerban alleging that his papers etc. were in New Orleans, where the goods were sold, proposes to settle the matter by an arbitration there, and accordingly Arbitrators were named, and their award, if delivered by a certain day, was to be made a Rule of Court, (If I express myself correctly) without the suit being dismist.

The parties came then to New Orleans, where the debtor pleading that his Accounts were not ready, the Arbitrators could not proceed to an examination of them, 'till within a few days before the time fixt for sending up their award to Natchez. At length they did meet, and then Mr. Zerban refusing to lay before them certain papers they thought necessary, they could proceed no further in the business, the time for giving in the award elapses, and Rudge prepared to return to the Natchez having obtained a passport for that purpose from the Marquis de Casa Calvo, the Military Governor of Louisiana.

But now mark the Sequel! Mr. Zerban presents a memorial to the Marquis, alleging that he had been held to bail in an exorbitant Sum at Natchez, which he did not justly owe to Rudge's Constituent; and there-upon praying that Rudge may be detained in New Orleans, 'till all matters in dispute shall be finally settled between them!

Now, the plain English of this Spanish prayer is, that the suit at Natchez should be dismist, and Rudge left at liberty to commence another, if he chooses it, in New Orleans; in preference to which I should advise him to abandon the debt!

The Spanish Government however, very readily took the matter up, and the same Marquis who had given Mr. Rudge a passport to go to the Natchez, on Zerbans memorial countermands it; and with threats in case of disobedience orders him to remain in New Orleans, 'till his affairs with Zerban should be settled. Rudge in consequence remained some time in New Orleans, but finding himself continually harrassed by lawyers and notaries in a language he did not understand, went off privately to the Natchez.

This affair, no more than many others, wants no comment!

I had to lament that on that occasion, as well as frequently before, my situation (not having been received as Consul of the United States) prevented me from making such a representation, as might have tended to procure redress to the party aggrieved. All I could do, was to accompany the prisoner to the Marquis, and to request in a very humble manner, that he might be permitted to pursue his journey to Natchez, which was positively refused.

This application however, respectfull as it was, joined to my representations to the officers of the Customs, respecting the boats from the Ohio, I have no doubt, procured me the haughty and humiliating letter address to me by the Marquis de Casa Calvo on the 30th of april past, of which I have the honor to enclose you a copy, as well as of my answer. This last, was contemptuously returned to me unopened, because the address was in English; and accompanied by a note from the Secretary, saying "That he returned me my letter unopened, by order of the Military Governor, who not being an Englishman nor I neither, he ought not to receive an official letter in any language but the Spanish!"

Now, its to be remembered, that on different occasions, I had written several official letters to the Marquis in English, which he received and answered very politely.

The cause of this insult must therefore be sought for, elsewhere than in his recent dislike to the English language.

To avoid any further mortification, my answer was sent in Spanish.

You will observe Sir, that the Marquis now affects to regard me as an officer of the Spanish Militia. It is true that I was formerly ordered to act as such, and did obey; but it is equally true that the Marquis has for near two years past had in his possession the original letter of his Predecessor in office Don Francisco Bouligny, accepting in a most formal manner my resignation,³² and thanking me for my Services.

It is also as certain, that ever since the Marquis' arrival in New Orleans, now near two years, he has seen me publicly wear the uniform of the American Navy, (which has now become so offensive to him) without making the smallest objection to it; and moreover, he knows that I did not put that uniform on, but by the express permission of his Predecessor, signified to me in writing by the then and present Secretary of Government.³³

It is of little consequence to my Country, (however it may affect me) whether I wear a brown coat, or a blue one; but the Marquis, not content with cavilling at my dress, has, in his letter of the 30th of April, ordered me in the most positive terms, to refrain from *every Consular function*; and, having no power to resist, I must obey.³⁴

Soon after this mandate was sent to me, a somewhat similar one was address to Mr. Hulings, the Vice Consul, forbidding him also the wearing an American uniform, and from performing any Consular act whatever.³⁵ He came instantly to know my intentions on the occasion, professing that his duty lead him to conform exactly to them. I told him, that I looked upon the orders we had received, to be so violent, so oppressive to many

³² In a letter of Jones to Bouligny, Aug. 15, 1799 (copy in Consular Despatches, N. O.), Jones resigns the commission in the Louisiana militia which he had received from Carondelet. It appears that he supposed he thus became a citizen of the United States. A copy of Bouligny's reply, Aug. 17, 1799, accepting his resignation and thanking him for faithful service, is also *ibid.*, and in A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1659. Jefferson in 1788, when transmitting from Paris the consular convention he had negotiated with France, recommended that only native citizens of the United States should be appointed consuls, all others being named vice-consuls. *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-1789* (ed. 1837), II. 195-196. In the first appointments under the new government, in 1790, 1791, and 1792, the distinction was closely observed. After that it was not. The Senate, after some hesitation, left the matter open, resolving, June 17, 1790, "that it may be expedient to advise and consent to the appointment of foreigners to the office of Consul or Vice-Consul for the United States". *Exec. Jour.*, I. 51.

³³ Casa Calvo to Jones, Apr. 30, 1801. A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 137. Jones to Casa Calvo, May 1, submitting, *ibid.*

³⁴ Some governments at this time prescribed uniforms for consuls as such, but no statute has ever provided them for consuls of the United States. The name of Evan Jones does not occur in Dr. Paullin's lists of naval officers in *The Navy of the American Revolution*, nor in Hamersly.

³⁵ Casa Calvo to Hulings, May 1, 1801, inclosure in Hulings to the Secretary, May 2. Consular Letters, N. O.; also in A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 137, with Hulings's reply, May 4, submitting.

Citizens of the U. S. and so totally devoid of that hospitality and friendship they had a right to expect, that I thought myself bound to make an immediate representation of the matter to the Governmt. of the U. S. and wait their orders thereupon.

He exprest his entire conviction of the propriety of this resolution, and we parted.

The next day, I saw, without surprise, appear, a private agent; who I presume was of the family of Messrs. X, Y, and Z, the agents of Mr. Tallyrand.

That gentleman, after much circumlocution, and expressing the personal esteem the Marquis had for me, as well as his great regard for the interest of the Citizens of the U. S. etc. proceeded to inform me that he (the Marquis) had found himself under a political obligation to give the orders he had given on the 30th of April, but, that he (the agent) was authorised to say, if I thought proper to confine my Consular functions to giving Certificates of property, and drawing protests etc. for American Citizens, in so private a manner as that the Spanish Government might appear to be ignorant of it, I might rest assured the Marquis woud wink at it.

I answered, that I had never made any parade of the exercise of my office, the functions of which were generally of the kind he mentioned, performed in my own Counting house, and in addition to which, I had only ventured to make a few respectful representations in favor of some of my Countrymen—That my situation in New Orleans, had never been equal to what it woud have been, even in the Havana, where tho' the Consul is not positively accredited, his publick agency is permitted, and his assistance accepted in all cases where the interest of the Citizens of the U. S. is concerned—That upon the present occasion, my duty impel'd me to appeal directly to the Government of the U. S. whose dignity I thought. I shoud commit, if I acted as he proposed.

He left me therefore, and immediately went to hold out the same insidious terms to the Vice Consul, who to my astonishment appeared entirely disposed to listen to them, notwithstanding his previous promise to act entirely in conformity to my opinion!

Mr. Hulings alleged, that the interest of many Citizens of the U. S. might suffer for want of such Certificates of property etc. as we usually gave, and that several persons had advised him to continue to act. But, that ground seemed quite untenable, because such Certificates signed by two or three Merchants, woud have answered the same purpose, and even a better, as they might have been drawn in such a manner as clearly to show the unfriendly disposition of the Spanish Government.

I remarked to Mr. Hulings, that he was about to commit the dignity of the Government of the U. S. without any sufficient cause—That his conduct woud only invite new oppressions, and that, as it clearly appeared from the overtures of the agent, the Marquis was already sensible he had gone too far, a little firmness on our parts, woud certainly in a few days procure a revocation of the orders, and place us on a more respectable footing than we had ever been. My reasons like my entreaties were in vain! Mr. Hulings determined to act in opposition to both, for those were all I had to offer; as neither he nor I conceived I had any authority to prevent him.

He, has always taken the full fees of office for what he has done, while I have taken none at all, from which however, I do not claim any merit.

Throughout the whole of this mortifying scene, I had the satisfaction of acting directly in conformity to the advice of the Honble. Judge Bay of Charleston,³⁶ who happened to be in N. Orleans at the time.

I have now shown you Sir, the unenviable ground on which I stand, and how much, in a variety of cases, the property as well as liberty of many Citizens of the U. S. may depend on the will of the Governor of New Orleans. It will be for the wisdom of the Government of those States to determine what, or whether anything is necessary to be done on the occasion; as well as whether under such, or under any circumstances, the Vice Consul has a right to act without the orders and contrary to the approbation of the Consul?

My letter has already become enormously long. Yet I must entreat your indulgence while I mention one or two matters more, which among many others, I think it necessary you should know.

The Estates of American Citizens dying Intestate in Louisiana, instead of going into the hands of the Consul for³⁷ And of the heirs, are taken possession of by the Military Governor, tho' the Civil Govt. also claims a right to dispose of such Estates.

In the article of depositing and reshipping American property, many gross abuses are practised. I shall just instance the article of Cotton.

As there is no fixt and publick place of deposite in New Orleans, every planter, or trader, coming with Cotton from the Natchez etc. reports it to the Spanish Custom house, where a note of it remains, and is called the deposite of A B, let us say. But the Cotton is transported to whatever warehouse the owner pleases. Now, instead of 100 bales which A B really had, he reports 150; and when he wants to ship Cotton he has only to send a note to the Custom house, saying, that from the deposite of A B, 150 bales of American Cotton are shipt on board the ship C D, tho' 50 of them are really Spanish.

Large quantities of Cotton, the growth of Louisiana, are reported too at the Custom house, as coming from the Mississippi Territory—and lastly, there are people, who in concert with some of the under Clerks of the Custom house, find means of clearing out as many bales of Spanish Cotton as they please, calling it American, on the Shipper paying about 13½ Cents a bale.

Thus, almost all the Cotton of Louisiana, and the quantity is very considerable, goes into the Atlantick States free of duty.

When the government of the U. S. considers the vast encreasing intercourse between their Citizens and the subjects of Spain in Louisiana, they cannot, I think, doubt a moment, about the necessity of having some person to represent them here. What the abilities, reputation, and zeal of that person for their interests should be, it will be for them to determine.

It appears to me, that if ever a Consul is established in New Orleans, not only a particular convention with Spain, but a particular law of the U. S. will be necessary for his government; and for that of those Citizens who have any business with him—A law clearly defining his powers, and pointing out which of the Citizens of those States shall from obligation apply and report to him on their arrival and departure, for if such applications and reports are to depend on the Courtesy of the Spanish Government, or on the will and pleasure of those who ought to make them, the

³⁶ Elihu H. Bay, a judge in South Carolina from 1791 to 1838, and author of *Bay's Reports*.

³⁷ The word "for" should apparently have been stricken out.

Consul will always be a Cypher, and the rights and interests of Americans be trampled on.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be

Sir

Your Most Obedient and

Most huml. Serv.

EVAN JONES

Consul of the U. S.

The Honble.

John Marshall, or

Secretary of State for the time being.

II. DANIEL CLARK TO SECRETARY MADISON.³⁸

NEW ORLEANS 22 June 1802

Sir!

In compliance with your direction, to point out such objects as would require the interference of our Government, with this of Spain, to ascertain our rights, and procure redress, and at the same time to have your instructions to regulate my own conduct, as well, towards the Spanish Government, as in the intercourse with our own citizens; I now have the honor to lay before you the Situation of affairs, and earnestly intreat, you will as soon as possible, take the same into consideration, being of importance to the welfare and commerce of the Western States, and indeed of the U. States in general.

You are already advised, of the disagreeable predicament in which I am placed, by the refusal of the Spanish Government, to recognize a Consul for the U. S., in any port in their American dominions, and of the new order from the Governor of Louisiana, to the Vice Consul, to suspend the exercise of his functions: Copy of which, with his answer, has been transmitted to you. The indispensable necessity of an official character, duly recognized here, to protect the Commerce and Citizens of the U. States, is too well known to you, to need any comment on my part, I therefore content myself with merely mentioning the point, confident that the Government will not fail to insist on it with the Court of Spain.

To give you an idea of the Trade of the Country, and the manner in which it has been carried on for many years, it may be necessary, to refer you to the communications I made to Col. Pickering, when Secretary of State, which I believe are in your possession.³⁹ Under the regulations there mentioned, and covered by the Spanish flag, our vessels traded to Louisiana till 1798, when in consequence of an application I made to the Intendant, and by him referred to the Chamber of Commerce, our vessels were put on the same footing, with respect to imports and exports, as their own, and the duties reduced from 21, to 6 per Ct. This privilege, we have enjoyed without interruption ever since, except in two instances, Viz: an attempt to prohibit the importation of Sugar and taffia, and the exportation of board and lumber to Havana; in order to encourage the growth of the former, and to limit the carriage of the latter to their own bottoms; from both of which, the Government was obliged to relax, on account of the inconvenience resulting from it to the Province.

³⁸ A copy of this letter was made for Monroe, and is in the Monroe MSS. in the Library of Congress.

³⁹ Letters of Mar. 17, Apr. 18, June 14, 1798, Nov. 18, 1799, in Consular Letters, N. O.

Since the publication of the preliminary articles of Peace with Gt. Britain,⁴⁰ the Intendant has signified his intention of shutting the Port as soon as the Definitive Treaty is officially promulgated, against Importations for the use of the Province of Louisiana in our bottoms, and the exportation of its produce in the same way; limiting our Commerce in this quarter, to the supplying of our own Settlements on the River, and exportation of their produce deposited in New Orleans. Of this Order we have no right to complain, however we may regret the narrow policy of the Government, which prohibits an intercourse, as advantageous to the inhabitants of Louisiana as to ourselves. But Justice to our Citizens forces me to Protest against the measures pursued by the Intendant, in requiring a security on the importation of produce, from our settlements on the river, intended to be put in deposit; this security must be given by two resident merchants of New Orleans, to be answerable for duty, in case of Sale, which for the most part is never intended; and the importer is, by this means, forced to consign his property to the Persons becoming his security, who exact a commission, which, in the present State of the markets, is a great hardship and very severely felt. The pretext for this imposition, which likewise brings a fee to the Custom House officers, was, that certain Spanish merchants, who had received Consignments from our Citizens, had instead of Shipping, sold a part of them in the Country, and had not accounted for the duties; tho' they were charged to the owners of the property. This was very easy for them to effect, as there exist no Public deposit-stores, and the produce of the upper Country was suffered to be stored by each individual, where he found it most convenient for his interest. If the Spanish Merchants have acted amiss, our Citizens should not suffer for it; the present measure forces them indispensably, to pay a heavy Commission and Custom House fees for the Bonds, in addition to Storage, the only charge contemplated in the Treaty with Spain, whose duty it was to provide Stores, or suffer them to be taken by our Citizens, without annexing to it a condition, as burdensome, as it is unjust, and which often lays them entirely in the power of men, with whose characters they are not acquainted, and from whom they consequently may suffer.

Another abuse, and imposition more injurious than the foregoing, is, a duty of three per cent, exacted by order of the Intendant, since the 20th March last, on all money whether imported by sea, in our vessels, or in Boats, from our Settlements on the river, and entered in New Orleans for deposit, to be shipped to the U. S. from the one part, in return for goods purchased there, or, on the other, sent into the settlements to purchase their produce. The duties collected to this day, have already amounted to (\$552) five hundred fifty two Dollars, as will appear by Paper No. 1. herewith, and would have been infinitely greater, had not the Captains and Consignees of Boats and vessels importing Cash, in general avoided making an entry of it. Judging from this, it will appear, that this duty is a matter of the utmost importance in itself, independently of the principle on which it is exacted; and which ought by no means to be submitted to, as the same authority which pointed out 3 per cent as the ratio of duty, may, ad libitum, increase it to 50 per cent or absolutely prohibit the introduction, of it or any thing else, if the right is once acknowl-

⁴⁰ Preliminary articles of peace were signed at London Oct. 1, 1801, by Hawkesbury on behalf of Great Britain and by Otto on behalf of France and her ally Spain. The intendant was Don Juan Ventura Morales.

edged. On no pretence whatever, can this duty be demanded. It is not warranted by Treaty; it never could be supposed that the liberty of depositing our produce, and merchandize, in New Orleans, was limited merely to the Storeage of these articles, until an opportunity offered of exporting them to foreign Countries, or be supposed that the Farmer, who raised the produce, must turn Merchant, and ship it; nor that the Merchant, who imported for the use of the Upper Country, must follow his adventure to the place where it was consumed. The Place of Deposit must have been intended for a mart, where the commodities of the interior settlements might be sold to, or exchanged with, the American Merchants, and where value must be given for them; this principle is opposed by the Spanish Government, which pretends, that every thing reported for deposit, must be imported and exported by the same person; that no transfer may be made, from a Citizen of the Western, to one of the Atlantic States—that the latter, has no right to bring Cash free of Duty to purchase the produce of the former, nor the former, in like manner, to purchase the Merchandize deposited by the latter; the extension of this principle, if not avoided by the Merchants, will at once put a stop to all Commerce, and requires the immediate interference of Government, it is an abuse of too great a magnitude to admit of delay, as it may take root and require a violent remedy. The People of the Western States, and Merchants from the Atlantic ports, are loud in their clamor against it, and hope that redress will early be procured them, for the past, and for the future, security against such intolerable abuses.

The Paper No. 2, the Protest of a Mr. Cushing, is intended as an official document on the subject. The Intendant of Louisiana, has imposed this arbitrary duty, of his own accord, without any authority from his Court so to do, as he himself informed me, but he has given advice of the measure, and will continue to exact it, until the pleasure of the King of Spain is known. Should the Court approve of it, it will be rigorously adhered to, until our Government interferes, and forces the Ministers to punish the officers, who dare commit an outrage of this nature, on our property—violate the Treaty, and insult the nation, by usurping a power of dictating to it, in its most important concerns. I would beg leave to suggest, that in future, no duty or fee of any kind should be imposed, without its concurrence—if this is not done, we shall be constantly exposed to new impositions, on new pretexts, and neither our persons, nor our property will be in safety.

Prevented from remonstrating *officially*, I waited on the Intendant, as an Individual, whom he knew to possess the confidence of his Government, manifested the injustice of the proceeding, reminded him, that he had last year consulted me to know whether I thought our Citizens would agree to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to an officer, whom he should appoint to take charge of all Specie imported, and who should be responsible for it; that I had then replied, that I thought the charge exorbitant, that it would not be submitted to, and desired him to recollect, that in consequence of the reasons then alleged, he gave up the point and requested me not to mention it. I asked him, why, after this, he had so enormously increased the ratio of duty? he replied that 3 per cent, was a fee paid in Spain, to the person appointed to receive all public deposits, and that he could do no less than allow the same here—in vain did I observe that the case was different, as there were here two Parties, the American, and Spanish Governments, and that without the consent of the former, the latter had no right to impose any duty whatever. He spoke of the Storeage men-

tioned in the Treaty,⁴¹ to which I replied, that *he* had not the right of saying how much it was to be—that Cash required but little room and could pay but little storeage, were the U. S. even to consent that any should be paid for it.

At same time assured him, that this would probably occasion a very serious misunderstanding between the Countries, if persisted in; towards the close of our conversation, he admitted that it might, but seemed regardless of it, as he said the matter would then concern the Court, as its approbation before then, would relieve him from all responsibility. When I mentioned my surprize, that he could think it possible, that the Court would approve of such a measure, he said, there would be nothing extraordinary in it, as the Prince of Peace, had some time since, ordered him to impose a duty of six per cent on all produce which might be exported from our settlements, and on merchandize which might be imported for their use; which he had not complied with, as he supposed the Prince of Peace had in this case, forgot the stipulations of the Treaty, and that the thing was too glaring to be submitted to.⁴²

From this you may judge, Sir, of the necessity of making such representations to the Court of Spain as will put it in mind of its engagements with us and will induce it, to give orders more agreeable to its stipulations, and which the officers shall be obliged punctually to comply with. I need not comment, on the Ignorance manifested on the part of the Minister, nor on the power usurped by the Officer in Luisiana, you will perceive the necessity of having the latter limited in future in all matters, which regard the Citizens of the U. States. I regret, that circumstanced as I am, I could not address the Intendant officially on the subject, which would have compelled him to answer me in writing so that I might have transmitted you his letters, as proofs of what I advance; you may however rely, that I have liberally advised you of what passed between us on the subject.

In addition to what I have already said, he mentioned, that he thought his Government authorized, to prohibit the residence of our Citizens, even for a few days at a time, in New Orleans, who might come there for the purpose of carrying on business, and that they might be restricted to their shipping; so preposterous an idea required but little ingenuity to refute, yet I am fully persuaded the thing may one day be attempted, and I think it necessary to give you this timely notice, to be prepared and to guard against the evil consequences that would result from attempting to carry it into execution. I told him when speaking on this subject, that our Government would insist upon having a deposit elsewhere, than at New Orleans, in some convenient place, where our Citizens would erect Stores to receive and to ship their produce from, and make their Exchanges at,⁴³ which would be very injurious to that City. He seemed sensible of it and I think a demand of this kind made by our Ambassador, and the reasons for doing so made public, even if the point were not insisted on,

⁴¹ Treaty of 1795, art. XXII.: "to deposit their merchandize and effects in the port of New-Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores."

⁴² King to intendant, Aranjuez, Jan. 13, 1803, approving three per cent. charge, in Consular Despatches, N. O.

⁴³ Treaty, art. XXII.: "or if he [the King of Spain] should not agree to continue it there, he will assign to them on another part of the banks of the Mississippi an equivalent establishment."

would be productive of much benefit—would procure us better treatment and would deter officers, from doing many things, when they found their conduct attracted the notice of the Government of the United States.

The situation of the Inhabitants on the Tombigbee, and the very serious inconveniencies they labor under, in being denied the right of importing or exporting in American bottoms by way of Mobile, must I presume be known to you. They are at present obliged to supply their wants from New Orleans, where the Merchandize they consume has already paid a duty, and the productions of the Country, not being allowed to be shipped direct for any market but that of New Orleans, are there subjected to a duty of 6 per cent on importation and as much more on exportation. This expence is the more sensibly felt, as their fellow Citizens of the western part of the same territory, can send their produce to market, by way of the Mississippi, and are not subjected to it, and the principle being admitted with respect to that river, must, I think, of necessity, be extended to all others in similar cases.

I was in hopes that the Member from the Mississippi Territory to Congress, had been instructed by the Legislature, to bring this matter before the Executive, but hearing nothing on the subject, suppose that his Death prevented it.⁴⁴

The want of American Pilots at the Balize is much felt by all those who navigate to this Country; delays, and losses, have often arisen, which can be imputed to this cause alone. There are none, but open boats, employed by the Spaniards, and vessels must arrive at the very mouth of the Pass, before a Pilot ventures off to them. Strangers arriving, are often in sight of the land a week before they discover, what particular point they should steer for; and very frequently, it is only by the departure of some vessel, or the arrival of one whose Captain is well acquainted with the navigation, that they at last come near the Bar where the Pilot boards them. If desirous of sounding the pass, they are prevented, altho' the Treaty expressly provides for the free navigation of the river from its Source to the Sea.⁴⁵ In case of grounding, there is no assistance to be procured nearer than N. Orleans; the delay that takes place before it can be obtained, exposes to shipwreck, and the scenes which in some of these occasions have taken place are shameful, beyond description. Every thing which could be, was plundered; and such difficulties thrown in the way of the sufferers that all attempts at procuring redress proved ineffectual.

The right of laying Embargoes, and detaining our shipping in the Mississippi, is another vexation to which our Commerce is exposed, and from which it can only be relieved by the interference of our Government. On the slightest pretence, these Embargoes have repeatedly taken place. Did an English Privateer appear before the Balize, the American Shipping were detained from a fear of giving information—was a Spanish ship expected to arrive, or preparing to sail, our shipping were still the victims of their prudence, and no entreaties, no expostulations could prevail, to have these Embargoes taken off till the object for which it was laid on was obtained. A low species of cunning and duplicity, unworthy even of those who practised them were made use of. Vessels were allowed to depart from New Orleans, furnished with the usual Pass, but

⁴⁴ Narsworthy Hunter, delegate to the Seventh Congress from the Mississippi Territory, died Mar. 11, 1802. His successor did not take his seat till Dec. 6.

⁴⁵ See note 30, *supra*.

when arrived at the Balize, the Pilots had orders to detain them—on complaint being made, the blame was laid on the pilots, but it was in vain to expect redress; and this farce, being from time to time renewed, as was found necessary, plainly showed, that the pilots always acted by order of Government, as this conduct was never pursued by them except on the particular cases before mentioned. To show how our Citizens were treated on these occasions and what they were exposed to, I forward you No. 3, a statement drawn up by Mr. Robert Lowry, of Baltimore, of what he himself witnessed and experienced; this is not a singular instance, the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. D. W. Coxe of Philadelphia and the detention of two of his ships some time since, in consequence of a dispute with the Pilots, is another instance of their arbitrary and unjust proceedings.

The intercourse, between our settlements on the waters of the Mississippi, and New Orleans, is now very great, and must in the natural course of things, daily increase. Great numbers of people are employed in navigating the Boats, which transport our produce to the place of Deposit, yet not one, even of these, is suffered to depart, tho' it be in an American vessel, without a Passport, for which a dollar and a half is exacted, and which it is often difficult to pay among boatmen. However trifling this tax may appear, when collected from each person, yet in the aggregate it forms a large sum, which the People of the Western Country already find oppressive and have often, tho' in vain, refused to pay.

On the death of a Citizen of the United States on the Mississippi, a misfortune which but too frequently occurs in the Summer, his property if he die intestate falls into the hands of Justice or the Administrators of it, and before the formalities can be complied with, the expences that accrue often consume the whole, nor is this all, the Government names the Administrator, in whose hands the proceeds are placed, and instances may occur where these depositaries prove unfaithful. During Governor Gayoso's administration, the Consul being recognized, took the steps pointed out by Law, to secure all property so left for the Heirs; but his successor⁴⁶ suspended the Consul from his functions, and ordered that in future all property left by Persons dying in Orleans should be disposed of as above related.

I flatter myself, that it will be required only to make these points known, to procure the interference of the Government of the United States, in favor of our Commerce, which stands at present, so much in need of its care and protection.

As in future the American vessels which navigate the Mississippi, will be prohibited from trading with the Spanish part of the province, and their commerce will be confined to a traffic with our own settlements, whose productions are deposited in New Orleans, should not the river be considered as common to the two nations, and our Vessels while in it, as in our own waters? The Spaniards already so far acknowledge this principle, that no Custom House officer is put on board of a vessel, whose sole object is to deposit a Cargo in Orleans, for the upper Country, or to receive produce entirely of its growth. But should it not be further extended, so that our vessels in no case whatever should be subjected to

⁴⁶ Brigadier-General Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos was governor from Aug. 1, 1797, to his death on July 18, 1799. His successor, the Marqués de Casa Calvo, served from September of that year to June 15, 1801, when he was succeeded by Brigadier-General Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo.

visits, searches, or the Crews, or Passengers, to arrest? As public vessels in foreign ports are exempted from searches, under the idea that national property is a part of the territory of the nation to which it belongs, and that consequently no foreign nation has a right to exercise a jurisdiction over it, so I look upon our Merchant vessels, on the Mississippi, as in our territory, and entitled to the privileges of national ships, in foreign ports—how far I should insist on this principle being acknowledged, on any future occasion, will lie with you to determine and if, as I wish, it ought to be asserted, I will not fail to do it strenuously, when exertion shall be called for.

It has lately become a practice with many traders and planters, bringing their produce to market, to navigate their boats with their Slaves, when hirelings could not be had—they have often met with difficulties, from the officers of the first Spanish forts below the Natchez; on some occasions, the Slaves have been taken out of the boats, and detained until the owner returned; on others, they have been compelled to find securities to reproduce the Slaves, there, on their way home at a stated time, and this has even occurred in New Orleans. To prevent a Sale of Slaves on their territory, is the pretext for this abuse of power, when the penalties annexed to such a practice are, I think, sufficiently secure, amounting in case of conviction, to confiscation of the Slave and imprisonment of the parties interested.

During the late War shipments of money (which are forbid by the laws of Spain) were often made for account of our Citizens, and under different pretexts, the vessels in which such shipments were made, were carried into British ports, where for want of proofs of property, they were often detained, until the Merchants of the U. S. could forward them. I solicit your advice to know, whether on any occasion I should grant a Certificate of property when I know a shipment to be made contrary to the existing laws; serious inconveniencies have often resulted from the want of them, but as the case appears to be delicate, I shall not presume to judge of it but await your decision, for the rule of my conduct.

As the Trade of Luisiana is now an object of importance,⁴⁷ and we shall in future be altogether excluded from it, measures might probably be taken with the Court of Spain, to procure us a participation in it, were it only on the same terms, on which, the inhabitants are allowed to trade with the Nations of Europe. They are now at liberty, to carry on a Commerce, under the Spanish flag, with any European Country, with which Spain is at peace, to receive from thence every thing they stand in need of, and ship off all the produce of the Country on paying duty of 6 per cent on Imports and Exports. With the U. States, this Commerce was interdicted, because Spain at that time had no Consuls in our ports and the regulation still exists; altho' a great many articles of India manufacture especially and some of the produce of the Country, must for a long time take a circuitous route by way of Europe from the U. S. before they reach the Province, which, from long use, they cannot and will not do without. Spain being neither a manufacturing, nor Commercial Country, derives no benefit whatever from Luisiana; a few small vessels with fruit and wines, keep up the only direct communication she has with it, and the returns for these cargoes are often made to the Ports of France. As the

⁴⁷ Figures as to its remarkable growth, from 1794 (introduction of sugar-cane) to 1799, are given in Channing, *History of the United States*, IV. 311-312, from the Archives of the Indies, Seville.

trade is therefore open to the nations of Europe, the exception seems singular in respect to us, and on application might be done away—if this were the case, the facility of masking our own vessels under the Spanish flag, the cheapness of our navigation compared with theirs, the industry, activity and Capitals of our Citizens who in the name of resident Citizens of New Orleans could carry on trade there, would not fail to engross a large share of the business of the Country to the great advantage of the United States. I have the Honor to remain with Sentiments of respect and Esteem

Your most obedient
and humble Servant
DANIEL CLARK

The Honble
James Madison

III. W. E. HULINGS TO SECRETARY MADISON.⁴⁸

triplicate Duplicate per Brig *Mariner*
Via N York

NEW ORLEANS 20th Jan'y 1803

Sir

Your letter of the 29th November 1802, together with a letter for his Excellency the Govern. and one for the Intend't. were handed to me about 9 o'clock last Eveng. by an express from Govern. Claiborne, and were duly delivered by me. The inclosures for the Spanish Minister⁴⁹ are answers to the subject, having been prepared to go by a Capt. Danavre, who bro't. the originals from Philada. and who arrived here about the 13th Inst.—As usual in this Gov't. where the people have nothing to do with Governmental affairs, secrecy was observed on the arrival of the dispatches, however, it leaked out that such had arrived, their contents were guessed at, and the accounts ran as various as the imaginations of those that framed them; Yet the general impression was, that the Minister near the U. S. disapproved the Intend't's measures, and recommended the removal of the prohibition to deposit.—The Gazettes have truly stated that the Govern. was opposed to the act of the Intend't.—About the 21st Oct'r. last

⁴⁸ Hulings, vice-consul, was acting in lieu of Clark. Clark was absent from New Orleans (the second time that year) from late June, 1802, till Feb. 25, 1803. Letters in 6 Wallace 678 enable us to trace his journeyings: June 27, Plaquemines, hoping "tomorrow to get to sea"; July 27, Wilmington; Philadelphia till Aug. 7; New York, Aug. 17, sailing the next day; Oct. 7, Liverpool, having been there three days. In a letter to Wilkinson, New Orleans, Feb. 26, 1803, printed in the latter's *Memoirs*, II. 249, he says, "I arrived here late last night from Europe, last from Liverpool. I was in Paris till late in November. . . . I sailed from Liverpool on the 24th December". On Dec. 23 he writes to Madison from the Mersey (Consular Letters, N. O.) announcing the great expedition which Victor was to conduct from the ports of Holland to Louisiana. An interview he had with Victor in early November, and what he learned from the conversation, are recorded in Livingston to Madison, Nov. 11, *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, II. 526-527. Hulings's letter to Madison, Oct. 18, enclosing Morales's decree of Oct. 16 closing the port of deposit, is printed *ibid.*, II. 469-470.

⁴⁹ The Marqués de Casa Yrujo. His letter to Morales, Nov. 26, 1802, disapproving the closure, and the latter's reply, Jan. 15, are summarized in Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III. 576-577.

I waited on the Govr. and had a conversation with him on the subject of the deposit;⁵⁰ he assured me that he had opposed the Intendt. as far as he possibly could, without taking the responsibility on himself. That the Intendt. had done it on his own authority and responsibility, as he knew of no orders from his C. Majesty for that purpose; all of which was confirmed to me by the Secrey. of Govern.⁵¹ the same day. Notwithstandg. the Govr. gave the matter up, and the Intendt's decree was, and continues to be strictly executed to the extreme prejudice of the Citizens of the United States; who are denied the rights of hospitality in distress, as exemplified in the Case of Col. John Ellis, and Majr. Wm. Gordon Forman, communicated to you in my letter of 25 Novr. ulto.—The Intendt. is very reserved even to his chief Officers, and choosing to consider me only as a private Stranger, avoids giving (as it appears to me) an Opportunity to say any thing about the business in question. Nor have I been able to learn from any of the heads of the Departmts. (with all of whom I am well acquainted) any thing that shou'd have come from the Intendt. relative to the authority on which he acted. The said Officers are generally of Opinion that no orders have been recd. by the Intendt.⁵²

If I might venture to offer an Opinion on a subject so well understood by you, I woud suggest that if the Intendt. open the port of deposit at the recommendation of the Minister, it will only operate as an Opiate; palliating, instead of eradicating the Evil; a repetition of the injury dependg. on the Caprice of an Intendt., and the acquiescence, or *non resistance* of a Govern.—perhaps the present Circumstances offer the most favorable Opportunity to obtain a right in perpetuity to deposit in the town of New Orleans, (much the most desirable place, on Account of the many conveniences readily to be had) or if that is not Obtainable, to have an eligible, and permanent Establishment elsewhere, on the Banks of the Mississippi. Also to have their Consul, or agent Acknowledged, and furnished with the Royal Exequatur; a circumstance indispensably necessary, if the American trade, or the deposit exist here.—Neither of these concessions wou'd benefit the American Govern. so much as the possession of the east Coast of the Mississippi from the present American limit's to the Sea. This establishmt. wou'd enable it to defend it's rights from the wanton encroachmt. of foreign Officers, secure the peaceable navigation of the River, and serve as a strong frontier Post to the rich, and growing western States. The quantity of sugar that might be produced with an improved culture of Extensive tracts of land, that now lay waste, is no inconsiderable weight in the scale of interest, and independence in foreign Countries.

I can learn nothing certain respecting the comg. of the French, nor do I discover any preparation for the delivery of the Country; nor do I suppose there will be any other than what is ordained in the royal order that I did myself the pleasure to transmit to you in a letter of the 15th Decr. last; the Copy of which I obtained privately by a friend. I need not pray you to use it as such.

⁵⁰ Morales's celebrated decree of Oct. 16, 1802, closing New Orleans as port of deposit under the treaty of 1795; text in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, II. 470

⁵¹ Don Andrés López y Armesto.

⁵² And so Morales declared to Laussat (Henry Adams, *History*, I. 420-421), but the contrary was the fact; Morales was ordered by the King of Spain to stop deposits, but to declare that he did it as the result of his own investigations. See the order in Channing, *History*, IV. 326-327.

The navigation of the River Mobile up to the American Forts, and from Mobile to New Orleans by way of the Lakes, and the Bayou (Creek) St. John, is an object of much growg. importance to the U. S. Indeed is positively necessary to the welfare of the American Settlements on that fine river.

I am Sir,

Most respectfully

Your very humle Servt. etc. etc.

WM E. HULINGS

The Honble

James Madison

Secry. of State

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Spiritual Element in History. By ROBERT McLAUGHLIN.
(New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon Press. 1926. Pp. 312.
\$2.50.)

SPEAKING for the German situation Paul Tillich has said that the present engrossing theme is the metaphysic of history and that it is farther advanced than *die Metaphysik des Seins*. To that field properly belongs the problem which Mr. McLaughlin attempts to solve, the problem of the final meaning of history. The historian's task, he grants, is not the search for that final meaning, but, as he expresses it, to recapture the processes of the past by explaining the relation of facts that constitute events. Nevertheless he is addressing historians asking whether the historical process may not exhibit such a character as will induce them to transcend the limits of their departmental method and elicit from the movement of history conclusions consonant with faiths that are fundamental to Christianity. Modern science, he holds, tends to a spiritual view of nature; may not historical study also relate itself to this tendency? He would have us consider the past which history studies as due to the activity of three forms of energy, physical, mental, spiritual, and see these as varied forms of the expression of one Vast Mind Energy, so that the finite movement of life which the historian describes will mean an infinite in process of realization.

Inasmuch as it is normal for all men to have metaphysical faiths, however crude and awkward they may be, no historian need harden his heart to the invitation of this or kindred books, and since this is written by one who shows extensive historical reading, it merits consideration.

Mr. McLaughlin's argument seems somewhat blurred by repetitions, irrelevances, *obiter dicta*, but frequent summaries make the direct course of it reappear. It is an argument that historical occurrences are determined by the dominance of one or another of three conditioning factors: the action of the physical environment and economic necessity (Marx), of rational ideas (Hegel), or of constraining spiritual ideals (Augustine). These three "energies" co-operate so that comparison of the resultant events will justify the inference of certain laws of history, the term law meaning "repetitive constancy of events". The laws discovered are sequence of events, unity pervading events, progress seen in events. As the ground of such relatedness, Mr. McLaughlin holds we must infer a Vast Mind Energy, a Being who in his creation is in process of becoming, though he also transcends that process. Involved in this continuing process human life has a goal—perfected personality, and that is already

historically exhibited in Christ, absolutely perfect in character and with absolute perfection of teaching. The faith which accepts the assumption of God in history is faith in Christ.

It may be questioned whether these tentative generalizations about the process of history are an adequate basis for so great a conclusion, a conclusion which utters the divinations of a religious consciousness with its own independent and valid procedure.

One may question also whether the physical, mental, and spiritual conditions found for historical events are properly termed energy. Surely, also, an historian may object to the representation of Hegel as meaning anything so trivial as that rational ideas play a part in historical events. Hegel's explanation of all history by the dialectic process of the Absolute Self is another matter. And what precisely is meant by the spiritual element? As most often expressed it seems to mean the immanent influence of human ideals, while on other pages it means an influx of transcendent spiritual energy, or what the theologians term grace. But even with such hesitating questions, a reflective historian will find useful suggestions in the work.

F. A. C.

Decline of the West. By OSWALD SPENGLER, translated by Charles F. Atkinson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1926. Pp. xviii, 443. \$6.00.)

THIS stout volume, the first of two, affords convincing evidence that its author has amassed a prodigious store of learning, incomparable to that possessed by any other living historian, save possibly Eduard Meyer. Others besides myself, in witnessing the huge volume of historical writing, have doubtless asked whither it all led, what the goal might be. A consoling thought has always been that one day a giant mind would arise endowed with power to grasp this stupendous mass of erudition, with insight to perceive the true relations between its diverse and multitudinous details; a mind endowed as well with penetration to fathom its deepest meaning and with literary power to make this meaning clear to less vigorous and perspicacious minds. To this ideal Spengler has made a close approach. He has done more than any other thinker to give logical order and coherence to the vast and perplexing mass of human happenings, to show the organic and spiritual bonds which give them unity, and to find their ultimate significance.

In expounding his conception of history Spengler contrasts two modes of knowing or apprehending the world. One mode, the scientific, shows us the world organized as nature; the other, the historical, shows us the world organized as history. Science deals with things-become, with dead forms which are mechanically defined, with forms correct once for all, which can be numbered, measured, and brought under law. Science thus creates, or synthesizes the world-as-nature.

History, on the other hand, deals with things-becoming, with human

life and development; with living nature in contrast to dead nature, with the world-as-organism in contrast to the world-as-mechanism. This changing human life, with all its manifestations in the past and present, is the world-as-history. Its components can not be measured, calculated, or reduced under law; it is not subject even to the law of cause and effect. It is, on the contrary, governed by Destiny, which fact constitutes the essence and kernel of all history.

In looking backward over human history we find that it comprises various cultures, as the Egyptian, Indian, Classical, and Western. Each of these cultures is a vast, living, human organism, endowed with an ego, a personality, with a metaphysical structure, a culture-soul. The culture-soul expresses itself in all the phenomena of its history, in peoples and nations, in language and literature, in government, science, the arts, and all other conceivable human manifestations. These are the expression-forms of the soul and together constitute the culture. Through them the soul actualizes itself and history is thus a culture-soul in process of becoming.

The visible surface of history, with its vast number of events, institutions, and phenomena generally, has the same relation to the culture-soul as do the appearance, bearing, manner, air, stride of the individual person to his soul. "In the knowledge of men these things exist and matter. The body is an expression of the soul. But henceforth 'knowledge of men' implies also knowledge of those superlative human organisms which I call Cultures and of their mien, their speech, their acts—these terms being meant as we mean them already in the case of the individual" (p. 101). "What concerns us is not what the historical facts *are* which appear at this time or that, but what they *signify*, what they point to by appearing" (p. 6). One problem of the historian, therefore, is to study the superficies, the external and visible phenomena of a culture, in order to understand the nature of the metaphysical structure of which they are the symbol or expression. Thus to read the soul of a culture through its exterior Spengler calls the art of "Physiognomic". He states as follows the all-inclusive problem on which the historians of the future will labor: "In a hundred years all sciences that are still possible on this soil (the West) will be parts of a single, vast Physiognomic of all things human. That is what the morphology of world history means" (p. 100). And for Spengler to create a morphology of world history is the supreme problem of the historians; to the present time they have done little more than accumulate the data from which the real history will be written.

As the great cultures are organisms, and as youth, maturity, and old age are fundamental to everything organic, Spengler transfers these notions to the sphere of history, though at times he designates as spring, summer, autumn, and winter the stages which all cultures must traverse in ordered and obligatory sequence. The cultures develop, however, with no more plan, aim, or goal than a group of butterflies or orchids; each grows as a plant grows, because of inward driving force, because it must fulfill its destiny. They are not even governed by the law of causality.

One complex of phenomena is no more the cause of the succeeding complex than the stem causes the leaf or the bud the blossom.

Parallel stages in the development of each culture have the same characteristics, though not revealed in the same expression-forms, because each culture is unique in its metaphysical being. This parallelism is summarized in tables at the close of the book, where the resemblances between several of the great cultures in each stage of their development may be seen.

When a culture-soul has realized, or actualized, all its possibilities in expression-forms, as government, literature, economics, and religion, it becomes a civilization. "Civilizations are the most external and artificial states of which a species of developed humanity is capable. They are a conclusion, the thing-become succeeding the thing-becoming, death following life, rigidity following expansion, intellectual age and the stone-built petrifying world-city following mother earth and the spiritual childhood of the Doric and Gothic. They are an end, irrevocable, yet by inward necessity reached again and again" (p. 31).

This transition from culture to civilization was accomplished, for the Western world, Spengler believes, during the nineteenth century. It is marked by a civilization centring in great cities, by the extinction of spiritual creative force, by irreligion, materialism, and imperialism. Imperialism will definitely close the history of West-European mankind. The outcome is obligatory and can not be modified. As each culture has its own unique soul and as all its historical phenomena are the expressions of this soul, they possess an inner unity, are pervaded by a deep uniformity, are bound together by a morphological relationship. One of Spengler's most brilliant intellectual feats is the analysis by which he shows the resemblance between the city-state, the geometry, the drama, the music, and the funereal customs of the Greeks and between similarly diverse expression-forms of Western culture.

His book marks an epoch in the development of historical science, because it is a new revelation of the soul of Western culture. He expounds a new philosophy and conception of history, lays down new principles of methodology, envisages new purposes and goals, and posits new problems for the historian. In brief, he works a veritable revolution in historical science.

E. E. SPERRY.

Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne par ses Anciens Élèves et ses Amis à l'Occasion de sa Quarantième Année d'Enseignement à l'Université de Gand, 1886-1926. Deux tomes. (Brussels: Vromont and Company. 1926. Pp. xxxix, 678.)

As a tribute to a great scholar and a great teacher the two handsome volumes which compose this work have seldom been equalled. The committee in charge of the enterprise deserves congratulations on its successful achievement.

The preface contains a list of books and articles published by Pirenne. This list contains over 230 titles, ranging from reviews to large collaborative works of which he was editor. This does not reckon the hundred or more brief items which he contributed to encyclopaedias of various kinds, though the subjects of biographical sketches which he contributed to the *Biographie Nationale* are appended. These works have been grouped topically under historiography, historical technics, works on general history, on special phases of general history, on the Low Countries and Belgium, on the World War, and miscellaneous. The list, while truly impressive in amount and variety, is even more impressive as a record of remarkable fidelity to the ideals of historical scholarship.

At first glance, one misses any attempt at a biographical sketch or estimate of the significance of Pirenne's scholarship. Trained in the most exacting school of historical scholarship of Europe, he profited from his own location to appreciate alike German profundity and meticulous criticism, French clarity, and English devotion to the actual. He was thoroughly schooled in the critical discussion of the origins of the mark and market, nobility and bourgeoisie, but he was able to avoid the metaphysical and arid extremes to which that investigation led. Never losing the fine craftsmanship which that training afforded, he turned it rather to the more actual and productive field of economic history in which he has become a great master. By treating the institutional phases of economic life, he commanded the respect of those of his contemporaries who delved most deeply in the metaphysical aspects of institutional history, but he also kept in view the actual activities in industry, commerce, and community life by which those institutions were always modified. For this he likewise commands the respect of the best of the more recent scholarship. His forty years of teaching, the occasion for this tribute, and his even longer period of productive scholarship have left him the outstanding figure among the active workers in this field. Most of his great contemporaries are already gone or recently retired. He alone remains of the great trio of Belgian historians—Godefroy Kurth, Paul Fredericq, and Henri Pirenne—who conferred such distinction upon their little country.

The well-chosen pastel portrait showing the scholar in his study which is reproduced in the frontispiece, the classified list of his writings, and the list of his pupils and friends who contributed to these volumes, form the most agreeable biographical sketch possible at this time. The list of the contributors, sixty-five in number, contains the names of distinguished scholars from Belgium, Holland, France, England, Italy, Spain, Norway, Greece, Egypt, and South Africa. The United States is well represented by Messrs. Haskins, Rostovtzeff, C. Stephenson, C. H. Taylor, and J. W. Thompson.

The number of contributors is unusually large, and the length of the individual contributions almost uniformly brief. No field or phase of European history is altogether untouched. While a large proportion of the articles fall within the medieval period, and are concerned with eco-

nomic or institutional history, there is a very considerable space allotted to the modern period and some to the ancient. Learning, literature, diplomacy, political thought, and social development all receive attention. Only a few of the articles are of a general interpretative character. The great majority are direct contributions based upon source-material. It would be futile to attempt an evaluation of these contributions. Merely to list the names of the contributors and the titles of their articles would more than exhaust the limits of this review. It will suffice to say that the list of American contributors is typical. France and England, Belgium and Holland, are equally well represented and in even greater numbers. The list includes Sir William Ashley, H. Hauser, M. Prou, H. Sée, H. Stein, T. F. Tout, and V. Ussani, to mention only a few of the older scholars. Quite aside from the sentimental reasons the work will be welcomed by those interested in European history whether medieval, modern, or ancient.

A. C. KREY.

The Conquest of Civilization. By JAMES HENRY BREASTED. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1926. Pp. xxvi, 717. \$5.00.)

IN 1916 there appeared from the press of Ginn and Company a textbook entitled, *Ancient Times, a History of the Early World*, by Professor James Henry Breasted, of the University of Chicago, and intended to be "simple enough for first-year high-school work", but "planned to interest and stimulate all students of high-school age". Its success matched its high excellence and it has been generally, almost universally, used by all of us who have had any ancient history teaching to do. It has now reappeared as a book for maturer minds, dressed up in library rather than in school-book form, and its success in its new rôle should be equal to or even surpass its earlier experience. Breasted is primarily an Egyptologist, and no American scholar of our day has had opportunities equal to his in that difficult but entrancing field. He has been flitting back and forth these many years between Egypt and Chicago with every possible chance of seeing and hearing everything that has gone on in his field in Berlin, Paris, and London. It is worth while to mention this for it not only gives explanation, but really illuminates the whole book. Egypt is first in this book, first and last, and all the way between, in the enthusiasm which its gifted and learned author displays. To those of us who have spent strength on other fields it must at times seem rather excessive loyalty to the incomparable valley of the Nile. Every new discovery in Babylonia only reassures Breasted as to the primacy of Egypt. He has been reading of the publication of Babylonian dynastic lists, and then he writes, "They are at most a little earlier than 3000 B. C. Thus it is now a finally established fact that civilization first arose in Egypt, followed a few centuries later by Babylonia" (p. ix). I take the cheerful liberty of doubting this "finality", and am much disposed to believe that it will be upset when

Woolley has finished his work at Ur. Breasted is still sure of the introduction of the calendar in 4241 B. C., and calls that "the earliest dated event in history" (p. 55). On this also, I am an unpersuaded unbeliever. Ikhnaton is still celebrated almost in dithyrambic fashion, as the first monotheist, but is happily no longer described as the world's "first individual" (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, II. 127.) Again the claim is still made that the Egyptians had twenty-four letters in an alphabet. "It was thus the earliest alphabet known" (p. 51). But what a poor possession it was when it was not used, and the glory of really alphabetic writing must still be ascribed to the Phoenicians (pp. 162, 287, 496). These are, however, only the spots on the sun, and we who are interested in history need only wish that this book might win many from the flood of novels to find here an introduction to the glorious story of Greece, or the wonder of Rome, for this is a comprehensive book whose narrative begins with the dawn of history and concludes only with 1453 A. D., and in its field there is no worthy competitor. Let us do what we may to circulate it, for it will provide us with pupils, to whom we shall be free to advocate each his own particular enthusiasm. The book is well printed, most beautifully and instructively illustrated, and soundly made in every other respect.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

The History of the Ancient World. By M. ROSTOVTZEFF, Hon. D.Litt., Professor of Ancient History in Yale University. Volume I., *The Orient and Greece*. Translated from the Russian by J. D. Duff. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. xxiii, 418. 21 s.)

* AMERICA owes Professor Rostovtzeff to the Russian Revolution. We owe his *History of the Ancient World* to his lectures at the University of Wisconsin. The first volume covers the Orient and Greece. Its availability as a text-book will doubtless be discussed elsewhere. Here we shall consider it only as presenting the matured conclusions of one of the leading authorities in ancient history.

Rostovtzeff begins with a brief but excellent chapter on History, its Aims and Methods. He gives full attention to anthropology, so well prepared to formulate the "laws of history", though so generally ignored by the professional historian. This is followed by another brief chapter on Ancient History, its Problems and Importance. The remainder of the volume is divided into three sections, nine chapters devoted to the Orient, twelve to Greece, and three to the Hellenistic period. Greece proper is thus allowed but a bare half of the space. More conservative students of Greek and Roman history will doubtless consider this a sad disproportion; the present reviewer welcomes it as a step in the right direction.

Rostovtzeff's account of the Orient is properly introduced by a brief sketch of prehistory. It is to be regretted that he has confined himself to the most general terms. Prehistory and history blend imperceptibly in

the Near East, and those who know the wide sweep of insight shown in his "Treasure of Astrabad", will regret that he has not given us that general sketch of Near Eastern prehistory which he is so well fitted to present. Rostovtzeff appears to believe, contrary to general opinion, that the nomadic stage preceded the agricultural in the Near East. However that may be, the remains at Harajel under Mount Lebanon show a cold period with the woolly rhinoceros, probably dating to the last glaciation, in which two of the four chief elements of neolithic civilization, the use of polished implements and the employment of pottery, are already present.

While Rostovtzeff is not a specialist in the history of the Ancient Orient, his interests have brought him into contact with its problems to an unusual degree. Taken as a whole, his presentation of its history deserves only praise, and every Orientalist must consider his fresh and illuminating interpretations. The value of a study of a field of history by a specialist in one adjoining could find no better illustration.

In presentation, Rostovtzeff has gone his own way. The traditional separation of the early cultures of Egypt and of Babylonia is rightly rejected, for much is gained by studying the Ancient Near East as a whole. His article on the Treasure of Astrabad was a revelation, for it showed how much the civilizations of protohistoric Egypt, Babylonia, Elam, and even Central Asia had in common. For those who have not followed recent discussions, the likenesses will be nothing less than startling, and they fully justify Rostovtzeff in describing them together. Once these similarities are grasped, it is possible to detect the differences and to understand for the first time the essential elements of the different national cultures.

Another rejection of the traditional arrangement is the placing of Mesopotamia before Egypt. There is much to be said for this arrangement, though Rostovtzeff by no means strengthens the arguments of those who place the civilization of Babylonia before that of Egypt. The old discussions as to the relative priority of the two cultures cease to have much point when we realize that the whole problem of origins is thrown back into protohistoric if not truly prehistoric times, when we already have one common chalcolithic culture, though with strongly marked local peculiarities.

Succeeding chapters trace alternately the political history and the culture through the fourth and third, the second, and the first pre-Christian millenniums. They are followed by chapters on the political, social, and economic organization of the Oriental world empires, and on the religious development of the Eastern world.

Here again we find a remarkable mastery of the material. Now and then the reviewer might disagree with the conclusions, more often one's attention is challenged by new and stimulating views. The sections dealing with Egypt and Babylonia are excellent. As might be expected from the author's interest in the Iranians, the portions devoted to Persia are particularly meritorious. Rostovtzeff fully appreciates the good points

in the Persian Empire and defends them against the traditional view which we have inherited from their enemies, the Greeks.

Nowhere else can there be found so much essential information on Assyrian culture packed into so small a space. His appreciation reaches its climax in his discussion of Assyrian art (p. 137). It is full of life, to which every detail is true. He finds in it romantic and idyllic notes, with even a marked element of humor. "The technical power is astonishing; even the Greeks never succeeded in catching so completely and conveying so realistically the essential features; external and internal, of animal life." "Their craftsmen could refashion what was old, make it their own, and import into it a new and original element."

Nevertheless, even in, or rather, most emphatically in their art, Rostovtzeff sees only the traditional Assyrian cruelty. That the Assyrian was cruel no historian would deny. That they were more cruel than other peoples of antiquity can not be proved, if we consider the evidence. Historians of Assyria have told the whole truth, sometimes more than the truth, for the Assyrians realized the very practical use of terror, and often sadly exaggerated. It would be worth while for some student to make a statistical study of ancient frightfulness. The results would be, to say the least, startling. Rostovtzeff cites the Assyrian battle-scenes as indicative of Assyrian character. There are as many battle-scenes in Egypt as in Assyria, not to speak of the frequent picture of the king killing the captive leader with the mace. Egyptian sources relate and picture indecent mutilation of the dead. Could anything be more horrible than the Persian punishment of the boat?

Those who have studied the Greeks and Romans, not from the manuals but from the sources, know that classical culture was in no respect superior. Let us cite Rostovtzeff himself (p. 204) as witness: "Thus at Miletus the people were at first victorious and murdered the wives and children of the aristocrats; then the aristocrats prevailed and burned their opponents alive, lighting up the open spaces of the city with live torches." There is a seamy side of classical life which is only too often ignored in the popular works.

Most students of the classics will be inclined to condemn Rostovtzeff for giving so little attention to the "great ages of Greece", but such compression was necessary if the proper place was to be given to the Orient. Within the limits necessitated by his plan, Rostovtzeff has done well. Many familiar and interesting episodes are omitted, but the general picture of Greek culture is all the clearer for the omission. Students who have had difficulty in seeing the wood for the trees, when using the common text-books, will be able to realize Greek culture as a whole.

In no respect is Rostovtzeff's ignoring of former convention more clearly evident than in the large part given to the Hellenistic world. Not many years ago, one of our greatest authorities in ancient history produced a high-school text in which exactly one page more was assigned to the Peloponnesian War than to the entire Hellenistic period. Here

the proportions are eight and thirty-six. In this period, Rostovtzeff is a master, and nowhere can there be found so splendid a bird's-eye view.

In two respects, the *Ancient World* marks a vast improvement on preceding volumes. With the exception of Westermann's *Story of the Ancient Nations*, a high-school text, too little attention has been devoted to the economic life. Rostovtzeff is by no means an economic determinist. As he presents them, economic factors play their rightful part, and only their rightful part, in the general development. One is constantly tempted to cite pertinent examples, but one must suffice. How much more illuminating than the recital of many battles is the citing (p. 275) of the huge quantities of Athenian pottery found in the West as an indication of that western trade which was one cause of the Peloponnesian War.

Interest in economics is rarely found united to a keen appreciation of art, but Rostovtzeff is the exception. Yet he is no mere esthete. He is first of all a historian, whose primary interest is in the history of art, and who uses it to discover evolution in culture. His *Ancient World* is the best source-book for ancient art that we possess. His choice of subject is unerring. A few of the old familiar subjects are of necessity included, but the majority will be quite unfamiliar to the general student. A considerable number have been taken from works only recently published. The mechanical execution is faultless.

Rostovtzeff's accuracy is amazing. Only one actual error has been found (p. 77). The published Amarna letters are many more than 174, and their chief importance lies, not in the few which deal with international relations, but in the many which show us Palestine just before or during the Hebrew conquest.¹

Citizens of a democracy will be shocked by Rostovtzeff's declaration (p. 315) that the blame for the Greek political anarchy which resulted in the Macedonian conquest should be laid "most of all, on democracy". Greek democracy had its defects, perhaps the greatest its failure to develop a representative system. To be fair, however, we should remember that important states, notably Sparta, never approximated democracy. We should remember that it was under the extreme democracy of Athens that the Greek world came nearest union, and that democracy regularly supported Athens against aristocratic particularism. Most of all, we should remember that when anarchy came, socialistic democracy at Athens was long in the past and that the fourth century saw a distinct swing toward conservatism. The "tendency to separation innate in the Greek mind", which Rostovtzeff places first, added to the peculiarities of the city-state, irrespective of constitution, is quite sufficient to explain the failure.

Rostovtzeff approaches his subject from the standpoint of Greek and Roman history, the interests of the present reviewer lie primarily in the Orient; it is encouraging to see how generally the two are in agreement.

¹ Of misprints, there have been noted one in the text, Dörpfeldt for Dörpfeld, p. 79, one on a plate, Kafre for Khafre, pl. V., and four on the map of Assyria, Khilappu for Khilakku, Kul for Kue, Tire for Tyre, and Bitham Ban for Bit Hamban.

We await with keen anticipation his volume on Rome, of which his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* has given us a foretaste.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia. By DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago. Two volumes. (Chicago: University Press. 1926. Pp. xvi, 297; xii, 504. \$8.00.)

A STRANGE man indeed would he be who did not greet with unalloyed pleasure the sight of these two volumes. Here are the sources, the original sources of our knowledge of Assyrian history from Ititi to Sin-shar-ishkum, from 2500 B. C. or even earlier to 612 B. C. Here are hundreds of inscriptions, most carefully documented, most admirably translated. It is a treasure house for the student of ancient Oriental history not only never before surpassed, but never before equalled. If Dr. Luckenbill does not give himself a quiet, calm stir of a not ignoble pride he will be denying poor human nature her just rights. We owe these two volumes to him, but our just sense of gratitude must extend also to the lamented William R. Harper, incomparable teacher of Hebrew in our day, who first proposed plans for a series of publications in the Oriental field, and to Professor James H. Breasted who had the courage to begin the great effort with his still indispensable *Ancient Records of Egypt*, published in 1906-1907. There the great and daring enterprise halted for time, opportunity, and funds, until after the cruel suspension of the great war Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., to whom so much else is due, reached out in 1919 and supplied the means for a resumption of activity on a large scale. Here are the first fruits in these two big volumes. To these there must yet be added four more volumes to contain the Babylonian historical inscriptions, ancient law and business, literary and religious texts and letters. It is a great task of immense labor. May it go forward to an early and happy conclusion. For those of us who have known of all these things from the beginning there are sad shadows flitting over these pages, William R. Harper, and his brother Robert F. Harper, who year after year copied and published Assyrian letters, both gone on before us, but both leaving a record of honorable effort. Much do we owe to their university, the newly constituted University of Chicago. Let the reader try to conceive what our situation will be in these studies when that home of learning presents to us an Assyrian dictionary for which already 600,000 cards are on file. This our old friend Professor Bezold intended to accomplish at Heidelberg, but death called him hence and we have only his *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar* (Heidelberg, 1926). What he could not, that let us hope that Luckenbill may do.

What shall I more say to arouse interest in these two volumes now in our hands? One might appeal to Biblical students as well as historical to open and see what Israel's neighbors have left us. Aye and many other

of those who would fain get a step further back in the past beyond Greece and Rome. To these all I commend these volumes. I have spent a life over these texts and my judgment of the high excellence of this new contribution ought to be worth something. I should translate here and there a bit differently, but I have not the effrontery to measure swords with a man who has 600,000 cards with references and meanings, while I have only the printed lists in German, French, and English with my own personal gleanings. But just as a "flier" I should now and again take a chance which Luckenbill probably knows, as for example, I should translate *mehru*-trees as "plane trees" (I. 167) and *pagutu* as "ape" (I. 166, 189), and I wonder whether *senkurri* should be *simkurri*, and how would "falcon" do for a rendering? But Luckenbill is already laughing and I forbear.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Fouilles de Doura-Europos, 1922-1923. Par FRANZ CUMONT.
[Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban: Service des Antiquités et des Beaux Arts, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, tome IX.] (Paris: P. Geuthner. 1926. Pp. lxxviii, 533, plates 124.)

It is a thrilling story, that of the discovery of Doura-Europos on the banks of the Euphrates! At the end of the great war (in 1921) an Englishman, Captain Murphy, at the head of a detachment of English colonial soldiers, discovered by an accident wonderful frescoes in the ruins of an ancient fortress (Salihiyeh is the modern name of the place) which the detachment occupied. His report to his chief was sent to Bagdad to the late Miss Gertrude Bell. At this time Professor J. H. Breasted of Chicago was making an archaeological survey of Mesopotamia. He was informed of the discovery and was offered military help by the English authorities. At once he rushed to the place and found the English detachment ready to leave the fortress. In one day (May 3) he succeeded not only in photographing, measuring, and describing minutely the frescoes, but also in making a short supplementary excavation and in carrying out a general survey of the place. His report to the French Academy of Inscriptions, printed with a note by Cumont in *Syria* (vol. III., 1922) and in a separate book, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting* (Chicago, 1923), aroused such an interest in the learned society that it was decided by the French Academy to take up at once the work of completing the excavations. Professor F. Cumont was appointed to carry out this work. The Syrian government and the French Haut-Commissariat of Syria gave the necessary protection and the labor (soldiers of the Foreign Legion), and in two campaigns (1922 and 1923) a part of the site was excavated. Some additional excavations have been carried out in 1924 also, in the absence of Cumont.

Such is the story of the Doura excavations. Now the story of the book under review. We are used to hearing of interesting excavations,

reading articles about them in the newspapers and in learned periodicals and . . . waiting years for a final publication. It is useless to quote instances; there are scores of them both in Europe and in this country. The unbounded energy of Cumont, however, and his keen sense of duty have performed a deed which arouses our full admiration. Not only did he inform the French Academy and the learned world of the progress of his excavations in many a brilliant article, he found also the necessary time to complete in less than one year the final publication of his excavations, a big volume of about 600 pages of text illustrated by an atlas of 124 plates! Glory and honor to him! He has set an example which ought to be followed by all excavators!

And what he now offers to his readers is not a dry diary of his excavations, a mere description of ruins and of the archaeological material found in the ruins. The learned world knows Cumont. His works on the history of Oriental religions, on astrology, on the history of the provinces of the Roman Empire, his reports on his extended travels in Asia Minor and in Syria are masterpieces of historical research. Everybody knows how wonderfully Cumont combines in his person the excellent training of a classical philologist, a far-reaching information in matters Oriental, a perfect historical method, and a first-class knowledge of archaeology, both Oriental and Greek and Roman. No wonder that his report on the excavations at Doura is a first-class book which ought to be read by everybody and is a model of historical and archaeological research. With his help we see Doura arising from its ruins; the skeleton of the city becomes covered with flesh, blood circulates in it; an important chapter in ancient history is revealed to us.

No doubt the excavations of Doura are a revelation to every student of classical and Oriental antiquity. Not that objects of great artistic, or texts of unusual historical value were discovered. Doura was not a rich city and played no important part in the history of civilization. It reflects the history of civilization rather than creates it. But it reflects some pages in this history which were hitherto almost completely unknown and leads us into periods and lands which used to be a dark spot in our information.

What is Doura and why are the excavations at Doura of such an importance? I should not say that Doura is a Syrian Pompeii. Pompeii is unique and no other place can vie with Pompeii. However, in some respects Doura is a Syrian Pompeii. Like Pompeii it is primarily a Hellenistic city. Like Pompeii it shows the gradual absorption and modification of Hellenistic civilization by a non-Greek population—the Italians in Pompeii, the Syrians in Doura. It reveals to us for the first time what Syrian Hellenism used to be, as Pompeii is revealing to us what Italian Hellenism was, how it gradually developed, and how it was transformed into Italian and Roman civilization.

Doura-Europos was one of the many Macedonian colonies which were created all over the Near East by the efforts of the early successors of Alexander the Great, especially by one of his younger generals, Seleucus,

afterward king of the Syrian Empire. Doura-Europos (the first is the native, Semitic, the second the Macedonian name of the city), with its wonderful fortifications which still exist, with its net of streets laid out on the Hippodamian system which is still the system of the American cities, with its temples and public buildings, was built by one of Seleucus's generals—Nicanor. We know the names of many of these military Hellenistic colonies. We are able to locate some of them. But no one of them has been hitherto excavated. This means that we know nothing about the external aspect of these colonies, about their organization, about their life. And without these we can not even attack one of the most important problems of ancient history, the problem of how far the Near East, the cradle of human civilization, was Hellenized by the efforts of Alexander and of his successors. Doura is the first place which gives us authentic material for attacking this problem. Of course, much of the material which has been discovered at Doura is of a later date—Parthian and Roman—and yet the fortifications of the city, its plan, some of its buildings are early Hellenistic. Most of its later residents were the descendants of the Macedonian soldiers. The organization of the city, political, social, and economic, was first framed in this period, and the city retained the main lines of this organization for centuries. Hellenistic also is the civil law as revealed to us by fragments of parchment found by Cumont, of which more later.

When Mesopotamia was conquered by the Parthians, Doura became one of those Greco-Parthian cities which formed the backbone of the Parthian Empire, the great rival of that of Rome. It is well known how little we know about the Parthian Empire and how eager we are to know more, especially on the relations between the reborn Iranism of Parthia and the post-Alexandrian Hellenism of the Near East. The material found at Doura allows us for the first time to lift one corner of the thick veil which has hitherto covered this important historical question.

The new conditions created in the Near East by the Parthian conquest of Mesopotamia, the new routes which began to be used at this time by world-commerce, gave rise to a city, before this time an unimportant hamlet, but whose fame has become worldwide—I mean the city of Palmyra with its wonderful ruins. Situated between the two rival empires—Parthia and Rome—Palmyra was skillful enough to keep the balance between the two and to profit by its sincere neutrality. It became in the first and second centuries A. D. one of the richest cities of the Near East, a city of caravan-merchants, of international trade, and a city of peculiar civilization—an interesting blend of Greek, Syrian, and Parthian, *i.e.*, Iranian, elements. The ruins of Palmyra, famous as they are, are little known and have been little studied. A new era opens now for Palmyra also: systematic excavations at Palmyra have been begun and are in progress. Doura naturally became an annex of Palmyra, one of the fortresses to protect its growing commerce. And in this period of

its existence it was a Palmyra in miniature, easy to study and easier to understand than its opulent and colossal mistress.

Finally both Palmyra and Doura came under the sway of the Roman Empire. Hadrian succeeded in making Palmyra and its minor cities his vassals, and Septimius Severus transformed them into regular provincial cities of the Roman Empire (some of them received the title of Roman colony). Our information on the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire is better than that on the Greek Seleucid Syrian empire. However, what we know mostly refers to Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. Mesopotamia, which formed for a short time a Roman province, has remained a dark spot for us. And here again the excavations of Doura throw new and thrilling light on this dark spot. At the end of the third century, after the well-known episode of Zenobia and her Palmyrene Empire, Doura disappears from the historical stage. It was in this crisis probably that Doura was left by its residents; its houses decayed; its streets were covered with sand. Doura became a ruin and waited for her excavators.

Cumont worked at Doura with very inadequate means and but for a short time. And yet the results of his excavations are marvellous. It is due both to his skill and to the incomparable site. Excavation there is not difficult. Remove two metres of sand and rubbish and you have the skeleton of the city! Doura is now a part of the Syrian desert. And the desert sand is a wonderful custodian of many things which decay in the moist earth. This is the reason why in the small portion of the city which has been excavated by Cumont so much and so well-preserved archaeological material was found. And every excavated part revealed things unique in their interest. Certain towers of the walls of the city were freed from the sand. In each one a wealth of rare objects was found, *e.g.*, arms and weapons of the Palmyrene soldiers who occupied the towers, among them a unique shield on which a map was painted showing the travels of the soldier or officer who was the owner of the shield; we see the Black Sea, the cities of its western shore with their names, the Crimea, the Roman fortress of Chersonesus, the southern shore of the Black Sea, and the far distant Armenian Artaxata. But this is not all. The sand has also preserved for us fragments of documents on parchment, equal in their importance to the Greek Egyptian papyri. Most of them are in Greek, one in Latin, one in Aramaic. One fragment of a codex contains the beginning of a Hellenistic law on inheritance, some fragments are parts of sale-contracts and of various business documents, some are private letters, one fragment contains the daily register (*pridianum*) of the cohort of Palmyrene soldiers. The find is unique (hitherto we have had only the couple of parchments recently found at Avroman in Kurdistan) and it is promising. If such valuable documents were found in the towers, how many more might be hidden in the ruins of public buildings and private houses!

Besides some (not all) towers two temples were excavated, both unique. One is the famous temple of the Palmyrene gods, the chapel

of the Palmyrene garrison. Some of the interesting frescoes of this temple have been published by Breasted; others were found later by Cumont. Not only is this fresco decoration of a Palmyrene temple, so Oriental in its aspect, enormously important for the history of religions, but the frescoes are also a revelation to the historian of art. It is well known how deeply we are interested just now in the history of both the Moslem and the pre-Moslem art of the Orient and in the history of early Christian art. It is now for the first time, however, that the gulf between the art of the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phoenician Orient and early Moslem and early Christian art is bridged. The frescoes of Doura are the bridge. When art historians heretofore have spoken of the Syrian element in early Christian art, "Syrian" was a guess, its peculiarities being derived from later monuments not Syrian. Now we have a genuine Syrian wall decoration: one of the first century A. D., another of the third century. We may study them and verify our definitions of the Syrian element in the Christian art.

Not less interesting is the temple of the Oriental, slightly Hellenized goddess Artemis-Nanaia in the centre of the city. Its plan, its chapels, its statues, its inscriptions are unique, as unique are the two theatres, with personal seats for the female aristocracy of Doura, in which some religious ceremonies were performed, and of which we should like to know more. I may mention here the pretty little statue of Aphrodite which had been found here, a fine example of the early Hellenistic post-Praxitelean art.

At the end of the preface to his remarkable book Cumont says (p. ix) :

Je voudrais, en terminant, exprimer le voeu que, la paix rétablie en Syrie, les fouilles puissent être reprises à Doura. En 1924 il fut possible d'y envoyer seulement un très petit nombre de soldats, qui mirent au jour quelques menus objets intéressants; en 1925, les recherches durent être entièrement suspendues. Cependant il est peu de sites antiques où elles puissent être plus fécondes. Dans le vaste champ de ruines qui couvrent le plateau de Salihyeh, deux temples seulement ont été sérieusement explorés et encore ne l'ont-ils pas été complètement. Aucun monument civil de la cité grecque ne nous est connu; ni la boulé, ni le gymnase, ni les édifices de l'agora; comme l'imposante citadelle, presque toutes les tours de l'enceinte sont encore remplies du sable que les siècles y ont accumulé; une seule d'entre elles, vidée jusqu'au sol, nous a livré de remarquables pièces d'archives. Par une chance exceptionnelle, une vieille colonie macédonienne s'est conservée sur les bords de l'Euphrate, à peine modifiée par la conquête romaine, sans qu'aucune restauration byzantine, aucune réfection musulmane l'ait jamais transformée. La civilisation gréco-sémitique y apparaît telle qu'elle y florissait au moment où ses habitants la quittèrent et un climat exceptionnellement favorable y a assuré la conservation de peintures délicates, de minces parchemins, d'objets corruptibles, qui ont disparu presque partout ailleurs. La réunion de tant de circonstances propices a de quoi tenter les archéologues en quête d'un site qui promette d'être fructueux. Placée à la frontière de deux grands États et au point de contact de deux civilisations, Doura-Europos, en nous révélant son histoire, éclairera celle de tout l'Orient gréco-romain.

Yes, it is evident that France and the Syrian government are not able to carry on the work so happily begun by an American and a Belgian, with the help of the English and the Syrians—an international enterprise indeed. It would be a pity if Cumont's work is left unfinished. The site is promising, the conditions of work favorable, the historical importance enormous, the French and the Syrian governments are ready to collaborate and welcome help forthcoming from other civilized nations. Is there no institution or private person in the United States to understand all the importance of the enterprise and to help with money those who are ready to devote their time and their energy to this task?

M. ROSTOVITZEFF.

Getica: o Protoistorie a Daciei (A Pre-History of Dacia). De VASILE PÂRVAN, Membru al Academiei Române. [Academia Română, Memoriile Sectziunii Istorice, seria III., tomul III., mem. 2.] (Bucharest: Cultura Națională. 1926. Pp. 850; 462 cuts, 43 plates, and 4 maps.—In Rumanian; but pages 725–804 give a résumé in French.)

THE brilliant director of the Rumanian Archaeological School in Rome here modestly presents what he calls a "premier essai"; and it is the first serious attempt to reconstruct the early history of the lower Danube region by combining, with the testimony of the historians, archaeological data (for much of which Pârvan is himself responsible). Herodotus tells us that after the Indians, the Thracians were the greatest people in the world. Their northern branch, the Getae, extended from Bohemia and the lower Vistula to the Pripet marshes and the rapids of the Dnieper. They belonged with the Phrygians and Armenians, and Pârvan gives interesting doublets, of Dacian and Bithynian proper names. Their rich and secure civilization was dimmed by Cimmerian and Scythian invasions, between 900 and 600 B. C.; then it flowered forth again, incorporating Celtic elements, and from 200 B. C. till the conquest by Trajan, Dacia stands out as a prosperous and powerful state. Trade connects the Getae constantly with the West; imitations of Corneto vases with interesting local variations, are found in Transylvania of a period before 900 B. C.; Italic kettles and helmets have been turned up in Bessarabia. The same Italic influence is to be seen in their fibulae as well as their weapons; in fact, from about 1000 B. C. on, during the late Bronze and early Iron Age, the whole area from the Italian Alps to the Moldavian Carpathians and the Scythian Danube seems to have enjoyed one civilization. Dacia had the most productive gold mines in Europe; its goldsmiths early developed a characteristic spiral pattern; the Cimmerians brought in zoö-morphic themes like those of the Caucasus, and geometric designs thrive from the beginning through all the invasions. The Scythians appear to have introduced archery, iron spear-heads, and short swords; but the use of bronze axes and sickles persisted, and not till the Celtic period did iron sickles become common. Abundant ceramic remains

also attest a toughly conservative local tradition, which weathered every invasion; and numerous torques, bracelets, and fibulae of all periods show the characteristic spirals. The Scythians brought in spiral rings and bracelets ending in snake- and dragon-heads; Pârvan has an interesting discussion of the dragon as the Dacian emblem, and the possibility of its adoption by the Romans from the Dacians. The Getae worshipped the sun, had no images, believed in the immortality of the soul, and did not build temples; their architecture was dominated by construction in wood; even stone blocks were fastened by wooden beams and staples. Commerce was brisk with the Greeks and later with the Romans; wheat, salt, horses, hides, honey, wax, wool, furs, and slaves were their chief exports; they imported wine and oil; then Greek coins appear—staters of Philip II., tetradrachms from Thasos; Roman republican denarii follow in great numbers, together with drachmas from Apollonia and Epidamnus. These stop suddenly at 44 B. C.; when Caesar was outfitting against the redoubtable Dacian king Burebista, evidently the traders decamped. Pârvan thinks the first Roman annexation north of the Danube took place as early as 4 A. D.; in 52–53, Plautius Silvanus adds the Wallachian plain, up to Craiova and Adjud; but even under Trajan and his successors, when Roman garrisons occupied Moldavia and Bessarabia, Getic life and civilization seem to have continued unruffled. Greek and Latin were widely known in Dacia by the opening of our era; and Ovid found their language suitable for poetry. Pârvan draws an interesting map of Europe in the Geto-Scythic period, with an incidental hit at Jokl for his Illyrian claims.

This brief summary of some points in Pârvan's history of the Getae who created Dacia gives no idea of the wealth of erudition and illustration displayed in the notes and the lavish plates and other reproductions. The book is well printed and exhaustively indexed, and reflects the highest credit on its author and the Rumanian Academy. Let us hope that Pârvan will continue, and lay the foundations for a treatise on the early Middle Ages in this same region.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Ordeal of Civilization: a Sketch of the Development and World-Wide Diffusion of our Present-Day Institutions and Ideas. By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1926. Pp. xii, 769. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR ROBINSON evidently believes with Tony Lumpkin, that "an honest man has got a right to rob himself of his own". Fully five-sixths of the *Ordeal of Civilization*—text, illustrations, maps, even notes—have been taken from the author's *Mediaeval and Modern Times*, which in its turn was hardly more than an *alias* for the *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, first published in 1903. Page after page has been lifted

bodily and chapter after chapter taken over without other alteration than minor verbal changes. Here and there a statement has been expanded or condensed; but not until we get well on toward the end is new matter introduced in any considerable quantity; while earlier opinions and judgments have for the most part remained untouched, and there is little to indicate that materials have been worked over or conclusions re-examined in the light of subsequent study. This is the third incarnation of the *Introduction*; but, as the French say, "*plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*".

It had been better if it had remained the same, for the "revised version" is scarcely an improvement upon the "authorized". In more than one place the symmetry of the earlier work has been sacrificed to considerations of space, and pruning carried to the point of mutilation. The most deplorable effects of tampering are seen in the chapters on the Middle Ages, the ages which "form in a peculiar and intimate sense the background of our prevailing civilization", and without some knowledge of which "no sure grasp on conditions today is possible" (p. 10). We admit their importance, and are on that very account the more loath to be hustled through them, hitting only the high spots, and not all of those. We have haunting memories of the old road, and instinctively look for the familiar landmarks. We miss Justinian's Code, and Pippin's Donation, the Partition of Verdun, Cluny, Guelf and Ghibelline. We hardly recognize St. Bernard or the great Innocent. We wonder what has become of St. Louis, formerly the "most heroic figure . . . in the whole procession of French monarchs" (*Introduction*, p. 138), and why Dante, one of "the two greatest men of the fourteenth century" (*ibid.*, p. 330) has been passed over in silence. Have they lost their importance in the last quarter-century? We are told that "time fails" and "want of space forbids", and that one must be selective and cut out trivial details. Quite true; but had the choice been ours, we think we had sooner dispensed with the size of Charlemagne's nose, the color of Barbarossa's beard, the boldness and myopia of Frederick II., Otto's marriage with an Italian widow, and Harold's banquet on the eve of Hastings.

After the Middle Ages, however, the narrative is generally fuller, but in the main still a reprint of the *Introduction*. The space allotted to the eighteenth century has been enlarged, and more adequate treatment accorded to Prussia, Austria, the dismemberment of Poland, European expansion, and the revolt of the American colonies. The chapters on the Old Régime, the French Revolution, and Napoleon are virtually identical, almost word for word, with the earlier account; but there was more reason for retaining them intact than some of the others, for they were among the best in the original work and hard to improve upon.

In the section on the period from 1815 to 1871 there has been a good deal of recasting and supplementing. A chapter has been added on the Age of Machines, and more space has been devoted to economic developments and social changes. This is precisely what we should have ex-

pected from Professor Robinson. No teacher has done more than he to draw attention to what are, after all, the universal and persistent determinants in the historic process, "the homely operations of everyday life".

From 1871 on the text of 1903 is no longer available, and the last seven or eight chapters of the book are quite new, except in so far as the supplement of 1918 (rather hastily improvised to meet the demand for a textbook "up to date") has been utilized. It would have been better had the supplement been discarded altogether, and the chapter on the war entirely rewritten. As it is, it has simply been carried through to the Armistice, and rather sparingly amended by revising a judgment or toning down a statement here and there. And the chapter on Europe since the War is, for all its useful information and sound interpretation, only a sketch, as, indeed, it could hardly help being, in view of our common uncertainty as to what is actually happening in "these eventful years".

The book concludes with a disquisition on the importance of being historically minded, and a survey of the trend of human affairs. How far have we got, and whither are we going? And this civilization of ours, will it survive, or will it go the way of the vanished civilizations of former days? Some progress there has been, but pathetically little, as compared with what might have been had we mixed our painful effort with intelligence. For the most part we have shuffled and lumbered along, in a haphazard way, misled by delusions, balked by fears, blinded by inherited prejudices. Our only hope of deliverance from these inhibitions and impediments lies in the taking on of a new mind, a new attitude toward life, characterized by a sense of freedom and power, that sense of mastery that comes with knowledge. But to know ourselves we must know how we came to be what we are. Hence, the imperative necessity of being historically minded!

THEODORE COLLIER.

Äldre Medeltiden. Av SVEN TUNBERG. [Sveriges Historia till våra Dagar, andra delen.] (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt and Sons. 1926. Pp. viii., 406. 15 kr.)

HILDEBRAND'S volume in *Sveriges Historia till Tjugonde Seklet* appeared in 1905 as volume II. of the second edition of the great co-operative national history of Sweden that made its initial appearance during the years 1875-1881. The defects of this work did not escape its contemporary critics, who looked to it in vain for the results of much erudite research that had thrown new light on controversial points. When the present fifteen-volume work was projected, it was wisely decided that a fresh study of the medieval field should be included. Professor Sven Tunberg, editor of the *Historisk Tidskrift*, and a prominent representative of the young and vigorous group of contemporary Swedish historians, was selected for this task. The present work is not a revision, but an entirely new and independent presentation based on his own research as

well as upon the results of recent investigations by other scholars in the field.

Professor Tunberg's book, like the series as a whole, is not designed for the use of the special student. Direct references to primary sources and sometimes long quotations from these are made in the text. Source problems are discussed as they appear in the narrative. The principal object is to deal with political history—the plan of the series—and this makes the volume a welcome contribution, as the cultural side of the Middle Ages in Sweden is splendidly presented in Hildebrand's *Sveriges Medeltid* (3 vols., Stockholm, 1879–1903.)

There are five main divisions of this book, namely: (1) a short introduction on the Early Middle Ages in Sweden (1060–1389), frontiers and divisions of land within Sweden, the people and their local and central authorities at the end of the Viking period; (2) a chronological discussion of the political history subdivided according to kings (this is the main part, covering pp. 22–328); (3) the constitutional development, election of kings, development of the king's council, feudal states, revenues; (4) the economic and social conditions; and (5) the Church, literature, and art.

To place four centuries of a country's active development in one small volume and touch all important matters is quite impossible. The historian must select. Not only does the author satisfactorily fulfill this task of selection but he makes numerous contributions hitherto not brought together in one narrative of this period in Sweden. The growth of the power of the nobility, the life of that class as shown by folklore, the provincial laws and their influences, the common religious life as a background for church leaders like Saint Bridget, the beginning of organized monasticism, especially the Order of the Saviour or Brigittines, and the evolution of constitutional government, these are a few of the contributions regarding national life. The weakest point in previous general histories of this period has been the neglect to show the distinctively Swedish side of matters of European significance. To do so requires a thorough knowledge of Continental as well as local history. Tunberg does not fail in this respect. He treats the universality of the Church in the West and its peculiarities in Sweden, resulting in the establishment of a Swedish Church with church law and church courts influencing local and even national affairs. He notes feudalism as a Western European system but points out that after being transplanted to Swedish soil it developed into a Swedish feudal system with numerous peculiarities of its own (pp. 339–340 *et passim*). In dealing with inter-European affairs in which Sweden played a part, he notes the Continental issue as well as the purely Swedish side: *e.g.*, Danish appeal for papal sanction to occupy south-western Sweden and vice versa (pp. 232–240), Swedish enlistment of papal support for expansion into Russia under the guise of crusades (p. 232), Hanseatic support of Sweden against Denmark in Skåne or vice versa (pp. 252 ff., 277 ff.). Purely Continental influences upon de-

velopments in Sweden are also explained. Science, art, and education flourished in Sweden under church patronage and following western Continental church patterns. These are only a few of the author's contributions. Limitations of space did not permit him to elaborate his theses enough to satisfy the specialist.

One may deplore the omission of a bibliography, foot-notes, and an index, but this defect must be laid to the plan of the whole series. The volume is well and amply illustrated. A short list of principal sources and a brief discussion of these would have taken very little space. A map of Sweden and the Baltic Sea would have aided the reader in following events portrayed in the narrative. The reader will find copious quotations from *Rimkrönikan*, *Landskapslagarna*, *Landslagens Konungabalk* (pp. 344 ff.), etc., and will appreciate the philologic and diplomatic technic exhibited by the author.

This sound and scholarly book gives the reader a clear comprehension of the past which lies behind the modern political conditions in Sweden, and partly explains them. Impartiality, sympathy, understanding of political affairs and of their economic, religious, social, and cultural background, and a marked literary skill, make this presentation a concise and an authoritative account of a difficult period.

DAVID K. BJORK.

The Legacy of the Middle Ages. Edited by C. G. CRUMP and E. F. JACOB. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. xii, 549. 10 s.)

OF some of the more serious books that have been written of late years whose content is the study of various phases of medieval thought and social life in contradistinction to purely political history, one general criticism may perhaps be made. Quite delightful writers who succeed in creating medieval "atmosphere" are assailed sometimes with a peculiar unclearness when they seek to expound medieval symbolism in art and literature and certain phases of political and religious life, and leave the reader, therefore, interested but puzzled, a little astray in what Maitland calls, in another connection, the "medieval muddle". The *Legacy of the Middle Ages* is free of this reproach; it is a collection of essays written by distinguished scholars of several nationalities, who have both the erudition that makes their statements authoritative, complete within their limits, and clear, and also the spiritual insight that enables them to treat their subjects with imagination and sympathy. The very beautiful illustrations add greatly to the reader's appreciation of the book.

Mr. Crump, in his introduction, from the somewhat unexpected and very concrete starting point that to understand the Middle Ages we must begin "with the source of the food on which men lived" has developed a suggestive agricultural explanation of much of the rigidity of medieval social life, and in more intellectual matters stresses the essential continuity of many streams of medieval thinking and social ideas into our own day, and the slender foundations on which much of our modern civilization, as

distinguished from that of the past, is based. So frequently is the note of continuity struck in this volume that one wonders at last whether "Legacy", with its suggestion of finality as well as of contribution to the future, is not almost a misnomer for a book dealing with a civilization so integral a part of our own.

The standard of the essays themselves is set high by the unusual quality of Mr. Powicke's study of the Christian life. Its spirit is singularly sympathetic with the beauty of much in medieval religious life and with the "treasure" which organized Christianity came into the world to preserve. Like Proust, Mr. Powicke feels the "pavage spirituel" of medieval religion, even in its more "pagan" aspects of mere acquiescence in custom and emotional enjoyment of beautiful ceremonies and forms. "There is no clear border line in the region of religious experience between the swamps and jungle of paganism and the sunlit uplands of pure faith. St. Francis was not without a speck, and there was doubtless a glimmering of piety in the relic mongers who traded in pigs' bones." The problem of authority, of "the conflict between obedience to Christ and submission to his Church" is to Mr. Powicke the legacy of medieval Christianity.

Among the writers in allied fields of medieval thought, to which the emphasis of the volume goes perhaps a little disproportionately, Mr. Harris with unusual clarity discusses the main content of medieval philosophy, finding its ultimate achievement rather in the "mysticism of the devout life" than in the establishment of any philosophical system. His treatment of John Scotus Erigena is full of freshness and interest; the able discussion of the Angelic Doctor perhaps sometimes tends to become a "Correctory of Brother Thomas". Mr. Jacob dwells on the confusing contrasts and conflicts of medieval political thought, the *communio sanctorum* and the organized Church, the theory of the unitary state and the state as unity in plurality, divine right and the right of resistance. Vinogradoff's weighty article on customary law, with its stress on the importance of stability of rights and duties, and its characteristic sweeping of the individual custom into the great stream of legal and social development made possible by his unrivalled knowledge of comparative jurisprudence, will renew in some of us the sense of irreparable loss in the passing of a great and beloved master.

The essays on the more concrete expressions of medieval thought, on architecture, sculpture, and literature, give one great pleasure in the reading. Perhaps the carping critic would find too much detail in some, too little in the essays on medieval literature, but he would have his compensation in the charm of some of the writers, and his quarrel would probably lie, not so much with what he has received as with the omission from the volume of much that seems appropriate—of the codes of social life, for example, of which outside Miss Power's interesting essays on medieval women little is said, of chivalry, of the influence of the Crusades, of painting, music, and science. Such criticism is probably inevitable with

regard to a compilation of this kind where of necessity a choice must be made amongst the many aspects of a great civilization.

N. NEILSON.

The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art. By J. M. CLARK, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in the University of Glasgow. (Cambridge: University Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 322. 18 s.)

FOR a university honor student or graduate student or a college professor in general history keeping his teaching alive or for any serious student not daunted by the method of learning reasonably applied, there is no better way of getting an intensive idea of the intellectual life of the Middle Ages than to read with some care a book of this kind covering some typical locality at the time of its fullest development and treated in all its aspects in fairly exhaustive detail. The author of this book has provided for such students a model text-book on the basis of St. Gall at the end of the ninth century.

The subtitle "as a centre of literature and art" is an accurate description. Chapters on art, music, literature, drama, are flanked on either side by chapters on the school and library. These are preceded by studies on the Anglo-Saxon and Irish influence on the development of the abbey and on the precious ninth-century architectural ground-plan of the abbey. They are followed by a couple of useful appendixes.

The author concludes that while Irish influence was kept up more or less throughout the Middle Ages by Irish pilgrims and the Bavarian Irish monasteries, it did not predominate after 760. From that time St. Gall was a Swabian, not an Irish monastery. This study is perhaps the chief positive contribution of the work, but numerous minor theses scattered through the book make an impressive total of illuminating original additions to knowledge.

The general impression given is vivid. This is not the result of its verbal composition, which is sound, clear, and descriptive, but matter-of-fact. The vividness is a cumulative result from the well-selected and well-expressed exhaustive detail.

The author counts the contribution of the abbey and therefore of his book to literature and language as first in importance, but each major topic has some distinctive contribution. In one sense the contribution to library history is the most distinctive of all, for practically all the topics, even architecture, are based chiefly on material from the library, the rich material of vernacular literature, the classical texts, the miniature paintings, the manuscript architectural plan, the liturgical books. The rôle of libraries in culture history is not often recognized in the text-books and this gives double value to the material here contributed. The finding at St. Gall, by Poggio, of manuscripts of Quintilian, Vitruvius, Lactantius, and a cart-load of others is familiar, but many new contributions to the material for the history of technical library management are made. These cover a considerable range of topics: acquisition, preservation from fire,

moisture, theft, war, neglect, also cataloguing and lending—even the most modern aspect of library service, the international lending of books to scholars. All the Western nations interchanged with St. Gall for copying or study purposes, and not all of Poggio's cart-load of manuscripts were brought back to St. Gall, nor were all the forced military loans to Reichenau, Zurich, and Bern returned.

The typographical make-up of the book is one to tempt the reading of even a much less readable work. Like all good books it also has excellent bibliographies and index. Obvious defects are few, but the book begins and ends with rather common and aggravating faults. The title-page gives only initials for the forenames of the author and sets a serious time-cost problem for all cataloguers, since there are at least four other modern writers named J. M. Clark. The index too, while it tithes the mint and cummin excellently, has no entries under the words art, drama, literature, or music—all of which have full chapters devoted to them in the text.

ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON.

Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England. By Sir H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1926. Pp. ix, 460. 18 s.)

THIS book is evidently the work of the many years during which its author was deputy keeper of the Public Records. It contains a great number of extracts, mostly from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century but occasionally coming down to our own times, illustrative of the use of the great seal, selected from the vast collection of unprinted documents now concentrated in the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane. The author says it is not intended to be a constitutional treatise such as is found in Professor Tout's valuable *Chapters in the Administrative History of England*, but we can scarcely agree with his own modest estimate. In fact this is very far from being a book of mere antiquarian interest as have been most of those hitherto written about the official seals of England. Its method seems to be a compromise between a treatment strictly diplomatic such as the section on sphragistics in Giry's *Manuel de Diplomatie* and a constitutional treatise. Though not primarily constitutional it contains a very large amount of first-hand information that must prove indispensable to any student of English constitutional development, especially to one whose studies take him to the original documents themselves.

In the ten chapters of the book two main subjects are illustrated: first, the various modes in which the affixing of the great seal has been authorized, as by royal precept under the privy seal or other smaller royal seals, by immediate royal warrants, and by regents' warrants (when a regency existed) or those of the Council or of ministers of state; and secondly, the customary practice of the Chancery in drafting, dating, engrossing, sealing, and enrolling the documents thus authorized, together with an account of the fees charged for these various processes.

For all these subjects the author gives a wealth of original extracts drawn from the close rolls, the patent, the charter, and other rolls in support of his statements which in sum can scarcely be short of a thousand in number. Incidentally, there is valuable information as to the organization and the working of the Chancery in all its aspects and in every period of its growth, and occasionally a bit of interesting history, as for 1322 when the king warns the sheriffs to pay no attention to documents addressed to them under the privy seal which "has by chance been lost"—no doubt at the battle of Boroughbridge. It was found four days later.

One of the most interesting—or most disquieting—facts shown by the author is that the dates given in writs of privy seal and others too are often not the dates of their actual issuance at all. Thus Foss in his *Judges of England* came to the rather startling conclusion that there must have been two chancellors at once in the year 1475, because between April and September of that year writs are found, some addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln, others to the Bishop of Rochester, and to each as chancellor, but the explanation appears in the fact that some of these writs were not delivered in chancery for weeks or months after the dates they bear. It becomes evident also from many extracts here given that the dates on documents engrossed are frequently not the dates of the actual sealing or engrossing but usually those of the original warrants giving the authorization, and that for various reasons a period of weeks or months might elapse between. One instance is given from the year 1310 of a writ of privy seal for a pardon under which nothing was done for more than nine years, after which the king directed the chancellor to issue a new pardon, but under the original date. Discrepancies like these between the actual and the stated date of royal documents would in all probability upset a good many statements to be found in modern books, and they do in fact play havoc with some of the royal itineraries constructed on the evidence of these dates.

These are only a few of the many points in the history of England in the Middle Ages on which this book throws valuable light, and there is in fact scarcely any important department of the central government on whose staffing and procedure our knowledge is not made clearer and more definite by these well-chosen extracts. The book will be disquieting to some but most welcome to all who are concerned for accuracy and precision in the writing of history. One is tempted to use in reference to it the over-worked word invaluable.

C. H. McILWAIN.

Recherches sur l'Esprit Politique de la Réforme. Par GEORGES DE LAGARDE. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1926. Pp. 485.)

WHEN M. Lagarde, in his introduction, protests that his work is neither original nor impartial, he does himself a slight injustice. Though there is in the book little that is altogether new, the recombination of old data is suggestive and powerful. And while the author's bias against the

Reformers is perfectly obvious throughout, he is scrupulously fair in expounding their ideas.

With that brilliant logic native to a Frenchman, he develops and drives home his main thesis, that the Reformation, by destroying the scholastic ideas of natural right and the scholastic distinction between spiritual and temporal, beat down the barriers of freedom and justice, and enthroned the state as an absolute and unlimited tyrant. The political spirit of the Reformation was nothing less than a mighty revolt of the laity; the only liberty it established was the freedom of the state from the church.

The Middle Ages, the author begins by urging, emphasized more than did any other period the theory of right, from which the schoolmen deduced, and within which they bounded, their whole system of politics. Government was for them only divine in so far as it embodied the principles of justice. For St. Thomas the public good was the first and the last word in the theory of the state, and that good was secured and sanctioned by the laws of nature. But, as the growing national states chafed and fretted under these restrictions, they soon found in Marsiglio and in the Nominalists, and then in the Reformers, men who would frame a theory to justify their revolt. As it was the yoke of the Church which had galled the withers of the secular power, the Church was the main object of attack by the new emancipators.

Though the Reformers, according to M. Lagarde, admitted the idea of natural law, they reduced it to a practically useless category by making it inconsistent with their fundamental conviction of the total depravity of human nature. A being so desperately wicked as unregenerate man could claim no rights whatever before the tribunal of God. And man born anew was held to be superior to law, in that he had the higher law written in his heart. Thus law was degraded to the function of the police—necessary to restrain malefactors but superfluous in a society of saints. How frail were the arguments of the Reformers is shown, in the author's opinion, by the alleged fact that modern political theorists, beginning with Grotius, have returned to the medieval idea.

The next step taken by the Protestants was the assertion of the divine right of the state by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. M. Lagarde admits, but regards as unimportant, the fact that all these Reformers, though at times urging the duty of passive obedience, at other times framed a theory of the right of constitutional resistance to the government. The French monarchomachs, as the chief obstacle in the path of his argument, are disposed of by saying that there is nothing specifically Protestant in their theories of revolution.

More convincing is the chapter on the abolition of the distinction of spiritual and temporal power. Even the student long familiar with this phase of sixteenth-century thought will be startled by the precision and force of the author's proof-texts. In Zwingli and Luther one seems at times to be reading Hobbes.

Perhaps the most original and engaging chapter of the work is that on individualism. The Reformers, beginning by asserting the rights of the individual conscience in order to dynamite the existing church, ended by fixing on their followers a theocratic tyranny unparalleled in earlier times. The author's explanation of how this came about is most interesting, but does not fully allow for the distinction properly made between individualism and subjectivism. At his most liberal Luther never went further than asserting that each individual is responsible for his own interpretation of divine truth—for by that interpretation he must live and die. Neither he, nor any one in that age, would allow that religious and philosophical truth itself is relative; that it depends not on an objective standard but on a subjective idiosyncrasy.

Though the author has read carefully and fairly widely, his bibliography reveals important lacunae. He does not know the pertinent works of Dunning, Elkan, Gläser, Macmillan, or Meineke. He knows Zwingli's works only in the new edition, and he knows only two volumes of that, though six have been published. This is the most costly of his omissions, though there are some similar gaps in his acquaintance with the works of the other reformers. A singular slip occurs (p. 128), when he speaks of "Carthright" of Scotland. The name he had in mind is doubtless that of the English Puritan Cartwright; but the reference would better fit the Scottish Buchanan.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von LUDWIG Freiherrn VON PASTOR. Band X. *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Catholischen Reformation und Restauration, 1585-1591.* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder. 1926. Pp. xxxi, 666. 20 M.)

THIS volume, though it deals with but a half-dozen years, covers four pontificates—those of Sixtus V., Urban VII., Gregory XIV., and Innocent IX. The last three of these, however, filled scarcely more than a single year, and their significance was as slight as was their length. Much less than a sixth of Pastor's pages suffices for them. The first five hundred he devotes to the great reign of Sixtus V.

So fascinating, he tells us, was the personality of Sixtus to his contemporaries that they ascribed to him much that really was the work of his predecessor; but even Pastor, though he endeavors to correct this error, thinks Pope Sixtus deserves to have been known by posterity as Sixtus the Great. For Pastor, too, counts him, despite the fewness of his papal years, "one of the most important of the wearers of the triple crown"—"an extraordinary individuality, stamped with unity and definiteness, all whose undertakings and whose wide-reaching plans showed genius and greatness". "His outward appearance bespoke the man of will and of deed, but at the same time betrayed his peasant origin. Of middle size, he was strongly built and anything but handsome. The powerful

head, bent slightly forward, was surrounded by a thick, dark brown, somewhat grizzled beard. His cheek bones were prominent, his nose large and thick. Numerous wrinkles furrowed his high forehead. Brows arched and strikingly heavy shadowed the small and fiery eyes." "In much", adds the historian, " he reminds one of Julius II. Like him he was domineering and relentless in the carrying out of his aims, a powerful figure to whom his contemporaries might well apply the epithet 'Terribile' —the *gewaltig, grossartig*."

The old story that the future pope came to the conclave decrepit of bearing and leaning on a crutch, but was no sooner elected than his crutch was thrown away and his bearing became majestic, is of course rejected by Pastor as apocryphal. Nothing, he says, can be more unhistorical; the new pope was no dissembler. But what he tells us of the surprise the vigor of Sixtus, who for years had lived in seclusion and enforced inaction, brought to many of those who chose him leaves on us much the same impression as the fable. That his conception of Sixtus differs seriously from that of earlier biographers Pastor makes no claim, and in the useful survey of these writers which forms a part of his appendix he pays warm tribute to their work. Ranke's "bird's-eye view" gives us, he says, "in brilliant portrayal a most interesting sketch of the personality of the pope and of his political, administrative, and architectural activities"; but "this disconnected and epigrammatic sketch" is, he thinks, by no means adequate. It neglects the diplomatic and ecclesiastical achievements of Sixtus, especially his dealings with France and with Spain; but these lacks are largely made good by the later biography of Hübner. Of Balzani's chapter in the *Cambridge Modern History* he speaks, too, in high terms, as also of the book of L'Épinois, *La Ligue et les Papes*, and of Herre's "great work" on the papal elections in the days of Philip the Second.

But, whatever his debt to earlier workers, his own researches have everywhere verified and enriched their results. His materials have been such as no earlier student could command; and precious bits of these he has printed, as hitherto, at the end of his volume. Thus he shares with us a mass of the gossipy *Avvisi* sent out in manuscript from Rome and now hidden in various libraries and archives. Thus, too, he gives us the substance of two still unprinted contemporary biographies of Pope Sixtus —known to Ranke in the Altieri library, but since lost, and now again unearthed, though in inferior transcripts, in the secret archives of the Vatican.

With the publication of the present volume the author is able to share with his readers his plans for the remainder of his work. It will end with the year 1800, and to bring it to that point will require six more volumes. The next, covering the time of Clement VIII. (1592-1604), will carry us into the seventeenth century. Then, with ever quickening pace, the succeeding volumes will deal with the periods 1604-1621, 1621-1655, 1655-1700, 1700-1740, 1740-1800. It would seem, then, that it is the sixteenth century which Pastor has counted most worthy of detailed study, and that

what lies before us is only a long home-stretch. May life and health be his for the completion of his great task!

GEORGE L. BURR.

Histoire de Belgique. Par HENRI PIRENNE, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Volume VI. (Brussels: Lamertin. 1926. Pp. viii, 477.)

THIS is the sixth volume in a series that is to cover the history of Belgium from its earliest beginnings. The author, Professor Pirenne, is entirely too modest. In the preface to his book he apologizes for what he calls "une ébauche sommaire et provisoire". In reality, he has produced a lucid, scholarly, and entertaining narrative worthy of the same high commendation that his earlier works have received.

At the very outset the author assumes an attitude to the early revolutionary period that is too often neglected to-day. He reminds his readers that the Revolution was not purely French in origin, but that it was, in great part, cosmopolitan and universal, the result of the policies of the enlightened despots. With this larger aspect in mind, Professor Pirenne turns to the consideration of Belgium. As far as that country is concerned, the author treats of the Revolution as the continuance of the policy of the Ancien Régime. Ever since the battle of Bouvines, France had sought to hold Belgium for the sake of its frontiers or for the hegemony in Europe. This practice was continued at Jemappes. Leaving aside the narration of military campaigns and diplomatic events, the author confines his attention to a splendid analysis of the revolutionary movement as a schooling of the Belgians in the arts of governing according to the New Régime and in the forging of an already nascent national consciousness in spite of the local antagonisms of the country. In the earlier period Dumouriez is the great hero of a moderate liberalism and the protector of the people of Belgium against an increasingly ambitious and radical party at Paris. Neerwinden and the entrance of the Austrians into the provinces rid the Belgians of the latter danger. With the victory of the French in October, 1795, however, the amalgamation of Belgium and Liège to France was temporarily accomplished. Then it was that the French administrative system was established in these provinces and the country was compressed and unified as it never had been before. Belgium began her political and electoral apprenticeship, but religious, social, and industrial life remained in abeyance. Matters were brought almost to a climax by the Conscription Law of September, 1798, that aroused a peasant revolt and that spread discontent over Belgium. The *coup d'état* of Brumaire in 1799, however, brought, for the time being, better conditions, and a period of stabilization ensued. Under the Consulate and the Empire the Belgians received a real education in the new principles. Terrible sacrifices were paid, but with one exception the country enjoyed internal peace until 1814. The system of departments and an ordered and uniform government benefited the country, industry began again to flour-

ish, and prosperity to appear. The Empire concluded the political education of the country.

In 1814, with the disappearance of Napoleon, the test came. The kingdom of the Netherlands was formed as a barrier of Europe against France. Of this kingdom, the Belgians, because of the unity that they had experienced and the principles that they had learned, were an unhappy part. Led by their bourgeoisie and a liberally inclined clergy, that included even the princes of the Church, the desire of the people for independence and liberty was fostered under the very nose of King William. This movement profited even by certain advantages that he gave them. A wise economic policy permitted an increase of prosperity and population that fed the strength of the separatists. The movement for revolt became religious and intellectual as well as political. Its leaders sought to show the liberally inclined nations that the question of Belgian unity was a necessary corollary to the survival of their own liberal ideas. It was this belief that finally led England and Louis Philippe to labor for the preservation of the revolutionary movement in Belgium during the years 1830-1831. The three concluding chapters treat of the laying of the foundations of the kingdom of Belgium and its recognition by the European powers.

Space will not permit of a more detailed analysis of Professor Pirenne's work. Throughout the book there is evident all the exacting and careful scholarly criticism for which the author is noted. To the mind of the reviewer the most significant part is the larger section relating to the period of the Revolution and the Empire. This work is one that will be of very real value and interest to all students of revolutionary and nineteenth-century Europe.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

The Struggle for the Rhine. By HERMANN STEGEMANN. Translated by Georges Chatterton-Hill. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1927. Pp. 432. 12 M.)

SOMETHING should be done to get the historians out of the trenches. They are invariably at the outposts, sniping each other in peace across national frontiers and lighting the fires of the next war under cover of objectivity. They take full possession of the trenches after war closes and the soldiers disarm. But not they. They are just going into action.

Dr. Stegemann does even better than this in his *Struggle for the Rhine*. He fights not only the last war, but all previous Central European wars and at the same time prepares his German and his French readers for the next. The grand total in 430 pages is the shedding of enough blood to redden the Rhine and its tributaries from Basel to the North Sea. The prospect he opens up for the future is such an unending struggle that European civilization might as well curse the Rhine and die.

Dr. Stegemann having written a four-volume *History of the War* (1914-1918) now feels logically compelled to draw the lessons from this

and from centuries of struggle and to reveal to future generations that the struggle has not yet been definitely decided. The book is dedicated to the German people who will thus be prepared, one may suppose, to treat Locarno as a scrap of paper.

The publisher's jacket gives one thesis and the text of another. The author says:

Possession of the Rhine enables, and has invariably enabled, a conqueror from the South or West to control the entire Central European zone and therefore to dominate Europe: whereas the inhabitants of the right bank need the Rhine to maintain their independence. Hence for the French in the West, the struggle for the Rhine is motivated by political ambition; for the Germans in the East, it is a problem of national survival.

The struggle for the Rhine is initiated by the Romans in 218 B. C. when they start out to meet Hannibal on the Rhone, not knowing there was any Rhine. Then the book proceeds with the wars of Cimbri, Romans, Carolingians, Hohenstauffens, Burgundians, and Bourbons. The Rhine maintains its dominance in European history through a chapter on the British-French colonial rivalry and the reign of the Prussian Frederick. The river comes fully into its baleful heritage in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era and the nineteenth century. In 1870 destiny assigned to Bismarck's genius "the task of fulfilling the historic mission set to Germany on the Rhine since innumerable centuries". The last chapter sketches Europe from 1870 to Versailles. German errors are underscored because they lost the Rhine, and French blunders since then point the lesson the author would teach. It concludes that Germans have too often lost sight of the fundamental fact that attachment to the Rhine is for Germany more than historic destiny or national existence, for in it "lies the source of her moral and spiritual strength". "As long as the struggle for the Rhine still remains undecided, Germany's future lies open before her. Thus after two thousand years the world stands again today on the threshold of a great Unknown."

If Bernhardi had not pre-empted the title, this book might well be called "Germany and the Next War".

G. S. F.

La Réunion de Metz à la France, 1552-1648. Par GASTON ZELLER, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur agrégé d'Histoire au Lycée Fustel de Coulanges (Strasbourg). 1^{ère} partie. *L'Occupation.* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres". 1926. Pp. 502. 40 fr.)

It was in July, 1914, says Dr. Zeller, that the project of this work was conceived. It would almost seem to have been a prophetic instinct that prompted the choice of such a subject, on the very eve of a war to which the author himself was summoned, as if to vindicate the title of his thesis and help to make the "Reunion of Metz to France" a living reality and not a mere historical reminiscence.

An absolutely objective treatment of such a subject under such circumstances it were almost unreasonable to expect. Dr. Zeller is a *Messin* and makes no pretension to a Platonic superiority to the emotions which the very name stirs in French breasts. He does, however, protest his scientific impartiality, and challenges proof of any intrusion of his sympathies into his judgment. His spirit is that of the scholar, not the partizan; and his purpose, an exhaustive inquiry into an episode that has hitherto been accorded only casual treatment. His study bears the mark of finality; he has fully exploited the archives, and ferreted out every last bit of evidence. His statements may be checked at every turn by reference to innumerable foot-notes, or to the *pièces justificatives* appended to the work.

But over and above the determination of the facts is the evaluation of the event itself. And it is at this point that the originality and independence of Dr. Zeller's thesis is most apparent. The traditional interpretation he can not accept. The acquisition of the "Three Bishoprics" in 1552 was, it is true, a step toward the Rhine, and was so recognized by at least some contemporaries. And it is also a fact that two or three generations later the attainment of the Rhine as a "natural limit" had become a definite object of French policy. *Post hoc, propter hoc*; the expedition of 1552 was an integral part of the *politique du Rhin*, deliberately calculated to promote it, and itself inspired by it. Hence, the policy must have antedated the act; from which it is an easy flight to "time immemorial".

But the reasoning, says Dr. Zeller, is fallacious and the conclusion controverted by the facts. There is no evidence of a conscious Rhine policy prior to 1552. An occasional vague reference is not sufficient to warrant a sweeping generalization. As a matter of fact, from the days of Philip the Fair to those of Henry II. the eastern frontier remained substantially unchanged, and the relations of Kingdom and Empire were uniformly friendly until the Hapsburgs inherited the Burgundian quarrel and France found itself confronted by the ominous power of Charles V. Even the incursion of 1444 into Alsace and Lorraine was aimed at the Burgundian rather than at the Empire, and the claims put forth by Charles VII. on this occasion, to territories "on this side of the Rhine", a sort of flourish, rather than a declaration of fixed policy. If the "Rhine idea" found even momentary lodgment in the royal mind, it was soon overlaid; and for the next hundred years the main axis of French policy inclined toward Italy.

And when finally a king of France did lead an army toward the Rhine it was not with the deliberate intention of establishing a new frontier, but in order to co-operate with his German allies against their common enemy the Emperor, and to restore the balance of power upset by Mühlberg. As for the occupation of the Three Bishoprics, it was a military measure, instigated by the princes themselves, with apparently no thought of permanently alienating imperial territory. They were to be held by the king as "Imperial Vicar", a title for which there was sufficient precedent and

which in itself implied an affirmation of the integrity of the Empire. Indeed, the princes affected to be defending the rights of the Empire against the Emperor himself, and it was as "Vindex Libertatis Germaniae" that they acclaimed their royal ally.

But, whatever the character of the princes' act, and however remiss they may have been in their duty to the German cause, the detachment of the Three Bishoprics from the Empire was in accord with the logic of events. The proof is found in the ease with which it was accomplished. The bonds that held them to the Empire had become purely formal; their cultural ties were all with France; they belonged to the "Pays Welches"; whatever Germanism they had ever had was well-nigh extinct; more than once Metz protested that it was a *cité gallique*. As for the Empire, it had long been undergoing a double transformation—shrinking in size, and in the process becoming less and less heterogenous, more and more exclusively German. And to the extent that it became German, it weakened its hold upon the non-German. It began to crumble at the edges. Small wonder that the borderlands yielded to the centrifugal impulse, and that in the fullness of time the Three Bishoprics should fall into the hands of the king of France, almost without effort on his part or struggle on theirs.

Such is Dr. Zeller's interpretation of the occupation of Metz. There can be nothing but admiration for the pains with which he has collected and correlated his evidence and the skill with which he has developed his thesis. But he himself would be the last to expect unanimous acceptance of all his conclusions. The "significance" of an event is, after all, somewhat a matter of individual judgment. And beyond the Rhine, at least, there are likely to be few who will condone, even in the light of the "logic of events", a pact which their compatriot Janssen branded as "a monument of German shame", or a surrender which Lamprecht denounced as "an act of treason". And even on this side of the Rhine there may be some who will ponder the word of Michelet and wonder if, after all, it was worth while: "We kept Metz, Toul, and Verdun, an admirable bit of the Empire. But what was of more value, the good opinion of the Empire and the friendship of Germany, that we did not keep; that we lost forever." And yet, happily, not *forever*; since Michelet wrote we have had Locarno.

THEODORE COLLIER.

La Vie Chère et le Mouvement Social sous la Terreur. Par ALBERT MATHIEZ, Chargé du Cours d'Histoire de la Révolution Française à l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Payot. 1927. Pp. 620. 32 fr.)

THIS is a work of primary importance for the student of the economic and social history of the French Revolution. Most of its chapters have already appeared in the *Annales Révolutionnaires* and its successor, the *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, of which Professor Mathiez has been the editor. As the second part of the title suggests, economic conditions are not the sole theme. This embraces also the

political and social tendencies which were in part cause, in part effect of the crisis. The narrative opens with a brief introduction describing the practices of regulation which were applied to the problem of food supply during the old régime, and which gradually broke down under the attacks of the Economists. It closes with the overthrow of Robespierre, leaving for later treatment the experiences of the Thermidorian period and the results of the repeal of the maximum legislation in December, 1794. The treatment in point of view is hostile to the bourgeois régime. The history of the actual application of the maximum laws, especially after their revision in the spring of 1794, is given in a rather fragmentary manner, doubtless for the compelling reason that here the preliminary labor of collecting and publishing documents, fostered by the Commission on the Economic History of the Revolution, has not been pushed far. Professor Mathiez remarks that in regard to several problems he must attempt little more than general indications, suggesting lines of research for others. One problem upon which the reader will feel most need of light is the practical operation of the system of requisitions. The author mentions scattered examples of local resistance, but says there was less rioting than under the régime of freedom of trade in 1792, inertia and latent hostility being the main obstacles to enforcement.

Especially instructive are the parts of the work which touch the relation of the different political factions to the problem. The individual and the faction which receive most attention are Jacques Roux and the "Enragés". Jacques Roux is sketched sympathetically, although his personal faults and his exaggerations as an agitator are not disguised. The attitude of the Girondins and that of the Mountain toward price regulation differ little, Professor Mathiez finds, except that the Girondins were moved by class prejudice and selfishness. To win in their struggle against the Girondins the Mountain party was obliged to waive its theoretical objections to price-fixing and to make terms with the followers of the "Enragés". Again, after Hébert in September, 1793, had become the actual leader of the "Enragés", the Mountain reluctantly introduced the most important maximum laws. Professor Mathiez brings out clearly the close relation between the excitement in Paris over the high cost of living and the inauguration of the Terror. September 4 and 5 were indeed a new May 31. But the Mountain never heartily accepted the principle of price regulation. At most, after the Committee of Public Safety had destroyed the "Ultra" and the "Citra" factions, the government honestly endeavored to enforce the law in its new form. The author recognizes the fact that "la grande coupable" in the whole series of miseries was the inflation of the assignats, which the general war had aggravated. No amount of regulation could cure evils as long as their fundamental cause remained. The strange fact is that the best minds in the Convention never seemed to begin to understand that economic freedom was impossible in the midst of such a world struggle. Professor Mathiez makes the point at the outset that while the intellectuals had become convinced before the

Revolution of the soundness of the principle of freedom in meeting the problem of supply the popular classes were far from accepting the idea, and that as soon as difficulties arose they instinctively recurred to methods of control which had so long been adopted by the rulers of the older France. The American student of the subject must also be struck by a further fact, namely, that although France was mainly rural, and the farmers made up the largest single group, no other class was so vilified by the politicians. The "farmer vote" did not frighten the leaders of the urban proletariat.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Napoleon. By ÉMIL LUDWIG. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. (New York: Boni and Liveright. 1926. Pp. xii, 707. \$3.00.)

THE most brilliant exposition of the Napoleonic legend should rightfully be noteworthy and popular. Such an attempt to enliven history is praiseworthy, and two factors have contributed to its success. The first is the author's style, perhaps the foremost example of the way the historical present should and should not be used—for it is the medium of the entire work. The second is the copious use of the words of Napoleon himself (often frankly imaginary) and of his contemporaries. The result is to give an exceedingly vivid portrayal of his reactions to his surroundings and in particular of his relations to Josephine and his family. Herein lies perhaps the chief value of the book. The writer has indeed achieved to a marked degree that intangible quality "atmosphere".

That the work contains nothing new is not necessarily a condemnation. In the field of biography, the artist is free to establish his own canons, and Ludwig (Cohn) confines himself to the "inner history of Napoleon". Yet it may well be asked, for instance, why no serious consideration of his rôle as organizer and administrator is included. Is it legitimate to divorce the man so completely from his work? No adequate conception is given of the titanic struggle with England. Seventy-one pages are devoted to the St. Helena episode which Fournier treats in twenty-two. Obviously such a purely psychological study can not take the place of a more well-rounded account.

The task of the critic is rendered exceedingly difficult by the entire absence of critical apparatus. Nevertheless errors of fact and interpretation, contradictions, and disregard of chronology are apparent throughout. Many of the dates given are incorrect. A few typical slips may be cited. The translation of the first campaign manifesto is unwarrantably free. Joseph was *not* a deputy in 1799. Half statements often give an entirely wrong impression (this is the cardinal error throughout). One would think that Bernadotte and Napoleon had never met before the return from Egypt. The treatment accorded Moreau and his troops after the campaign of 1800 is entirely omitted, and Napoleon's gratitude is stressed! The statement that "all the reports from the provinces have been full of complaints regarding the lack of public safety" perpetuates the old legend

about the Directory. The figures of the plebiscite on the Consulate for Ten Years are given without comment. To say that Napoleon never falsified his papers and despatches is nothing short of ludicrous. (The assertion is contradicted by the author himself on page 642.) As for the account of the geography of St. Helena and of the exile, the most charitable assumption is that the writer put his faith in very defective sources. In general, the constant misplacing of statements made at Saint Helena and the (admitted) fabrication of soliloquies out of whole cloth are the most objectionable features.

When it comes to matters of opinion, there is of course room for considerable latitude; but no account is taken of controversial matters. Bernadotte is pictured in the usual fashion. No mention is made of the fact that he was a man of note before Bonaparte was heard of. To accuse him of ambition and ingratitude in a discussion of the Corsican is amusing. It may be added that Napoleon had nothing to do with the Swedish election—in fact he opposed it. The defense of the murder of the Duke of Enghien goes further than even the average apologist. The following is attributed to Napoleon—"The Continent must be unified, must consist of middle-sized and small powers overshadowed by the eagles of France, and democratically ranged side by side." What does this mean? Certainly no desire for a "United States of Europe" or "league of nations" was seriously entertained by the conqueror in the pre-St. Helena days. We may be permitted to differ in our views on his conduct upon his first entry into Berlin. To say that in the spring of 1811 "Russia seemed still friendly" is certainly a misreading of the evidence.

When it comes to the larger phases of interpretation, no agreement can ever be reached. The author's thesis is to be found in the words of his opening quotation, "Napoleon went forth to seek Virtue, but, since she was not to be found, he got Power". Though his analysis of his hero's motives (page 9, etc.) does not seem to uphold this view, it will doubtless satisfy the apologists, to whose school the writer obviously belongs. The picture of Napoleon as a benign, peace-loving philanthropist, goaded on by bloodthirsty powers and an evil destiny, can hardly meet with general acceptance. Grant these premises, however, and a rather powerful feeling of causal sequence is derived from the work as a whole—which is not sustained upon careful analysis. The characterization is striking rather than fused. One is reminded of the saying that it is possible to prove anything by selection and omission.

The book is absorbing from cover to cover, but it will change no mature opinions. It will, however, shape many that are unformed: therein lies its virtue and its danger. As a supplement to Lanfrey, for example, it is excellent; but as the sole source of information for many to whom Napoleon has been only a name it is deplorable.

ERIK ACHORN.

La Chute de l'Empire: La Légende de Napoléon, 1812-1815. Par ÉDOUARD DRIAULT. (Paris: Alcan. 1927. Pp. vi, 484. 40 fr.)

THIS is the fifth and concluding volume of M. Driault's *Napoléon et l'Europe*. The four preceding volumes have appeared at intervals during the last twenty years and have been entitled: *La Politique Extérieure du Premier Consul (1800-1803)*; *Austerlitz: la Fin du Saint-Empire (1804-1806)*; *Tilsit: France et Russie sous le Premier Empire: la Question de Pologne (1806-1809)*; and *Le Grand Empire (1809-1812)*. The general theme of the complete work is the significance of Napoleon to France and to the rest of Europe. In the opinion of the learned author Napoleon had most beneficent plans for Europe. He aimed at peace for the Continent and liberty for the individual. By emancipating the individual he really laid the foundation for the rise of the various European nationalities. This is the "grand design". The break-up of the Holy Roman Empire and the pushing back of Russia were indispensable preliminaries to its successful execution. The kings of Europe in alliance with their misguided peoples thwarted the beneficent Napoleonic plans.

La Chute de l'Empire: la Légende de Napoléon narrates the final act of this stirring drama. Devoted to the events of the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, it recounts the familiar stories of the retreat of the Emperor from Moscow, the uprising of Prussia, the diplomacy of Austria, the Congress of Prague, the battle of Leipzig, Napoleon's remarkable campaign in defense of Paris, the Congress of Vienna, the "Hundred Days", and St. Helena. In the volume under review, therefore, M. Driault challenges comparison with the fifth volume of Lefèvre's *Histoire des Cabinets de l'Europe*, Houssaye's 1813, 1814, and especially with the eighth volume of Sorel's *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*.

Although M. Driault has worked at his task for thirty years and knows the archives of Paris thoroughly it is very unlikely that his work will supersede the magistral volumes of M. Sorel. He has not explored other European archives. He has allowed certain prejudices and preconceptions to color his whole work. He is a partizan of Mediterranean civilization and a believer in the Rhine as a natural and indispensable boundary of France. Napoleon is great because he is the great protagonist of these two ideas. Men and policies are measured by the way they fit into the "grand design". Because he helped to thwart the plans of Napoleon Metternich is characterized as an imbecile, the real author of Sadowa, a man unable to see beyond the end of his nose, and neither a statesman nor a diplomat. England, naturally, is the villain of the piece. Some practical reason is always at the bottom of even its seemingly generous actions; and Rhenish Prussia is the diabolical invention of Lord Castlereagh. Because they did not insist on the Rhine frontier the French royalists betrayed France. The style is marked by great concentration and rapid transitions. The author frequently suggests rather than elucidates his point. The general result is a brilliant diplomatic and political history shot through with questionable historical interpretations.

The work has the usual scientific apparatus. It is preceded by a bibliography of six pages, which is not critical, and a suggestive essay of twenty-five pages on the balance of power. On nearly every page of the text reference is made to some of the more important sources used by the author and the book is likely to call the attention of historical scholars to some comparatively little-known reports of French diplomatic agents. The work has an analytical table of contents and a full index, which unfortunately is not topical.

C. P. HIGBY.

An Economic History of Modern Britain: the Early Railway Age, 1820-1850. By J. H. CLAPHAM, Litt.D., Fellow of King's College. (Cambridge: the University Press. 1926. Pp. xviii, 623. 25 s.)

IN this work, which is to be completed in two further volumes, with at least an epilogue covering the period 1914-1920, Dr. Clapham covers the ground already surveyed by Dr. Lillian Knowles in her *Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century*, and by C. R. Fay in his *Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century*. He works, however, on a scale unattempted in any hitherto published work, and brings into the story a wealth of detail which significantly alters many of the generalizations thus far accepted.

The first volume, now under review, is a veritable encyclopaedia for the period from 1820 to 1850 in regard to all such matters as population, communications—roads, canals, railroads—agriculture, commerce, industry, money, banking, and insurance, the economic activities and policies of the state, and finally, the conditions of life among the laboring population. Every available local history, special study, monograph, and doctor's thesis has been stripped of its essential information; and where the mass of materials thus available might be deemed inadequate, the reports of parliamentary committees and royal commissions, which have long lain neglected in blue books, have been called into service. The result is a work which synthesizes all existing studies, and goes beyond them by making significant additions based upon the author's own investigations and research. The only criticisms which may be hazarded are that there seems to be too assured an acceptance of the depositions before the royal commissions as objective evidence, and that no attempt has been made to get into the actual account-books of large and small industrial and agricultural enterprises to find the day-to-day conditions in going business undertakings. Such work must be done before any definitive description of certain sections of British economic history can be written.

Dr. Clapham brings to his task a remarkable knowledge of British geography as well as of trade history; and his favorite method is to tour from trade to trade and from county to county in the development of his theme. There is thus revealed the diversity of the national economic activity and organization. The persistence and great importance of the

domestic system under many forms in many regions all through the first half of the nineteenth century, already indicated for special industries by earlier writers, is set forth in detail, together with the limited application of machinery, the small utilization of steam power, and the restricted size of industrial establishments even in those trades where the factory was already dominant. Thus, for example, the cotton industry, the steam industry *par excellence*, used 31,000 horse-power of steam and 10,000 horse-power of water in 1834-1835, while in 1850 there were still only 71,000 horse-power of steam and 11,000 horse-power of water applied in the 1800 British cotton factories. All other textiles at this same time used only 34,000 horse-power of steam and 13,000 horse-power of water; and these installations in the textile mills represented the largest use of steam in industry in the country. Again, in cotton manufacturing, the trade most affected by the factory system, in all Great Britain there were only 113 firms employing more than 350 men; among the woollen and worsted manufacturers, only 34; and among the "engine and machine makers", only 14. The Industrial Revolution was indeed under way by 1850, but its effects were as yet limited.

Among the best parts of the book are the expositions of the development of economic policy. With his vast knowledge, Dr. Clapham is able to bring together the business situation, the factors of personal prejudice and traditional belief, and the special requirements of interested business elements, and to show how all these resulted in a banking act, a railroad enactment, the repeal of a corn law, or the abandonment of a navigation act. His sketch of the repeal of the navigation code in 1849 is quite characteristic. This consummation was not due primarily to the current *laissez-faire* zeal which seemed to be sweeping everything before it. Though the famine revealed some of the mysteries of the law, when it was found that a Dutchman could not load grain for London in Danzig, and though manufacturers occasionally had to bring indigo from Holland *via* the United States, trade was so adjusted to the code through centuries of experience that there was no real protest against it at home. But the colonials began to resent it when their preference in British markets disappeared with the repeal of the Corn Laws. Moreover, Prussia and the Zollverein, essential to British trade not only for their own markets but as bases from which "satisfactory quantities" of English cotton goods were smuggled into Russia, demanded greater maritime freedom and even intimated that in default of the repeal of the British act, it might be imitated. At the same moment Holland and the United States let their dislike be known, and the result was the victory for free trade.

Dr. Clapham is also especially happy in his analysis of the effects upon the life of the people of the whole economic movement which he portrays, though it is to be regretted that he views his own task rather narrowly and refrains from tracing similar reactions in politics. In connection with the discussion of general conditions two of the most positive contributions of the volume are made. It is definitely shown that the

rapid growth of the population had no relation to Speenhamland poor relief, although the question of what caused this increase is not satisfactorily answered. Secondly, a complete refutation is provided for the notion that everything was getting worse for the workingman down to some unspecified date in the 1840's. It is shown conclusively that there was a sharp price fall in 1820-1821, after which the purchasing power of wages was definitely greater than it had been in 1790. The consequent rise in effective demand at home was doubtless an important factor in the changes which followed.

The twelve years which have elapsed in the production of this volume are not too long for a work of such quality; yet in anticipation of similarly excellent treatment of the stirring developments after 1850 all scholars must express the hope that the second volume will appear at a shorter interval.

FREDERICK C. DIETZ.

Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIX^e Siècle, Épilogue, 1895-1914.

Par ÉLIE HALÉVY, Professor à l'École Libre des Sciences Politiques. (Paris: Hachette. 1926. Pp. vi, 420. 50 fr.)

PROFESSOR HALÉVY to whose pen we are already indebted for brilliant volumes on the first half of the nineteenth century now suddenly makes a plunge forward and lands unexpectedly at 1895 to start what he calls the epilogue to his great series of seven volumes on the history of the English people in that century. This series now has three volumes up to 1841. Four more are planned which will conclude with the decline of the Liberal party, 1880-1895. The present book deals with the period 1895-1905, "the imperialists in power", and is to be followed by a second covering the years 1905-1914, to be entitled *Vers la Démocratie et vers la Guerre*. Such a decision was a hardy one, for in this later period official papers are as yet often unpublished. There are great biographies which are still held back and, above all, the scene is much more crowded as history travels along at a faster gait.

We are well accustomed to the admirable surveys of social and industrial life which Professor Halévy has given us in time past. The natural query is, how does he fare in a period during which problems of imperial and foreign policy are to the front? The method is essentially the same. He has made use chiefly of the press and of reports of speeches, of the voluminous official reports which deal with domestic affairs, to a certain extent of pamphlets, and here and there of official correspondence relating to foreign affairs. The monthly and quarterly press he seems to have neglected; his use of such biographies as there are does not appear to a great extent; and his information regarding foreign policy leaves one largely in the situation of the man in the street who has to depend for his knowledge on the daily press.

It is a pity that there was no hard-fought general election during this period, for even in the exaggerations and lies of such a contest there is

a wealth of material which comes to the surface. When this is submitted to analysis and digestion it forms admirable material for the historian who has the qualities and interests of the author. Important though the question of education is, that subject and the quarrel between the churches regarding it receive perhaps a disproportionate space when a little less than one-fifth of the entire book is devoted to it. In similar fashion, though this is the time when imperial problems are to the fore, there is little on the subject and that rather badly scattered. The Boer War of course receives attention but the colonial conferences of 1897 and 1902, and the federation of Australia for example, are dismissed very briefly. As far as foreign policy is concerned, it seems to take a back seat throughout.

The result is that we do not have a history of the Empire when the imperialists are in power. Even Ireland receives only fifteen pages in a book of four hundred and sixteen. The heart of the book lies of course in the second part, dealing with education and religion, the labor movement and the birth of the Labor Party, and later with the controversies regarding tariff reform. Here we have a general field which has attracted the author before and in which he is really at home. He draws an admirable picture of the conservative tenets which first marked the growth of the labor movement in England and of the gradual penetration of socialist doctrine. The alarm of capital at such tendencies which led to lockouts and strikes and which was followed by the Taff Vale decision resulted in a temporary victory for the employers. This was perhaps aided by the general interest of the world in events across the water in China and South Africa. The more effective result, however, lay in the establishment of the "Labour Representation Committee", and in the advent in the House of Commons of Labor members who did not respond either to Liberal or Unionist whips. This was the great event in the social history of the time.

There is also an interesting analysis of the Chamberlain programme and of the controversy between tariff reform and free trade. Professor Halévy draws a picture of the dangers to which Great Britain was exposed by industrial competition and by the dumping in England of German and American goods. This is followed by an excursion into rival budget programmes and a conclusion that, as Mr. Balfour's education act of 1902 had helped to unite the two rival sections of the Liberal party, so Mr. Chamberlain's tariff proposals supplied the Liberal party with a fighting slogan which wiped out for a time the old differences and thus led to the *débâcle* of Unionism before the advance of a free-trade party. Such a general view of British history from the adroit hand of the author is welcome. He is strikingly impartial throughout though naturally a liberal, even a radical, in his tendencies.

A. L. P. DENNIS.

Early Life and Letters of John Morley. By F. W. HIRST. Two volumes. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1927. Pp. xxvi, 327; ix, 285. 28 s.)

MR. HIRST leaves no one in doubt as to the circumstances under which he was led to write this work. He is equally clear in stating the nature of his own attitude towards Morley.

At Oxford I belonged to a group of Liberals who found sustenance in John Morley's writings and speeches. Judge then of my elation when in 1898 he invited me to help him in exploring the archives at Hawarden for his *Life of Gladstone*. From that time onwards I was treated as a member of the family. He struck me as the greatest man I had ever met, most inspiring of politicians, most fascinating of talkers. I never changed my opinion, or wavered in my admiration for his politics, even when he failed, as I sometimes thought he did, in action.

The younger by thirty-five years, Mr. Hirst knew Morley as "the Liberal Statesman, cautious, responsible, slow to action", a very different man, in guise at least, from the editor of the *Fortnightly Review* and the ally of Joseph Chamberlain—that "earlier Morley, dashing journalist, ardent rationalist, impetuous radical, critic of church and throne". For many of those who are coeval with Mr. Hirst, and who had soaked themselves in *Voltaire* and *Compromise*, a surprise was in store when they met the Morley of 1900—urbane, sympathetic, and non-polemical in after-dinner talk.

It is clear from Mr. Hirst's concluding words that these two volumes are to be followed by another or others. Here he reviews a period of forty-seven years (1838-1885), closing with the first omens of that split in the Liberal party which followed Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule. The general election of 1885 marks "the end of Morley's career as a journalist, man of letters and private member of Parliament". He became an administrator—without reluctance. "Nor did he ever regret the choice. The air of Olympus agreed with him. He enjoyed it and he enjoyed also the poms and ceremonies and privileges of high office." Mr. Hirst proposes to ask at a later day how far responsibility changed Morley's character and opinions. Meanwhile he fixes a dividing line at the point where Morley and Chamberlain began to drift apart.

No part of this book is more arresting than the chapters which reveal how arduous was the effort by which Morley mounted beyond the first rung of the ladder. At twenty-two he was without money, or family connections, or prestige of a brilliant course at the university. Oxford had given him no more than a pass degree. In a word his chance of becoming Secretary for India was precisely that which at the same stage Samuel Johnson possessed of becoming literary dictator. Both emerged from Grub Street, but not without suffering from its hard discipline. In Morley's case it was journalism which gave the real start, with the *Fortnightly Review* as a gateway to opportunity. His work as editor furnishes an example of perfect co-ordination. Less eminent in pure scholarship than Acton

or Bryce, Morley was a true man of letters, with a vivid interest in people and an unflagging interest in ideas. Becoming editor of the *Fortnightly Review* in 1866, and holding this chair till 1882, he was fortunate in that the most eminent of the Victorians were then at their prime. During these years Morley's own contribution to the literature of ideas commanded the admiration of all Liberals, while that genius for friendship with which he credited Chamberlain and which was no less his own, enabled him to secure contributions from thinkers of the utmost eminence. It would be hard to find another English editor to place in the same bracket with Morley when one considers the conjunction of high intellectual gifts with those qualities of personal appeal which are needed to enlist and hold writers of the highest quality.

Morley's intellectual indebtedness to Mill and Comte is well known. Less well known is the stimulus which, as pointed out by Mr. Hirst, he owed to Huxley. No more notable contribution to the *Fortnightly* was made during the whole period of Morley's connection therewith than Huxley's article on "The Physical Basis of Life", which appeared in February, 1869. It was of importance to Morley that at this stage of his career he should have captured such a paper, and there can be little doubt that Huxley had much to do in heading him so strongly towards Lucretius. Those who remember Gladstone's controversy with Huxley during the 'eighties over the Gadarene swine will derive the more interest from contemplating the spiritual affinity of Gladstone and Morley despite the chasm which yawned between them in respect to dogma. It should be pointed out that Mr. Hirst's book devotes a special chapter to Morley's views on religion.

The first of these volumes centres in the nurture of the young radical. The second finds a motive equally distinct in Morley's transition from literature and journalism to public life. Here the outstanding theme is the contact which he established with the Birmingham party under Chamberlain, diversified by his friendship with Courtney. In sketching this portion of Morley's life Mr. Hirst has enjoyed the advantage of access to papers made available by Miss Grace Morley and Mr. F. W. Morley. Indeed the whole work rests upon materials of the first quality, and such as would not be placed at the disposal of a biographer who lacked the complete confidence of the family. An accomplished writer, no less than a discriminating disciple, Mr. Hirst has portrayed the first half of Morley's life with knowledge and fairness. His work, admirable to this point, can not fail, when completed, to find a permanent place in Victorian biography. Manifestly, it is an indispensable supplement to Morley's *Recollections*.

A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement. By G. D. H. COLE. Two volumes in one. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1927. Pp. 192, 211. \$4.50.)

A GOOD survey of the British labor movement since the Industrial Revolution has long been needed. Much has been accomplished by pioneers in certain fields such as trade-union history, co-operation, and Chartism, but it has been left for G. D. H. Cole to produce the first synoptic view. Although his debt to the Webbs, the Hammonds, Max Beer, and other spade-workers is considerable, certain sections are the fruits of his own investigations. Mr. Cole was already the biographer of Cobbett and Owen and for the period of the 'sixties he has delved a little in the Howell Collections. The results in the present work are very creditable. The account is always fresh and stimulating even when drawing heavily upon the work of others.

The thesis of the book is the essential unity of the working-class movement. In the trade unions, co-operative associations, and political organizations the author sees but different aspects of a single endeavor, which is to solve the problems created for the masses by the twin revolutions in agriculture and industry. In this effort the movement has passed through three distinct phases. Until 1848 it was on the whole backward-looking. The underlying purpose of each agitation, whether of Luddites, Owenite trade unionists, agricultural laborers, or Chartists, was to destroy the hated industrialism and restore the old peasant village society. From 1848 to about 1880 was a second phase during which Labor became acclimated to the capitalist régime. Energy was no longer wasted in futile efforts to turn back the hands of the clock, but was devoted to building up organizations within the existing system. Some strong trade, co-operative, and friendly societies resulted from the workers' effort to make a place for themselves. Such conflicts with capital as arose were merely for better wages and conditions. Politically the era was featured by the alliance of Liberalism and Labor. The third phase, which began in the eighteen-eighties, was marked by the "new" unionism, the rise of Labor as an independent political force, and the acceptance of Socialism as the creed of an increasing number of workers.

The author, who is the leading exponent of Guild Socialism, naturally dwells upon all attempts at producers' co-operation and control. Similarly, in view of tendencies recently apparent in the ranks of British labor, the feeble beginnings of internationalism in the last century assume a new importance.

One omission in the book is surprising. The chapter on the return of Socialism in the 'eighties relates the activities of H. M. Hyndman, William Morris, and Belfort Bax, but fails to mention the Fabians. Were it not for a few casual references in later chapters the reader would be unaware of the existence of this famous society. This neglect is unfortunate, because no account of the Labor movement can be complete without a consideration of the influence of Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, and the other

Fabian essayists. Many readers will disagree, moreover, with statements (I. 179) which seem to undervalue the importance of those religious and humanitarian ideals which have frequently been powerful factors behind British reform agitations. The spirit manifest in such movements as Christian Socialism can not be ignored.

These are, however, relatively minor criticisms. The book is a welcome and valuable addition to the rapidly growing bibliography of British labor history. We look forward to the time when the author will carry out his indicated intention of covering the same ground in a far larger work.

CARL F. BRAND.

Ricasoli and the Risorgimento in Tuscany. By E. K. HANCOCK, Professor of Modern History in the University of Adelaide. (London: Faber and Gwyer. 1926. Pp. x, 320. 16 s.)

THIS volume is a real contribution to Risorgimento literature in the English language, though it is not altogether satisfactory to the historical student. Hancock has written after much patient research and his text proves that he has laid under contribution the principal printed sources listed in his rich bibliography of local Tuscan history. He states that he has also had at his disposal the family archives of the Ricasoli at Brolio—and they have been of some service to him—but his declaration that, for any study of Ricasoli, “apart from these archives the available manuscript sources are negligible”, is entirely incorrect and would indicate unfamiliarity on the writer’s part with the larger field of Risorgimento history. The truth is that there are masses of unpublished documents in the Italian state archives and in other public collections relating to Ricasoli’s life and achievements. In using the word *available* Hancock perhaps means to cover the fact that the state archives were not open to him for most of his period. But he should have known that for historical students other public collections are not subject to the same restrictions, and his detailed descriptive bibliography should have mentioned the existence of this rich unpublished material, even if a part of it were for him not *available*.

It is also strange that in his copious foot-notes he makes no reference to William Roscoe Thayer’s masterly *Life and Times of Cavour*, which contains a fine appreciation of Ricasoli and takes a much broader view of Risorgimento events than Hancock has given. The latter’s volume professes to be, and is, a biography of Ricasoli, 1846–1860, and a detailed study of local conditions and events during the period, particularly of the development of popular political thought as dominated by the stern Tuscan leader. As such it is interesting and useful, but to be fully appreciated it presupposes on the reader’s part a general understanding, such as Thayer gives, of the larger drama of the Italian struggle.

As a picture of Tuscan political life Hancock’s work is generally correct. It gives an excellent, though melancholy, view, that is not exag-

gerated, of the internal weakness and dissensions of the state, showing well the decadence of political life in Florence and Leghorn that justified Tuscany's ultimate fate in becoming "nothing more than a province of another state". The writer justly observes that the Italian revolutionists of 1848 and 1849 gave more importance to song and enthusiasm than to organization, discipline, and co-operation. His analysis of portions of the pamphlet literature of the period is for the most part good and contributes to an understanding of the conflicting currents of public opinion. He evidently feels that his narrative, in its description of much fruitless local endeavor, is at times tedious, and he attempts to lighten it by frequent touches of humor, which are often effective, but which do not always contribute to accuracy of historical interpretation. At some points he seems to be laughing at the tense dramatic struggle, whereas in reality it is clear from his work as a whole that he is in sincere sympathy with the Italian patriots, with their purposes, and with the ultimate achievement of national unity.

Hancock shows himself to be a keen political philosopher and a clever political portrait painter, though his brush errs at times in exaggerating individual idiosyncrasies. He indulges his sarcasm at Lambruschini's expense, and to the detriment of his canvas as an accurate portrait. He seeks to represent Ricasoli, as he is, a great figure in Italian history, but gives such undue prominence to his peculiarities as to distort the likeness. The writer is deeply irritated by Ricasoli's puritanism, and harps upon it to an extent that irritates the reader against the writer—or alienates the reader's sympathy from the "Iron Baron". The term "narrow intellect" is too strong to be applied to a man who was one of the early seers of Italian unity and an indispensable figure in its achievement.

A good example of the writer's keen analysis of evidence is given in his appendix on "Prince Jerome in Tuscany", proving that Prince Napoleon at the outset of the campaign of 1859 shared no dreams of Napoleon III. as to the setting up of a Napoleonic throne in Central Italy. The Emperor himself at this time was consistently hostile to the union of Tuscany with Piedmont and to Italian unity.

Hancock's translation of Victor Emmanuel's nickname "Re Galantuomo", as "Gentleman King" is erroneous. "Galantuomo" is not the equivalent of "Gentiluomo". The meaning of the nickname is "King Honest Man", or "King-who-keeps-his-word". The king died in 1878, not 1877.

In his note to page 81, the writer has strangely confused Ricasoli's memorandum of March 5, in the preparation of which Salvagnoli is said to have collaborated, and the latter's pamphlet, *Discorso sullo Stato Politico della Toscana nel Marzo del 1847*. While the two writings are similar in purpose, they are totally different in form, and the *Discorso* can not be considered in any way as the publication of the memorandum "with a few modifications".

To his bibliography Hancock should add Ricasoli's seven unpublished letters addressed to Dott. Antonio Ricci and published in 1893, and Angiola Doria's "Carteggio Inedito Salvagnoli-Ricasoli". The latter was published in *Il Risorgimento Italiano*, volume XVIII., July-December, 1925, perhaps too late for use in the preparation of this volume. In the letter of April 7 in this *Carteggio* there is a reference indicating that Salvagnoli's *Discorso* was a new original writing to be submitted to Ricasoli and Lambruschini for criticism about a month after the preparation of the former's memorandum.

H. NELSON GAY.

Thirty Years of Modern History. By WILLIAM KAY WALLACE.
(London: Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company.
1926. Pp. 293. 10 s. 6 d.)

THE reader can see anything he desires to see in the sort of history that Mr. Wallace writes, and he can see much that is good. Mr. Harry Elmer Barnes reviewed the *Trend of History* (1922) and marched the author straight into the New History camp. (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 520.) Mr. Barnes regretted only that Mr. Wallace had not known Pol-lard, Gillespie, Ogg, Abbott, Hayes, Fueter, Marvin, and others, who are supposed to have had something to do with an "accepted synthesis of modern history", whatever that may be. Mr. Phillips Bradley reviewed in a friendly manner the *Passing of Politics* (1924) but would have had Mr. Wallace know more about Hobson, Cole, Duguit, Krabbe, Burns, Laski, and others. (*Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, XIX. 182.) Clearly there has been no lack of disposition to educate Mr. Wallace but he goes along in the same carefree manner.

It was to be expected that *Thirty Years of Modern History* would contain many things found in the *Trend of History* and in the *Passing of Politics*. With more practice the author is surer of the trend of history, and he hangs a wreath on the door of politics with a serenity that indicates no personal bereavement. There is much that is interesting in the author's interpretation of the history of the last thirty years, but it must be remembered that it is interpretation and not history. There is more about turning-points, trends, and transformations than the orthodox historian likes to see. Mr. Wallace writes brilliantly but he appears to lack sophistication. He thinks he is dealing with "one of those dissolving periods in history". He is confident that the organization of society and the state is now "undergoing a complete transformation". He discusses a "New Age" into which we are now entering. Visions such as these have appeared to students of history throughout the centuries.

An example of the way in which Mr. Wallace does things appears in his first chapter, on William II. of Germany. The fact that the author's places of residence are Fifth Avenue, New York, and Place Vendôme, Paris, arouses lively expectations of slaughter. One finds on

the contrary that William II. is happily explained. "He had come to accept implicitly the new doctrines of the will to power, of German racial supremacy, and the Pan-Germanic ideal of world dominion." We are told that his "concept of world empire was thus in a large measure mystical and non-political". The matter is finally summed up in these terms: "It is impossible to understand the part played by the last German Emperor or the history of the epoch unless we abandon all rational, individualist preconceptions and orthodox political standards and recognize that we are standing on the threshold of a new age. The fact that William II. himself never realized this, that in pursuing his policy he made use of the methods of politics while concerned with arriving at results unattainable by such a course, accounts for so much that appears incongruous and inconsistent in his acts." The Kaiser, it appears, was not aware of the passing of politics. He had the wrong medicine.

The book is well worth reading. There is a great deal of information in it, and there is always an interesting if somewhat dogmatic interpretation. The range of the author's interests and observations is surprisingly wide. The only serious fault is the devotion to formula and the too great certainty with which the history of the last thirty years is explained. It is going far to say of the World War, "It belongs to the old era, and marks its close. Its value was negative. It cleared the air to the extent that the political State-system was discredited, and the pathway for social development along lines of efficient organization was thrown open." This is further than the historian can go.

J. P. BRETZ.

Revolt in the Desert. By T. E. LAWRENCE. (New York: Doran. 1927. Pp. 328. \$3.00.)

THIS is a simple tale by a young Englishman still in the twenties who in 1916 chafed at his desk in Cairo and secured a short holiday in order to take a peep at Arabia. So far there is nothing that might not have happened to hundreds of enterprising and highly-educated young Englishmen, but in this youth the British Empire discovered another Clive gifted with prophetic discernment and the genius of Kipling in telling his tale.

The book is what the Germans call epoch-making and *bahnbrechend*. It is history at first hand comparable only to Xenophon's *Anabasis* or the inimitable story of Marco Polo. To review such a book one must be not only historian but a specialist also in ethnology, ethology, geology, theology, psychology, to say nothing of military grand strategy. Never have I read so encyclopaedic a narrative more lucidly expressed or such a vast number of interesting facts in so small a compass.

Young Lawrence arrived on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea near to Mecca as nothing more than a joy-riding subaltern curious to see things as they were. He has no passes or authority but like a hero of Homer has a divinity that shows him where and how to strike. He insists on a permit into the interior in search of the great Sheik Feisal

but this is refused because no Christian has ever penetrated so far and no governor on the coast can protect him beyond the town walls. Lawrence however is not as other Christians. He knows the vernacular and he knows the camel. He overrides every objection and like Nelson at Copenhagen puts the telescope to his blind eye and sees only with the spiritual one which the Oriental places at the centre of Buddha's forehead.

Revolt in the Desert is largely the revolt of Lawrence against army red tape and military caution in Cairo.

When Lawrence looked at Feisal for the first time and picked him as the prospective leader of the Arabian forces he performed an act no less momentous than when Jefferson Davis ordered Lee to command the army of Northern Virginia. A slave conducted Lawrence

to an inner court on whose further side, framed between the uprights of a black doorway, stood a white figure waiting tensely for me. I felt at first glance that this was the man I had come to Arabia to seek—the leader who would bring the Arab revolt to full glory. Feisal looked very tall and pillar-like, very slender, in his long white silk robes and his brown head-cloth bound with a brilliant scarlet and gold cord. His eyelids were dropped; and his black beard and colourless face were like a mask against the strange still watchfulness of his body. His hands were crossed in front of him on his dagger.

Lawrence and Feisal were the two strong men who came together from the ends of the earth, to verify the truth of Kipling

For there is neither East nor West, border nor breed nor birth
When two strong men stand face to face though they come from the ends
of the earth.

For two years Lawrence was outwardly an Arab, staff-officer to Feisal, the whitest of Christian soldiers, enduring for weeks and months the blistering heat of the desert and then again the heavy snows and fierce cold of the mountain regions, sharing the discomforts of native conditions, moving from tribe to tribe with a charmed life, promising British help at moments when he could himself give nothing—in short, organizing what at first was a mere series of petty insurrections into a great national movement whose destiny was to crumple up the German and Turkish forces between Mecca and Damascus, save Suez as the highway to India, and give immortal glory to Allenby and the British army in Jerusalem.

Before Lawrence have been many scholars and travellers who have given us wonder-tales of an Arabia as impenetrable as old Tibet—Richard Burton perhaps the most notable. Lawrence however takes one's breath away by the infantile directness and simplicity with which from day to day he sets down the commonplaces of his life, which commonplaces prove now to be of such value as, for instance, an eye-witness account of the Battle of Waterloo or the table-talk of Washington or Franklin. Whether or not Lawrence himself appreciated the full ex-

tent of his contributions to many sciences I know not, but of this one stout volume I should grieve if a single page were curtailed.

As the crow flies it is about one thousand miles from Mecca to Damascus and another thousand miles thence to the fringes of Europe and another thousand miles to London. We get some insight into the meaning of grand strategy when we learn that the Kaiser had to weaken his direct attack on the French front because of his efforts in the direction of the highway to British India. But then, what mortal power could foresee that the tribesmen of the desert who at one moment knew nothing of war but blood-feuds would within a few weeks forget their private grievances under the magic of an insignificant clerk of the Egyptian War Department?

Lawrence entered into the spirit of the Arab and in his pages we find a record of persistent friendships; and, if there are differences, they end amicably and always for the greatest good of the greatest number. He overstepped outrageously the regulations laid down by commanding officers in Cairo, but when he came to them afterwards for guns, munitions, and money he brought them also news of good cheer to the Allied cause and of things done in Arabia which no one but himself could have accomplished. And so he was forgiven and sent back to the Arab encampments, freighted with what they most needed and more especially with gold for the troops.

Lawrence knew what London only surmised: that Arabia hated the Turk with a holy fury. His march on Damascus was made successful, thanks to the many villages where the retreating enemy had left such marks of his occupation as were formerly credited only to Red Indians. The survivors of this reconquered territory rushed frantically in the wake of Lawrence and his men, burning to avenge on the retreating Turks the cruelties of which they had been victims. Men are the creatures of God, of divine origin therefore; but the rapidity with which war transforms them into bloodthirsty beasts must ever be a stumbling-block to the pious. Let me quote Lawrence's reference to entering a village on the Damascus road and his account of the great sheik Tallal who was driven frantic by the tales of cruelty against his own people done by the enemy:

We rode past the other bodies of men and women and four dead babies looking very soiled in the daylight, towards the village whose loneliness we now knew meant death and horror. By the outskirts were low mud walls, sheep-folds, and on one something red and white. I looked close and saw the body of a woman folded across it, bottom upwards, nailed there by a saw bayonet whose haft stuck hideously into the air from between her naked legs. About her lay others, perhaps twenty in all, variously killed. . . . I said: "The best of you brings me the most Turkish dead", and we turned after the fading enemy, on our way shooting down those who had fallen out by the roadside and came imploring our pity.

But my allotted space is exhausted and the epic ending of the noble Tallal must be sung by some prospective Homer. It remains for me only

to add that there are a dozen or more portraits of which only those of Lawrence and Feisal have interest. There is also an adequate index and map of the region affected.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

The World Crisis, 1916-1918. By WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P. Two volumes. (London: Thornton Butterworth; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1927. Pp. xviii, 302; xii, 325. 42 s.)

WHATEVER may be thought of Mr. Churchill's military strategy and its results, which are not highly regarded by experts, there can be no gainsaying that this man has brought to every task he has undertaken an enthusiasm, an energy, and a pertinacity which can only be called amazing. To these qualities he adds the rare one of magnanimity; and the absence of bitterness which he has invariably manifested, even in the face of rancorous attacks, has doubtless brought it about, that to-day he commands the admiration, the respect, and even the affection of the great majority of his countrymen. Of his sincerity and loyalty there was never the slightest doubt; but a dramatic, almost theatrical mode of expression, a temerity in the face of critical situations which amounted to cocksureness, and a versatility which gave an impression of unsteadiness, were responsible for his grave failures during his career as First Lord of the Admiralty, and for the fact that he has never arrived at the probable goal of his ambitions, the premiership.

In the notices of the first volumes of his work in this *Review* (XXIX. 137, 558) full credit was given Mr. Churchill for his excellent qualities and for the vivacity of his narrative. The present two volumes show a still more brilliant literary craftsmanship. If the style is sometimes journalistic, it is certainly journalism of the highest type, resulting often in passages which stir the reader's blood, like the final paragraph in the chapter entitled "The Intervention of the United States":

From the Atlantic to the Pacific the call was answered and obeyed. Iron laws of compulsory service, reinforced by social pressures of mutual discipline in which the great majority of the population took part, asserted an instantaneous unity of opinion. No one stood against the torrent. Pacifism, indifference, dissent, were swept from the path and fiercely pursued to extermination; and with a roar of slowly gathered pent-up wrath which overpowered in its din every discordant yell, the American nation sprang to arms.

There is another reason for the better, the solider quality of these last two volumes, in that Mr. Churchill is no longer defending himself (alas, vainly) from attacks upon his policies as First Lord. His career during the World War after his resignation from that office was one of almost unvaried success, and there can be no doubt that he accomplished very great things for his country, especially as Minister of Munitions in Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Government, in which he kept well up with the fast pace set by his energetic chief.

Mr. Churchill's straightforward yet modest chronicle of this important phase of his war work is perhaps the most interesting and weighty part of his book, which gains in importance by the very fact that he was, even when out of office, nevertheless in the midst of things. As he himself puts it in the preface to volume I. of the present series:

I had many and varied opportunities of learning about the war. During the first five months which this volume covers till May, 1916, I commanded a battalion in the line at "Plugstreet". Thereafter, until July, 1917, I was occupied in Parliament, and also in defending my conduct as First Lord of the Admiralty before the Statutory Commission of Inquiry into the Dardanelles Expedition. In both these periods I was closely in touch with some of the leading personalities, military and civil, who were conducting British affairs, and also to a lesser extent with those similarly placed in France. I was therefore able though in a private station to follow with attention political and military incidents. In July, 1917, I became Minister of Munitions in Mr. Lloyd George's administration, and thus for the last seventeen months of the war I was responsible for supplying the Army and Air Force with all their war material. I deem it of interest to record before they fade the impression and emphasis of various episodes, so far as I was personally able to appreciate them.

But the two present volumes amount to far more than a mere description of the author's personal participation in public affairs. They are nothing more nor less than a history of the World War itself from the beginning of 1916 to the Armistice; for, though in the preface to his volume *The World Crisis, 1915*, the author says "I must therefore at the outset disclaim the position of the historian", nevertheless all the elements of military history are present in these two volumes, including descriptions of situations and exact data regarding strategic developments, detailed chronicles of battle tactics, and, most significant of all, judgments pronounced upon the actors in the great drama.

The two most interesting subjects treated in the first volume of the present two are the Battle of Jutland and the intervention of the United States. The account of Jutland is a most carefully compiled and interesting one. The author agrees with most naval experts in blaming Admiral Jellicoe for what Sir Julian Corbett called "the disheartening truth", namely, that the battle had not been forced to a conclusion, though, as our author states, the British forces were fully twice as powerful as those of Admiral Scheer.

In general it may be said of Mr. Churchill's war career that, except in carrying out a concrete task, as he did when Minister of Munitions, he was a better and more constructive critic than actor. His judgment and imagination, whenever a situation allowed of subjective treatment, gave him a clarity of vision, even in matters of military strategy, which he was not slow in defending, even against the criticisms of experts like Kitchener, and later Robertson.

Admiration for the author's many brilliant qualities must however not allow his readers to take his conclusions too readily for granted, for the

instinct to defend his own acts and opinions is never quite absent, and, as Sir F. Maurice says of him, "he speaks with equal certainty when his sources of information are good and bad. He mixes gossip and hearsay with real evidence". In many cases Mr. Churchill's dicta have aroused more than disapproval. Of his statement that practically all the French regiments revolted in June, 1917, and started to march on Paris, Mr. Painlevé, former French Minister of War, says, in a recent interview: "In reality there was only a vague tendency that way. There certainly were spasmodic refusals to return to the ranks and vehement demands for leave. But in order to reduce these painful events to their real importance it is only necessary to recall the fact that discipline was entirely re-established after five weeks. Unhappily Marshal Pétain was obliged to authorize twenty-three executions, but it should be remembered that an army of 4,000,000 men and a front of 200 miles were at stake." Another instance of the temerity of Mr. Churchill's judgment is his severe arraignment of President Wilson's attitude before the American declaration of war against the German government. Jauntily putting aside the explanations of "American historians", he says of the President:

He would have been greatly helped in his task [of making up his mind how to act] if he had reached a definite conclusion where in the European struggle Right lay. . . . He did not truly divine the instinct of the American people. . . . Step by step the President had been pursued and brought to bay. By slow, merciless degrees, against his dearest hopes, against his gravest doubts, against his deepest inclinations, in stultification of all he had said and done and left undone in thirty months of carnage, he was forced to give the signal he dreaded and abhorred. Throughout he had been beneath the true dominant note of American sentiment. He had behind his policy a reasoned explanation and massive argument, and all must respect the motives of a statesman who seeks to spare his country the waste and horrors of war. But nothing can reconcile what he said after March, 1917, with the guidance he had given before. What he did in April, 1917, could have been done in May, 1915. And if done then what abridgment of the slaughter; what sparing of the agony; what ruin, what catastrophies would have been prevented; in how many million homes would an empty chair be occupied to-day; how different would be the shattered world in which victors and vanquished alike are condemned to live!

In all this, however much of truth it may contain, there is no appreciation of the fact that, in spite of the fuming of the Allies and the impatience of a great part of the American people, the United States, as a whole, was not really ready to enter the war with undivided, determined purpose until the time, or near to it, that it actually did so.

In regard to the importance to the peace of the world of the American intervention, Mr. Churchill says (I. 216), "If the Allies had been left to face the collapse of Russia without being sustained by the intervention of the United States, it seems certain that France could not have survived the year, and the war would have ended in a peace by negotiation, or in other words, a German victory".

This means, and the facts leave no loop-hole of escape from this judgment, that, if the United States had not come to the rescue of the Allies, a peace would have been made which would have left German militarism and imperialism stronger and more aggressive than ever, together with the certainty of another and still bitterer world struggle, of which the Anglo-Saxon nations would have borne the brunt.

EDWARD BRECK.

Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy. By G. P. GOOCH, D.Litt., F.B.A. (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1927. Pp. viii, 218. 7 s. 6 d.)

"THIS little book has been written in the hope of aiding students of the World War and its causes to keep pace with the almost bewildering accumulation of material." How rapidly the material is accumulating is seen in the fact that when Dr. Gooch addressed the British Institute of International Affairs on this subject in December, 1922, he referred to only seventy titles, whereas he now mentions almost three hundred authors, many of them with several volumes, and enumerates more than twenty collections of documents, besides important magazine articles. Strictly military writings are pretty generally excluded, and students of the economic and social aspects of the war are referred to the gigantic series of the Carnegie Endowment. The subject of the volume, then, is the high politics and diplomacy of Europe from the accession of William II. to the Treaty of Versailles, as they have been set forth by the principal actors down to January, 1927. The following omissions have been noted: Sir P. Sykes, *Sir Mortimer Durand*; Frank Hattigan, *Diversions of a Diplomat*; Cardinal Mercier's *Own Story*; the anonymous *Plutarque n'a pas Menti*; "Justus", *N. Machi di Cellere all' Ambasciata di Washington*; *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*; General Gourko, *Russia in 1914-1917*; C. Nabokoff, *The Ordeal of a Diplomat*; General Denikin, *The Russian Turmoil*; D. R. Francis, *Russia from the American Embassy*; I. N. Morris, *From an American Legation*; and D. F. Houston, *Eight Years in Wilson's Cabinet*.

Dr. Gooch calls his book "a *causerie*, not a bibliography", but certainly no better bibliography in moderate compass has been published. Anyone who has delved into the literature of the war will marvel at the skill with which the author has managed to select and compress the salient points of each book, to reveal by a few apt quotations something of the personality and point of view of each writer, and at the same time to preserve an even keel in the sea of conflicting statements and opposing opinions. Though not hesitating at any moment to challenge the truth of an allegation or the sense of an argument, he is generally content to let each witness plead his own case and to withhold his own judgment until the last chapter. Thus the point of view of every nation is fairly presented, and the reader who has a prejudice for or against a particular nation is offered a corrective. The book may be unhesitatingly recommended to

all who are interested in the "war guilt" question, and perhaps most of all to the hardened controversialists who need an air-plane view of the battle-field. Moreover, Dr. Gooch possesses the knack of moving from book to book in consequential fashion, and since he writes with ease and elegance, the reading of what is an extremely complicated story is a genuine pleasure.

The Olympian detachment of the author affords, of course, peculiar interest to his verdict on the question of responsibility for the war. He clearly refuses to accept the doctrine of the innocence of the Central Powers and the unique responsibility of the Entente. No judgment is expressed on Serbia, doubtless because her policy can be viewed as "a new *Risorgimento*, claiming the approval of all friends of its Italian model", or as "an incident in a vast Pan-Slav uprising against the Teutonic Powers of Central Europe" (p. 119). But those Powers have much to answer for. In the Austrian documents, "Berchtold appears determined on war with Serbia, even at the cost of a world-wide conflagration" (p. 70); "Francis Joseph was not a pawn, and was quite aware of what he was doing" (p. 67). Bethmann's promise of July 6 deprives him "of all claim to statesmanship": "It was his business to be aware that Russian prestige would almost certainly forbid it [the Austro-Serb conflict] to be localized" (p. 28). Stieve's animadversions on Russian policy are described as "highly-coloured editorial reflections" (p. 100), and the Russian mobilization is not condemned (though neither is it approved). On this last point, Dr. Gooch, in his analyses of Tirpitz's *Politische Dokumente* and Zwehl's *Erich von Falkenhayn*, fails to mention the important revelations that both the admiral and the general, as well as Moltke, opposed making the Russian mobilization a *casus belli*; which plays havoc with the classic German contention. The judgment on M. Poincaré's volumes is cautious: "The impression made by . . . this skilful and hard-hitting apologia on critics and readers . . . depends on whether and to what extent they accept his assertions and denials in preference to the compromising statements of witnesses who have passed away" (p. 145). In any case, "France, though not desiring war, made no attempt to hold back her ally" (p. 103). The wisdom of British policy is now and again questioned, Lord Asquith is chided for his treatment of Continental politics, and of Lord Grey it is said that "he has different weights and measures for the Central Powers and the Triple Entente" (p. 180). But Dr. Gooch agrees that Britain had no course but to enter the war (p. 211). In general, he maintains the position assumed some years ago: "the conduct of each of the belligerents . . . was in every case what might have been expected" (p. 206). Finally, he declines to "attribute exceptional wickedness to the Governments who, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, stumbled and staggered into the war" (p. 213); they were the victims of "the international anarchy which they inherited and which they did little to abate" (p. 214).

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The American People, a History. By THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER, Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1926. Pp. x, 486. \$5.00.)

DURING the past few years there has been a distinct trend in American historiography toward a revival of one-volume histories of the United States. The impulse to this has been in a large degree the prospect of adoptions for use in college classes, for adoptions seem to be a sure guaranty of royalties. Hence the one-volume history usually bears the earmarks of the text-book, as paragraph headings, references for further reading, and a multitude of details about many things—for must not the author write a few words about everything that has happened in order to appeal to a wide clientele? Must he not make the mastery of his volume easy by guide-posts erected here and there? Must he not also point the way to more pretentious works?

In stark contrast is Professor Wertenbaker's volume. It has none of these academic earmarks; neither paragraph guides, multiplicity of detail, nor bibliographies. Apparently the author is not bound by pedantic tradition; rather his aim is to give the layman, "the man in the street", a short, concise, and definite view of the antecedents and development of the American nation. He takes his cue from Wells and Van Loon, rather than from his fellow teachers or the professional historians. How shall the success of this venture be judged? Simply by those standards which are the criteria of every other book; perspective, the selection of materials, and literary quality.

Marked success has been achieved in all these respects. The allotment of space is suggestive. Of the 471 pages of text only 49 (a little over ten per cent.) are given to the colonial era; 105 (about twenty-two per cent.) to the years since the close of the Civil War, thus leaving 315 pages (about sixty-seven per cent.) to the period 1860-1865. Such a perspective means that the author is at heart a conservative; not the beginning nor the end of the story is the vital element, but the formative years from the opening of the revolutionary controversy to the triumph of the Union. Therefore, quite naturally, he is not an apologist for any of the recent interpretations of history; he clings close to the great currents of political development, yet he does realize that economic and social factors influenced politics.

Adequately to select facts and indicate their significance, especially in less than five hundred pages, is a task that challenges ingenuity; but it has been admirably performed. No one can lay down the volume, for instance, without a definite impression that the colonies were a part of the British Empire subordinated in their economic life to the interests of the mother country, yet enjoying a large degree of political autonomy. Again, there can hardly be found a more compact or clearer presentation of the

labors of the Philadelphia Convention (chapter VIII.), of the changes in New England after 1815 (chapter XIII.), or of early Western society (chapter XIV.). A singular omission is the lack of any description of the revolution in the production of cotton and the resulting effects on Southern society. Is this because the Old South became identified with a "Lost Cause"? Some readers will doubtless feel that the years since 1865 are not comprehensively treated; but on second thought chapters on Southern Reconstruction, the Changing Order, a Nation moving West, Dominion over Palm and Pine, the New Freedom, the European Maelstrom, and Problems Solved and Unsolved do indicate the broad lines of development during the past two generations.

Now as to literary characteristics. How is the lay mind of "the man in the street" to be led to realize the fundamental currents in the life of the nation of which he is a member? Professor Wertenbaker's method is unique. It consists in the use of a style modelled on the spoken rather than on the written word; each page suggests the conversational rather than formal literary English. Indeed from cover to cover the book smacks of the heart-to-heart talk, the author often falling into the rôle of raconteur; but always there is dignity, and each anecdote has a point; something tangible is achieved in each chapter. There are many quotations, not from documents written in archaic language but from diaries, autobiographies, letters, and speeches; indeed the successful interweaving into the text of extracts from Congressional speeches is a distinctive feature of the book. The human side of history is thus ever before the reader, rather than constitutional development (not one of Marshall's great decisions is cited) or the imponderables of sectionalism, or political and social *isms*. Throughout the appeal is to intelligence rather than to patriotic pride. On the whole the volume deserves a place on our shelves beside *The Outline of History* and *The Story of Mankind*.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

A British Fusilier in Revolutionary Boston, being the Diary of Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie, Adjutant of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, January 5—April 30, 1775, with a Letter describing the Voyage to America. Edited by ALLEN FRENCH. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xi, 83. \$3.50.)

A FRAGMENT of Lieutenant Mackenzie's diary, namely, a part of the entry for April 19, 1775, was printed in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for March, 1890, and has been used freely by historians of the Battle of Lexington for a generation past. Impressed by the value of the narrative, Mr. Allen French, after completing his *Day of Concord and Lexington* (1924), set out to find the rest of the diary, and was fortunate enough, on a visit to England, to get into communication with the great-grandson of the author, who put what remains of the diary at his disposal. Of the original manuscript, which covered the years 1748 to 1791, nothing previous to January 5, 1775 (except a

letter of June 29, 1773, describing the lieutenant's voyage from Plymouth to New York), has been preserved; and after April 30, 1775, there is a hiatus until the midsummer of 1776. Pasted in the diary is a pen-and-ink map of the "Position at Concord, 19th Ap. '75", annotated in the same handwriting as the diary—the only contemporary map of the action of the Nineteenth of April, 1775, in existence.

Lieutenant Mackenzie's diary supplements and corrects our knowledge of the events of the early spring of 1775 in and about Boston in several particulars. The author was present, for example, at the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Boston Massacre, when Dr. Joseph Warren delivered the oration in the Old South Meeting House. He notes (p. 37), contrary to the popular tradition, that the oration, "tho severe on the conduct of the Military", "contained nothing so violent as was expected", and that it "was delivered without any other interruption than a few hisses from some of the Officers". There is nothing about Warren's having to enter the building by a window: "About 11 o'Clock Doctor Joseph Warren, an Apothecary of Boston came in, and ascended the Pulpit." The diary throws a good deal of light on the condition of mind of the people of the country around Boston. As early as January 30 Lieutenant Mackenzie notes that "the people are evidently making every preparation for resistance" (p. 31), and he tells of a court martial, the first of February, "for the trial of some Soldiers for selling firelocks . . . to the Country people" (p. 32). Gage was trying to accustom the country folk to the sight of the British troops by sending detachments in various directions with the apparently innocent purpose of exercise. But as these expeditions became more frequent they roused the apprehension of the farmers that Gage was planning "some design". "8th Feb. The 23d Regiment marched into the Country this day towards Watertown. The Country people seem extremely jealous of these movements" (p. 33). On Lord Percy's march to Lexington to relieve Colonel Smith's column returning from Concord the diary is full and accurate. Lieutenant Mackenzie himself marched with Percy's force as an officer of the Royal Welch Fusiliers.

Mr. French has made the valuable pages of the diary still more valuable by his discriminating foot-notes and comments. The gossip letter of 1773, with its comments on people and prices in New York, will interest the "social" historian as deeply as the diary interests the military historian.

D. S. M.

George Rogers Clark, his Life and Public Services. By TEMPLE BODLEY. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. xix, 425. \$5.00.)

HERE is a title which arrests at once, because of a general interest in the name George Rogers Clark, especially during these days of celebration connected with the sesquicentennial of the American Revolution. One

finds promise, also, in the introduction that it is the result of "many years of painstaking search and study of the source materials of the history of our first great West".

Mr. Bodley has elected, in presenting the story of the campaigns conducted by Clark, to use the documents very generously. One hundred and thirteen of the first two hundred and fifty pages are quoted, largely from the *Illinois Historical Collections*, volume VIII., *George Rogers Clark Papers*. This method may be readily used in such chapters as the capture of Kaskaskia (VI.) and of Vincennes (XI.). Here contributions are taken chiefly from the *Mason Letter* and the *Memoir* to the extent of eight pages out of nine (pp. 60-68), nine out of ten (pp. 81-90), and thirty-one out of thirty-four pages (pp. 110-133). Since the volume is not intended "for critical readers only" and "others are likely to be fatigued and perhaps misled by lawless spelling, punctuation, and capitalizing", corrections of the documents in these respects are justified by the author.

The keynote to the volume and the special contribution, it is claimed, is to be found in the explanation of the "complex plot" of Wilkinson against Clark (appendix). In the body of the book it takes the form of chapter heads as, Wilkinson's Intrigues, Wilkinson's Plot, and Wilkinson's Victim. The attorney's brief, for such it appears to be, which is presented as evidence for the condemnation of Wilkinson, is a lengthy one and is well wrought out. If accepted as proof, the appellations forger and thief must be added to the list already hung round the neck of Wilkinson. "His plot was carried out almost entirely by elaborately fabricated writings—some of them anonymous, most of them forged—some sent to Congress and others to Governor Randolph. Nearly all were mere pretended *copies* of originals which never existed. . . . They were most ingeniously dove-tailed to supplement one another and were designed to alarm the governor and Congress with the fiction about Clark's gathering a great army to invade Louisiana . . . and finally the amazing success of his whole plot, make one of the most interesting and historically important chapters in that most critical period of American history" (p. 379).

The chief arguments presented for these conclusions may be summarized as follows. No original of the letter purporting to have been signed by Thomas Green addressed to the governor of Georgia (Dec. 3, 1786) can be found in the Georgia archives. "The answer, we may be sure, is that there never was an original" (p. 393). All the testimonials of importance sent by Wilkinson have disappeared from the Virginia archives, and it is assumed that on a visit to Richmond he "got them" (p. 395). Proof that the copy of the Green letter was a pure fabrication is adduced from the writing of Clark's name *Clarke* and *George R.* in all of the testimonials obtainable and the style of language used.

The urge is not great to break a lance on behalf of Wilkinson. But the author would not, of course, wish to have the evidence suppressed that the Draper Collection (53 J 58) contains the letter quoted and signed by

Thos. Green (pp. 391, 393). It is undoubtedly the original. In this document, Clark's name appears a number of times as *Clark*, Gen. G. R. C., and Gen. C., and not as quoted, *Clarke*, *General George R. Clarke*, and *General Clarke*. Moreover, among the names of the subscribers to a fund of thirty-eight pounds to send William Wells, bearer of the letter, to Augusta, is G. R. Clark, ten pounds. This letter, together with those to be found in the *American Historical Review* (XV. 76, 352, 353) would seem to indicate that Green was a capable writer of messages.

It is very evident that the author has in mind the presentation of Clark as a hero, at all times. There can be no doubt that the march over the flooded plains to Vincennes may be thought of as among the most venturesome in history. It may be conceded, also, that on many other occasions, such as in his methods of defense, in his conquest and conciliation of Indian foes, and in the assistance which he gave towards the establishment of the elements of civil government in the Illinois country, Clark manifested marked ability as a leader. But must the reader accept the view that any criticism of Clark and of his plans made by some of his contemporaries, "malignant and adroit" (p. 376), or by writers on the period, is wholly false?

It seems unfortunate that there are to be found so many slips in quotation and incorrect and misleading statements. In his letter to Gardoqui (Mar. 15, 1788), Clark wrote: "This and other circumstances of a like nature convince me that no property or person is safe under a government so weak and infirm as that of the United States", and not: "General Clark said (February, 1788) neither property nor character is safe in a government as unsettled as that of the United States." Oliver Pollock was imprisoned, but not on two occasions (pp. 231, 233). The statement that no contemporary evidence discloses that "General Clark was ever once intoxicated, either during or at any time before the Wabash Expedition" (p. 303), should, no doubt, be modified. In a paragraph of the same letter from which Mr. Bodley quotes, the writer says: "General Clark it was said had become intemperate." James Monroe who could not be accused of any prejudice against Clark wrote: "I must inform you . . . we have heard to yr. prejudice . . . that you drink to an excess" (Jan. 5, 1783). The criticism was not denied by Clark in his reply. He did not meet his fellow commissioners in New York (p. 265), for in his reply he states: "Had those dispatches reached me in time I should have obeyed the summons with pleasure" (Falls of the Ohio, Apr. 26, 1784).

Demand must surely be made for the evidence which warrants sketching the effects of the Northwest Ordinance as they appear in foot-note one on page 255. "Without even a day's notice to the owners of slaves . . . the Continental Congress by this overlauded 'Ordinance of 1787' immediately freed every slave within its bounds. It ruined many of the slave owners, disorganized the whole labor system of the territory, . . . turned loose the poor ignorant slaves—men, women and children—to beg, steal or starve!"

"Gayerre", and "Critical and Narrative History" appear many times in the notes. The discovery of Wilkinson's *Memorial* is not recent for it was edited by Professor W. R. Shepherd over twenty years ago (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, IX. 490-506).

J. A. JAMES.

George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited by JAMES ALTON JAMES, Ph.D., LL.D., William Smith Mason Professor of American History, Northwestern University. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, volume XIX., Virginia Series, volume IV.] (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library. 1926. Pp. lxxv. 572.)

AGAIN the Illinois State Historical Library has put historians and the general public of the United States in its debt by the publication of a very timely and very useful collection of material upon the history of the Northwest. With Indiana preparing for a national memorial on the site of Fort Sackville at Vincennes, with Randolph and St. Clair counties in Illinois preparing for an exposition near the site of Kaskaskia, unfortunately engulfed in the Mississippi, and with Louisville proposing a memorial lighthouse, George Rogers Clark will be very much before the public in the next three years. It is comforting to know that additions to the available sources of historical information are taking their part in this general movement.

This volume of *George Rogers Clark Papers* follows the model of the first volume of the same title, edited by Professor James in 1912. It brings the collection into the year 1784. In form it is patterned after its predecessor, save that it lacks the convenient list of documents published in the other volume. Such a great mass of Clark material has come to light that the editor's task has been practically one of selection. His task has been made more difficult by calling the collection the *George Rogers Clark Papers*, and at the same time seeking to cover the whole Revolution in the West. Considerable prominence is given to Colonel William Crawford's disastrous expedition of 1782, with which Clark's connection was somewhat remote. On the other hand, many phases of the Revolution in the West are not represented at all. Documents of importance are printed, even though they have been previously published elsewhere. As is to be expected, the editor draws most heavily on the Draper Manuscripts in the Wisconsin State Historical Library and upon the Virginia State Archives. He does not seem to have used the collection of manuscripts in the Missouri Historical Society. Among the longer documents given are the muster-roll of the Illinois Regiment, the journal of the Western Commissioners, and various proceedings connected with the allotment and sale of land in the Illinois or Clark's Grant in southern Indiana. Though coming later than the period indicated by the title, the accounts involved in the settlement of Virginia's claims against the United

States for operations in the Northwest Territory are published as an appendix under date of May 15, 1788.

In his special introduction, *The Last Years of the Revolution West of the Mountains*, Professor James indicates that he does not accept Dr. Alvord's contention that at the end of the war "Virginia had really only weakened the hold of the mother country on a small corner of the disputed territory". He maintains that the campaign against the Shawnee made in 1782 was of decisive importance and that Fort Nelson was the key between the East and the Illinois country, dominating the Western trade, a menace against Detroit, and a great deterrent to the Indians: "These facts must have been patent to the negotiators of the peace terms and served, no doubt, to confirm Lord Shelburne in his decision to yield the Northwest to the United States."

While the volume does not contain many "finds" of first importance and will probably not lead to any great revision of historical opinion, it will be of very great convenience and value to all students interested in either George Rogers Clark or the Revolution in the West.

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN.

A History of American Foreign Policy. By JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ, Professor of American History and Creswell Lecturer on International Law in Johns Hopkins University. (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1927. Pp. xiv, 725. \$4.00.)

THE present work constitutes a comprehensive survey of the foreign relations of the United States from the beginning of the American Revolution down to the date of publication; and as its author has long been known as a careful and intelligent investigator, with a tendency to form views of his own and to express them with candor and independence, the reader will naturally find it to be a distinctive and stimulating contribution to the literature of the subject to which it relates.

In the United States there exists, especially on the Atlantic seaboard, a considerable number of persons, perhaps relatively larger than in any other country, who contemplate foreign policy as something to be cultivated for its own sake; as something distinct and perchance even divergent from domestic policy; as a system to be conducted, on preconceived and permanent lines, with little regard to changing national moods and shifting national interests. In reality, the supposition that, because certain nations have a foreign policy different from that of the United States, they pursue it in a spirit of conscious and deliberate detachment from national moods and national interests, has little support in human history; and in the present volume abundant proof will be found that the foreign policy of the United States, far from being an exception to the rule, has had the flavor of the native soil and has strikingly exemplified the course of national sentiments and national tendencies.

At the very outset the learned author points out, not only that the keynote of the great experiment inaugurated by the American Revolution was

sounded in the Jeffersonian phrase that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed", but also that this declaration was a challenge to substantially all governments then existing. The attempt practically to enforce the principle of the "consent of the governed" was but the assertion by arms of the right of revolution; and the success of the effort, while it resulted in the establishment of a new government the existence of which the world could not ignore, by no means did away with the challenge. The foreign policy of the United States, as formulated by Washington and his first Secretary of State, Jefferson, and developed by their successors, with its doctrine of non-intervention and the correlative rule of neutrality, the principle of the freedom of the seas, the recognition of governments simply on the strength of their existence in point of fact, and the contest with the colonial system and its commercial restrictions, followed naturally and inevitably, just as, from the enunciation of the right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, there eventually resulted the doctrine of voluntary expatriation.

An excellent account is given by the author of the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas, and of the subsequent territorial expansion of the United States; and the same thing may be said of his exposition of the Monroe Doctrine and its successive and widening developments. Only when he undertakes to interpret President Wilson's proposal that all nations "should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world" does he appear to find the task of definition somewhat baffling. The interpretation he hazards is that the "Monroe Doctrine, stripped of its imperialistic tendencies, was to be internationalized, and the American policy of isolation, in the sense of avoiding secret alliances, was to become a fundamental principle of the new international order". President Wilson, however, spoke not of "secret" alliances but of "entangling" alliances, and declared that there could be "no entangling alliance in a concert of power". To the nations of Europe this deft assurance would have brought glad tidings of great joy, had their long practical experience in honestly endeavoring to maintain, in name and in fact, a "concert" of power, been undisturbed by clashes of interest and armed conflicts. The learned author speaks (p. 618) of President Wilson as holding in December, 1918, "the moral leadership of the world", and there are other passages which strongly imply that the United States might, but for obstructionists at home, still perform that beneficent function. But, unfortunately, the indisposition to concede moral superiority to others is no less general than the disposition to claim it for one's self; and, so far as concerns the United States, the utterances of the foreign press are not at the moment encouraging.

While I have commended as a whole the author's account of the Monroe Doctrine, I can by no means concur in his virtual acceptance of Thayer's version of the episode of the blockade of Venezuelan ports by the combined forces of Germany, Great Britain, and Italy, a version in which,

as I did not fail to point out at the time, emotional surmises and interested personal assertions and afterthoughts were permitted to displace the unimpeachable evidence of the authentic contemporaneous official record of what actually took place. In his account of the Panama affair, the learned author of the present work properly rejects this method of proof. In reality the blockading powers justified their action not on the fact that President Castro had refused to recognize the validity of their claims but on the fact that he had refused to arbitrate them. The author is quite correct in saying that the subsequent decision of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague in favor of the preferential claim of the blockading powers "was received with no small degree of criticism", but the Court, unlike its critics, was obliged to base its decision upon the facts and the law as it found them.

Towards the end of his work the learned author in due course treats of two pending controversial questions—that of the inter-allied debts and that of the recognition of the present Russian government; and, as might have been expected, he does not accept the view that the fact that his government has taken in regard to each of them a certain attitude, has placed them beyond the range of free public discussion. With regard to the debts, he believes that the present agreements have not disposed of the "real problem", and that the settlements so far made are likely to undergo radical revision; while, with regard to Russia, he holds that the refusal of recognition, after all the other nations engaged in the war have accorded it, lends color to the charge of the radicals "that ours has become the most conservative and reactionary government on earth". For these conclusions he gives his reasons.

J. B. MOORE.

Foreign Policies of the United States: their Bases and Development.

By JAMES QUAYLE DEALEY. (Boston and New York: Ginn and Company. 1926. Pp. viii, 402. \$2.80.)

THIS is a well-conceived, carefully written, and thoughtful book, the outcome of its author's interest in world affairs. From start to finish it bears evidence of wide reading and good judgment in the use of scattered materials. Professor Dealey's experience as a teacher and lecturer on the theme has done much toward giving the book its form. It should be useful in college classes. However it is more than a text-book. The author's philosophic attitude should interest mature readers desirous of obtaining clearer views of the series of problems which from Revolutionary days to 1926 have affected our foreign policies. Over this period Professor Dealey has touched history in many places, usually with a very sure hand. He seldom enters into much incidental detail. Occasionally, especially with reference to problems associated with the Pacific and the Far East, he inclines to be prophetic. The main objects of the narrative are two: to interpret (part I., pp. 3-130) the bases and agencies of our foreign policy, and then at somewhat greater length (part II., pp.

131-371) to state the factors and to explain the processes by means of which our policies have been developed.

At the outset attention is given to such fundamental matters as geographic and climatic conditions, natural resources, political and social ideals. An early chapter (VI.) is devoted to a presentation of such government agencies as are most closely involved in the study and formulation of policies—the President, the Secretary of State, the Senate in its treaty-making function, the diplomatic and consular services. A notably significant chapter (VII.) is concerned with the subject of sea-power and the navy as factors in diplomacy. But part II. reveals the very heart of the book. Here, opening the narrative with a cursory outline of national policies (1776-1925), the author is able at once to follow this outline up with a series of separate chapters on policies as they appeared, were modified, or developed from the days of the Revolution onwards. With rather notable skill he thus clears the way for the special consideration of such themes as the Monroe Doctrine, the Pan-American movement, the Caribbean situation with somewhat special reference after 1903 to the Panama Canal, and our attitude in its changing aspects toward Canada. A good deal of attention is given to our relations from time to time with various countries of Western Europe. But the narrative on Far Eastern affairs—our relations and policies toward Siam, China, Japan, and certain island areas in the Pacific—is remarkably vigorous. There is an excellent, if concise, account of the Washington Conference on the limitation of armaments (1921-1922), with adequate reflections on the more immediate results. Professor Dealey is keenly aware of the profound effects at work since the Great War which in more or less definable ways are modifying old ideals and inclining us slowly toward new points of view.

Diplomatic history in any detailed way has not enlisted much of Professor Dealey's attention. He is mainly concerned with outstanding generalizations to be drawn from its complications. The author's admiration for a few large figures in our history is easy to detect. He is not, however, inclined to dwell upon them as personalities—it is enough for his purpose to reveal to the reader an understanding and some appreciation of their work. There are occasionally questionable statements, chiefly of fact. To say, for example, that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was "issued against the unanimous advice of his cabinet" (p. 85) would be difficult to prove. Townsend Harris was appointed as consul to Japan on August 4, 1855; he sailed for his post from New York City on October 17 following (p. 267). It is true that President Harding gave notice of a conference on the limitation of armaments as early as July 10, 1921 (p. 288). But invitations were formally issued to five powers on August 11. Later, as an afterthought, three other countries with interests in the Pacific were invited—the Netherlands, Belgium, and Portugal—on October 4. Four very useful maps scattered through the volume should have been noted in connection with the table of contents.

The lists of books and periodicals (pp. 373-381) have been chosen with real discrimination. Such slight errors or defects as have been noticed are almost negligible. The book impresses one as not only informing but sound.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

Main Currents in the History of American Journalism. By WIL-LARD GROSVENOR BLEYER, Ph.D., Professor of Journalism in the University of Wisconsin. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1927. Pp. x, 464. \$4.00.)

AMERICAN journalism has been a subject so singularly neglected by historians that Mr. Bleyer's book is doubly welcome. Since Frederic Hudson's massive, ill-shapen, and inaccurate volume in the 'seventies, only two attempts have been made—James Melvin Lee's and George Henry Payne's—to survey the whole newspaper field, and Mr. Payne's volume is brief and sketchy. In the magazine field we have only Algernon Tassin's even briefer and somewhat capricious work. Mr. Bleyer owes a good deal to his predecessors, and particularly to Mr. Lee; but he breaks much new ground, and his book can unhesitatingly be pronounced the best yet written on the subject.

Its distinctive character rises from its emphasis on a select list of outstanding journals and editors. The historian of journalism must at the outset decide whether he will deal with the oppressively long array of newspapers which possess some significance, or concentrate his attention upon the much shorter roster of men who have been blazing luminaries in our newspaper firmament. Mr. Lee chose the former course; in his volume even insignificant journals find mention. Mr. Bleyer chooses rather to interpret journalism through its eminent personalities. Necessarily his earlier chapters, before such personalities arose, are a survey of many tendencies, organs, and schemes. His opening pages offer a brief sketch of English journalism from the first corantos to Steele's *Tatler* and Defoe's *Daily Post*. This is followed by chapters on the colonial press, the Revolutionary press, and the political press up to 1830. But with the advent of the first James Gordon Bennett, Mr. Bleyer switches to the story of journalism as pre-eminently the story of nine or ten leading men.

This method secures the advantages of vividness, human interest, and emphasis upon editorial influence, while it simplifies the narrative; it has the disadvantage of leaving many gaping lacunae. Mr. Bleyer selects nine men—the elder Bennett, Horace Greeley, Henry J. Raymond, Samuel Bowles, E. L. Godkin, Charles A. Dana, William Rockhill Nelson, Joseph Pulitzer, and William Randolph Hearst. These are, with one or two exceptions, the really imperative choices. In treating even Bennett and Greeley the author goes to the sources—that is, to the files of the *Herald* and the *Tribune*—and presents unhackneyed material, though there is nothing in the least new or unconventional in his conception of either

man. When he comes to the figures less well known, notably Nelson, Pulitzer, and Mr. Hearst, Mr. Bleyer makes a much more important contribution to knowledge. No such history of the rise of yellow journalism in the 'eighties and 'nineties as he gives us has before been attempted. It is lucid, well documented, and illuminating.

But the inevitable defect of a book built upon this plan is its glaring gaps. Nine men and their immediate satellites do not represent even the main elements of American journalism from 1830 to 1920. It is unfair to give twenty-three pages to Henry J. Raymond, one page to William Cullen Bryant (equally great as an editor), a mere mention to Henry Watterson, and not even a mention to Henry W. Grady or Joseph Medill. It is misleading to include seven New York editors, and not one Chicagoan. The *Chicago Tribune* has had a history of great importance, but it is brushed aside with a few passing references. So eminent a figure as Harvey W. Scott does not appear in the index. There are, moreover, omissions of another sort. No book has yet appeared which gives us a real history of the development of the several component features of the typical city newspaper. When did the financial page take on authority and how did it grow? Was any literary editorship of importance before Margaret Fuller joined Greeley's *Tribune*, and what were the stages in the evolution of literary departments? What of sports? What was the real influence of advertisements upon newspaper history? Mr. Bleyer has no more answered these questions than did his predecessors.

Despite its shortcomings, Mr. Bleyer's book is much the best that has yet appeared, and will prove of great value to general readers and students as well as to specialists in journalism. Most of the shortcomings would disappear if he would but add one hundred or one hundred and fifty pages to his treatise. It is to be hoped that in some subsequent edition he will do this. A few careless statements are to be found in the book. It is not quite true that under Dana "the *Sun* fought Tammany and its misrule". It is not quite accurate to say that Pulitzer's retirement from active control of the *World* "did not vitally affect its policies or general character". But in matters of detail the volume meets a high standard of scholarship. Its only real fault is that it is too short.

The Prairie and the Making of Middle America: Four Centuries of Description. By DOROTHY ANNE DONDORE, Ph.D. (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press. 1926. Pp. xiii, 472. \$4.50.)

THE recent adventures in the interpretation of the Middle West by the literary critics suggest that new reserves have come forward to the assistance of the historians who have hitherto held the line alone. Professor Dondore makes a beginning now in a monumental task that she has set for herself—"a series of detailed studies dealing with different phases of the frontier—the Forest, the Prairie, the Plains, the Moun-

tains, and the Sea". Her effort in this initial study is devoted to the prairie in its largest sense; and since the prairie and its region carried the actual frontier through the formative period of the last century, the rest of her series is likely to stand or fall with this. Her efforts are paralleled in some degree by those of Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (1925), and Hazard, *The Frontier in American Literature* (1927). Together these scholars are making the most extensive and meticulous survey of the literature of the frontier that has been attempted; and they are bringing into their foot-notes and bibliographies the whole *corpus* of literary sources for the study of this aspect of American history.

The materials that these literary historians use comprise two general classes: the descriptive sources that are the ordinary raw stuff of the historian, and the works of imagination in which the element of the frontier is present either in subject matter or as influence upon composition. The former group does not yield much in literary values. Professor Dondore goes through such things as the *Jesuit Relations*, the pamphlets of the eighteenth century, the travel books, and the writings of men like Washington and Jefferson, and gives about half her space to a descriptive catalogue of the sources for the history of Middle America. She both indicates the content of the works, and discusses their implications. Every young student of the field ought to study her survey with care, and there are few veterans who will not find something in it of significance. In the latter half of her volume she covers the romantic treatments of the frontier, the Mississippi Valley realists, and the writers who have lived in the West. Here she ranges from J. Fenimore Cooper's *Prairie* and George Ade's *Fables in Slang* to the writings of Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, and Sinclair Lewis. She is not always convincing in the matter of her classifications. At times she seems to be searching for the element of frontier as frontier, in providing themes or shaping the minds of writers. At other moments the Middle West appears to be only a geographical division of the continent, and everything that has had one foot on the ground between the Rockies and the Appalachians is part of it. The search is to be commended; if the author is not finding conclusive results it is by no means certain that the fault is hers. It is a case where wisdom prompts the grub-staking of the prospector whether gold is found or not.

It was made apparent in the recent book of Professor Rusk that the American frontier before 1840 was not a place where the cultivated spirit was in full blossom. The interests of a frontier are shaped by a kind of necessity that leaves little time or strength for letters. So long as a region remains in this condition its retarded literary character must persist; and so soon as finished literary performance comes out of an old frontier area, this is of itself good evidence that the frontier is gone. The guide-books and descriptions of a frontier are hardly frontier literature; and literature in which the frontier is used only as a stage setting needs to be judged by standards other than those of the frontier spirit.

The search for the spirit of the American frontier is primarily historical, to be directed through the experiences and utterances of real people who are in the unconscious pursuit of their own business. Its reflection in literature is largely artificial. The results of such investigations as this of Professor Dondore are likely to continue to be negative, or only partly positive. But as the ground is cleared, and the literary monuments are classified, we can at least see more definitely the nature of the problem with which we are confronted.

In this collection, classification, and analysis, the services of the literary historians are most real.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson. By GEORGE EVERETT HASTINGS. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1926. Pp. xi, 517. \$4.00.)

THE American Ph.D. "dissertation" in Arts seems to be changing its nature. More and more the graduate schools are permitting prospective young doctors to concentrate upon practical tasks—the writing of biographies of men of recent date, and even the editing of American classics like Poe's *Politian*. Moreover the universities are issuing these theses, enriched and enlarged, in competition with the regular output of the publishing season. Most decidedly is the practice to be commended. These young critics approach always their problem without prejudice, they leave no stone unturned in their unjaded enthusiasm, and with the hand of experienced scholarship ever to direct them they do often definitive work.

Such a volume is Hastings's *Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson*, which first secured a Harvard Ph.D. for its author, and now, enlarged into a bulky volume and issued by the University of Chicago, takes its place among the leading biographies of the year. That it becomes the standard life of Hopkinson, one that will not for many years, if ever, be replaced goes without saying. In his search for all possible extant facts and papers and traditions the author has been tireless. One feels that he has found everything that really matters and has presented it in its proper place with due emphasis. As a repository of facts the book leaves nothing to be desired. Moreover, the work has been done with admirable detachment. It is as free from personal and family and sectional bias as if it were a cold study of a Roman senator. Not always is his subject illuminated with a rosy light. He can even say that up to the time of the Revolution Hopkinson's life had been largely given to the trivial, to dabbings in music, art, engraving, poetry, in none of which he took high rank; none of his verses "can claim any great merit as poetry". Up to the age of thirty he had lived upon his mother; "he had not entered into any material business". His visit to England and his attempt to live upon the patronage of his relative the Bishop of Worcester is certainly not an episode to be placed to his credit. It gained

him nothing substantial, however, and he went home and for a time was forced actually to go to work, with no great success it must be recorded. It is even implied that had the Revolution not come as it did Hopkinson might never have achieved anything beyond local prominence.

Being born at precisely the right moment gave him several unique distinctions: like the Adams family he heads many memorable lists, though not because of alphabetical primacy. He was the first matriculant of the University of Pennsylvania; he was the first American composer and wrote the first American song; he designed several of the governmental and state seals; he designed the American flag—the author after careful study of all the evidence is assured of this fact; he signed the Declaration of Independence; and by being present at precisely the right moment he wrote the most famous ballad of the Revolution—a piece of sheer doggerel, yet the most frequently printed piece of American verse written before 1800. His services as chairman of the Navy Board during the war, and his work as treasurer of loans and judge of admiralty are given their full value by the biographer. It is the work of this critical period that gives him his distinctive place in American history.

After 450 pages the author observes that he has up to that point endeavored “to construct from letters, newspapers, and other documents a chronological record of what Hopkinson did during his lifetime”, and he then adds “the rest of this chapter will employ the same method in seeking to determine a little more specifically what manner of man he was”. This latter task, however, he does not accomplish. Hopkinson throughout the book is a shadowy figure, a mere abstraction. At no point does he seem to come to life. We do not *see* him, we do not *feel* him; should we meet him tomorrow on the street we should not, so far as this volume’s information goes, recognize him. From the factual side the biography is definitive; but there still remains the task of making Hopkinson a personality that is alive. Perhaps this is asking too much of the biographer. Perhaps this is the work of the novelist, who is permitted to spread his tints with imagination.

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

William Henry Harrison, a Political Biography. By DOROTHY BURNE GOEBEL, Ph.D. [Indiana Historical Collections, vol. XIV.] (Indianapolis: Historical Bureau of the Indiana Library and Historical Department. 1926. Pp. xi, 456. \$1.50.)

THIS life of Harrison is confined chiefly to his political career. It brings out, however, the ancestral background of the Harrison family in Virginia, and tells fully of the work of Harrison in Western warfare and Western politics during his governorship of Indiana Territory. A separate chapter is devoted to Harrison’s superintendency of Indian affairs in the Northwest, and a good account is given of his military campaigns during the War of 1812, eventuating in the Battle of the Thames and the death of Tecumseh. These important aspects of our national history are brought into clear review.

According to Mrs. Goebel the battle of Tippecanoe accomplished but little, when the purpose of Harrison's expedition is considered. Fort Harrison, near Terre Haute, was established and the Prophet's Town had been destroyed, but the frontier was not made safe and the immediate dangers to the settlers were increased. There is no clear recognition that Tippecanoe had broken the Indian power, though the beginning of that outcome is incidentally mentioned.

Mrs. Goebel brings out that these Indian wars and disturbances came about, not so much from British instigation, as Harrison charged, as from the treatment of the Indians by the American frontiersmen, though anti-American antagonisms may have been hastened by generous British gifts from Canada, after the War of 1812 had begun. The twin brothers, Tecumseh and the Prophet, had reason for their hostility toward the men of the frontier. Their father had been killed in battle with the whites. The little Pawnee boy, Tecumseh, had watched from afar the desolation of his childhood home by the forces of George Rogers Clark, and hatred for Americans had been implanted in his heart. The author tells of the charges brought against Harrison to the effect that he had cheated the Indians out of their lands, thus arousing their ill-will and causing unnecessary war. In Harrison's suit for slander, brought on account of these charges, he was represented by his political opponents, among whom was Jonathan Jennings, the first governor of Indiana, as having been cleared by what was obviously a partizan trial before a friendly judge.

Harrison resigned from the army in 1814 and was elected to Congress in 1816. The farm life at North Bend, on the Ohio near Cincinnati, is described, with its Virginia hospitality. One wing of the farm mansion at North Bend had been originally a log cabin, and though Harrison had never lived in it in its humble beginnings, this was the basis and the only basis for the "log-cabin candidate". The scion of Virginia aristocracy, the refined master of "Berkeley" in Virginia, and of "Grouseland", the executive mansion in Vincennes, who lived in comfort if not in luxury in the North Bend palatial homestead, was transformed, by the "game of politics", into the "log-cabin candidate of the common people", an incident quite unique in our political history.

A chapter is given to Harrison's legislative career, in Congress and in the Ohio senate, and another chapter to the rather unknown phase of his career, his legation to Colombia. Harrison was repeatedly an unsuccessful candidate for office, for the secretaryship of war, the mission to Russia, the vice-presidency. The interest of the entire volume centres in the later years of Harrison's life, especially in his candidacy for the presidency in 1836 and 1840. The lay reader as well as the specialist will find interest in the account of the famous "log-cabin and hard cider campaign". Mrs. Goebel goes into the letters and the documents of the contest. She relies on the sources, which are well presented, and they bring out the story. Harrison is represented as a politician—not in an

opprobrious sense—but as “willing as Barkis” to be nominated, and ready to do his part in maintaining the fiction that he was yielding reluctantly to the summons of the “clarion voice of the people” to leave his peaceful fireside for arduous public duties.

The volume brings out the liveliness of the Tippecanoe campaign, with its claptrap, hullabaloo, and rollicking song. All kinds of charges were brought against Harrison: he was only a puppet in the hands of the Whig committee; while he was a member of the Ohio senate he had favored selling white men into slavery to work out their fines; he was an abolitionist; he was on both sides of the slavery question; he was only an Indian fighter and a “clodhopper” altogether unfit for the presidency. Harrison was shrewd enough to avoid answering embarrassing questions and to avoid being too specific in stating his political principles; he preferred to indulge in reminiscences of the War of 1812, “dropping a tear over the dead soldiers’ graves”.

Harrison made known his political principles and policies in his inaugural address, which dealt chiefly with the privileges and duties of the executive office. He declared for a single term only; he would curb executive power, and use the veto only to protect the Constitution. He deplored office-seeking and the love of power, “a vicious danger to the Republic”. The officer, by a short term, should be reminded that he “is the agent not the principal of his country”; and he gave a positive utterance against the anti-slavery agitation as “an interference with the domestic institutions of the States”.

The author’s characterization of Harrison seems judicial and fair: not a statesman, but a public man of fair abilities and talent, generous, free in manner, cheerful, courteous, brave, a lovable personality, with a happy faculty for friendship, he sought public office and in office did his best. In these pages Harrison is shown to have been interested in education and in the humanities. He gave donations to the Vincennes Library, was an early trustee of Vincennes University and the Cincinnati Medical College, and contributed a study to the Archaeological Society of Ohio on “The Aborigines of the Ohio Valley”.

The volume is both scholarly and readable and is distinctly a credit to its author. It deals, in the main, with subjects of historical interest and importance, and every chapter shows evidence of painstaking research. It has numerous illustrations—portraits of Harrison, pictures of his homes, political cartoons—a good index, and a bibliography of thirty-five pages which may fairly be said to be exhaustive. Students of William Henry Harrison will long have reason to thank Mrs. Goebel for her work.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Correspondence of Andrew Jackson. Edited by JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., Professor of American History on the Sydenham Clark Parsons Foundation, Smith College. Volume II. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1927. Pp. xxx, 449. Unbound, \$3.50; bound, \$4.50.)

THE first volume of Professor Bassett's *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* extended to the spring of 1814 and thus covered forty-seven years of Jackson's life. In the second are included the letters of a little less than six years—to the end of December, 1819. At the beginning of this period Jackson was made a major-general in the regular army instead of the militia, and was placed in command of the Seventh Military District. Approximately half of the volume is taken up with the papers of the years 1814–1815, presenting for the first time a really full documentation for the account of the military activities of Jackson in defense of the Southwest, of which the battle of New Orleans was the culmination. Throughout most of the period which is covered by the papers in the latter half of the volume Jackson was at his home near Nashville, though there were journeyings to Washington, to the southern frontier, to Indian agencies nearby, and, in 1818, the Seminole expedition into Florida. The volume closes with a suggestion from the War Department, in 1819, for an attack on Florida.

While military matters largely predominate, the papers of the correspondence contain much of interest in regard to politics, such as the letters exchanged between Jackson and Monroe with regard to the evil of parties in American government, and the various suggestions which began, in 1815, to be made with reference to Jackson's possible candidacy for the presidency. To the reviewer's mind the most important contribution to the history, other than military, of the period, to be derived from the papers here collected, lies in the field of Indian affairs. In this aspect Jackson is revealed as more thoughtful than many have been inclined to consider him. Though the prejudices derived from his early environment and contact with the Indians are apparent, he was rather sympathetic with the Indians themselves and severely critical of the half-breeds and "quarter-noon whitemen" who, in some cases, had displaced the older chiefs and were exploiting the tribal annuities to the detriment of the tribes. He had come to see the absurdity of negotiating with the Indians by treaty, and argued that it was time to subject the Indians to the laws of the United States. While he undoubtedly shared in the hunger for the Indian lands, his wish to dispossess the tribes was governed by larger considerations of politics—those of military defense and of social unity through connecting the white settlements and eliminating the Indian barriers. It is interesting, also, in the light of his later history, to find Jackson on the point of a clash with a governor of Georgia over a matter of Indian relations.

In Professor Bassett's editorial preface perhaps the most interesting comment is that which has to do with the famous "Rhea letter", over

which dispute waxed so warm in 1830. In his *Life of Andrew Jackson* Professor Bassett offered tentatively, as an alternative to the conclusion that either Monroe or Jackson departed from strict veracity, the suggestion that approval of Jackson, expressed by Monroe after the settlement of a dispute between Jackson and the War Department over the relative authority of Jackson and of the Secretary of War to issue orders to Jackson's subordinates, was mistakenly interpreted by Jackson as approval of the latter's proposal to invade Florida. In this volume of the correspondence is included a letter from Rhea to Jackson, dated January 12, 1818, from the Dyas Collection in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society, which was not available to Professor Bassett when he wrote the *Life*, and which, he thinks, goes to support the conjecture which he made in the earlier work.

Besides the principal body of Jackson Papers in the Library of Congress, Professor Bassett has drawn upon the files of the War Department, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, the Monroe manuscripts in the New York Public Library, and the Dyas Collection in the Tennessee Historical Society; and has winged an occasional letter in its flight through the dealers' sales. There is no hint as to the extent of the material not selected for printing. If it is intended to make complete the "List of Letters and Papers of Jackson . . . printed elsewhere than in this volume", there should be added three letters of Jackson to General James Winchester, which are to be found in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for September, 1915.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

The United States and Mexico. By J. FRED RIPPY, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, University of Chicago. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1926. Pp. xi, 401. \$5.00.)

THIS timely volume presents the first comprehensive general survey of American diplomatic relations with Mexico—or, more accurately, relations since 1848. It devotes one brief chapter (14 pp.) to earlier relations (to 1848); one to the Yucatan question of 1848 and the various forces and factors which influenced the doctrine of manifest destiny and formed the background of the American Mexican policy in the decade before 1861; five to the various complaints, grievances, and disputes from 1848 to 1853 closing with the Gadsden Treaty; one to the spirited struggle for ratification of the Gadsden Treaty; three to the filibustering raids, other frontier difficulties, claims and "the shadow of Europe" forming the background of the negotiations of the Buchanan administration; one to the "manifest destiny" policy of this administration; two to the Civil War period (Confederate projects and Seward's policy); five to the period from 1868 to 1910; two to an interpretation of the period since 1910; and one to a brief concluding survey.

The reader's expectations are disappointed by the brief treatment of the period prior to 1848, which, however, has already been well covered

by previous volumes resulting from the original investigations of W. R. Manning, G. L. Rives, J. H. Smith, and J. S. Reeves.

Except for this period and for the administrations of Buchanan and Lincoln and Johnson and the period subsequent to 1910 the author has broken virgin soil. His chief contribution is to the period 1848-1853 (the background of the Gadsden Treaty) in which he has done the larger part of his original researches begun at the University of California under the encouragement of Dr. H. E. Bolton and before the appearance of Paul Garber's volume on the Gadsden Purchase.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that on the struggle for ratification of the Gadsden Treaty in 1854, showing that the Tehuantepec question (acceptance of the Slocum grant) rather than sectionalism seemed to be the decisive factor in the contest.

The chapters treating the period of the Mexican administration under Porfirio Díaz—under the headings, Dawn of a New Era, Border Irritations of 1877, the Crisis of 1877-1879, Pacific Penetration, and the Challenge of American Preponderance—are based largely on original research but are somewhat disappointing in the treatment of diplomatic relations. They present a satisfactory treatment of the peaceful penetration of Mexico by big business—the pacific economic penetration of American railway builders and mine operators, ranchmen and land speculators, and the later American oil speculators and capitalists, under the three decades of régime of Díaz, a penetration foreseen and planned by Seward and resulting in an American preponderance and domination which tremendously and advantageously influenced Mexican life but which also excited the suspicions and fears often expressed throughout the period and finally forming the chief bases of the charges under which Díaz was driven from power into exile.

In the two chapters presenting a brief personal interpretation of the period since 1910, following the overthrow of Díaz, the author discloses a decided sympathy with the policies of Wilson's administration, but admits that the historian must postpone judgment here, awaiting access to sources not yet available.

In the brief concluding survey of the fundamental factors and forces which have operated to determine the nature of Mexico-American relations the author includes geographic proximity, rich Mexican resources, Mexican disorders and resulting American claims for damages, American enterprises, and the attitude of the European nations which tended to invite and promote American aggressive actions, and he suggests the probable future effect of these forces. Significant is his assertion that "Perhaps a shorter boundary and one which would give greater relative isolation could be found further south along the Sierra Madre range, but Mexico would never submit to the ruinous detachment of the rich mining area; and moreover, in this mechanical age natural barriers cease to isolate". Although he avoids the speculations of a prophet he suggests that the American government may some time adopt a definite policy of

coercion to secure order, protection, and profitable opportunities for investment in Mexico.

The reader is often reminded that Mexican conditions and relations were in many respects typical of later conditions and relations of smaller states of the Caribbean area analogous to situations which determined the recent American Caribbean policy of protectorates. The wonder is that Mexico, whose domain has been reduced and whose autonomy has been threatened, has never formally lost its independence.

The foot-notes bear evidence of the industry and care required for collecting and for the verification of data upon which the volume is based. They indicate that the study of the periods 1848-1853 and 1876-1910, especially the former, are based on primary sources—contemporary press news and published official documents of the government—which in many instances have been checked with original manuscript sources in the Department of State or the Library of Congress and elsewhere. The volume is supplied with an extensive bibliography and an adequate index. It also has two simple outline maps which are not adequate. It should have been supplied with a good topographical map to illustrate the chapter on the Gadsden Treaty. It is practically free from typographical errors but an improperly punctuated sentence appears on page 6 and an improper tense form of the verb “arise” on page 144.

The book deserves a wide circulation. The simple, well-organized narrative is well designed to appeal to both university students and the general public.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

The War Period of American Finance, 1908-1925. By ALEXANDER D. NOYES. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1926. Pp. 459. \$2.50.)

IN the two editions of his earlier work *Thirty Years* (and *Forty Years*) of *American Finance* Mr. Noyes has interpreted the course of our financial history from the close of the Civil War to 1908. In the present volume he analyzes the tremendous and complex financial operations of the World War, the economic changes which it produced, the manner in which we have adjusted our finances to peace conditions, and the changes which the war has wrought in our financial relations to the world at large.

The *Forty Years of American Finance* and the present volume together constitute a unique and extremely valuable study of the sixty years covering the most important period of our financial history. They are a study not by an economist who has selected the field for investigation but by a man well trained in economics who, as the financial editor of important papers, has been in daily touch, throughout the greater part of the period, with the events which he is describing and interpreting. It has the characteristics of the memoirs of a well trained and keen observer in the field of political history who, through participation in the events which he describes, has enjoyed exceptional opportunities for observation.

As might be expected from an author so equipped, Mr. Noyes is extremely successful in bringing out the relations between events in financial history and concurrent events in our economic and political history, thereby adding much to the interest and value of the work.

The central thought of the present volume is found in the statement in the first chapter that while most of the phenomena which accompanied and followed the World War differ only in magnitude from those of other wars, "the shifting of balance in the world's economic relations which followed 1914 was something new in history".

The way for this change was prepared in the United States by the "rule of reason" decision in the anti-trust cases of 1911, which re-established business confidence, the passage of the Federal Reserve Act in 1913, the existence, at the outbreak of the war, of the machinery for bank-note expansion under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, and the decision in the early days of the war not to follow the example of Europe in suspending gold payments by declaring a moratorium, although, as Mr. Noyes points out, after we entered the war we practically suspended specie payments by placing an embargo on the export of gold. Space is lacking to follow Mr. Noyes's exposition in detail. It must suffice to say that it is clear, keen, comprehensive, interesting, and of lasting value. There is as yet no other work covering the field in so clear and comprehensive a manner.

There are of course judgments and interpretations which are open to question, *e.g.*, in connection with the question as to whether the rise of prices during the war and the years immediately following was due to inflation. On pages 230 ff. the author would seem to imply that while there was inflation in Europe because of the issue of notes to meet the deficits of governments, regardless of the requirements of trade, inflation was impossible in connection with our Federal Reserve notes. Since they "could not be issued except on application of private banks, their increase in 1917 and 1918 bore no resemblance in character to the war-time paper inflation of Europe". On pages 305-308, again, he points out that in 1919 the great increase in Federal Reserve notes followed and did not precede the demands of trade and the rise of prices. On page 308, however, he says, "But credit inflation was another matter". After describing the vast sums advanced by the banks, on government loans, to private individuals and to the government he points out that the banks borrowed from the Reserve Banks on these loans and that this was encouraged by the low interest rates maintained by the Federal Reserve Banks. "It thus resulted that the Reserve System was making credit artificially cheap at the very moment when its price ought to have risen in the face of the huge requisitions on the general fund by speculators" (p. 310).

In both Europe and the United States there was a great increase in the circulating medium in the form of bank-notes and bank credit due in both cases to borrowing by governments to cover their deficits. This increase caused (or at least sustained) a great rise of prices. Is there any essen-

tial difference between an expansion of the circulating medium initiated by an increase of bank-notes in response to needs of government, and giving rise to an increase of bank credit, and an expansion initiated by an increase of bank credit in response to the needs of government and giving rise to an increase of bank-notes? Do not both these varieties of expansion have the same relation to rising prices and are not both to be described as inflation?

There are a few minor errors and omissions of fact in the volume. The Federal Reserve Act did not provide for twelve banks but for not more than twelve nor less than eight (p. 49). Attention might well have been called to the changes made in the Aldrich-Vreeland Act in August, 1914, which greatly increased its efficiency (p. 80). It is an exaggeration to say that the "circulation privilege" floated most of the Civil War loans (p. 179). National bank circulation did not reach significant proportions until very near the end of the war. By using the figures for gross rather than net borrowings by the government in 1865 the percentage of war expenditures met from ordinary revenue in that year is understated (p. 198). Over forty per cent. of the gross borrowings were used to retire debt.

These are but minor flaws. Mr. Noyes has rendered a service of permanent value to both students and the general public.

HENRY B. GARDNER.

Georgia and the Union in 1850. By RICHARD HARRISON SHRYOCK.
(Durham: Duke University Press. 1926. Pp. x, 406. \$4.00.)

THESE four hundred full pages are not confined to the commonwealth of Georgia, and the year 1850 is not reached until more than half the tale has been told. While Georgia is examined somewhat microscopically as to districts, parties, press, and personnel, and while the trends and events in local politics are elaborately traced from 1844 to 1852, developments are constantly kept in view concerning the two larger units, the South and the United States. The narrative, though sometimes intricate, is well woven; but the phrasing is clumsy in places, and the spelling of names is occasionally careless. Ocola is written for Ocala, for example, and Treascott for Trescot, and worse than these, Elberton is given instead of Eatonton (p. 375) as the place where J. A. Turner published his quarterly, *The Plantation*. These blemishes are offset by important contributions of material and interpretation. Among the notable discoveries are pamphlets by Thomas Ewbanks, Sidney G. Fisher, and Ben E. Green (errors in two of these names as given in the bibliography), the *Plantation* above mentioned, and the *Debates* of the Georgia convention of 1850.

Professor Shryock illuminates the waverings of public men and political factions in their attitudes toward the Union by emphasizing the conservative disposition of the planters and their concern with slavery, not only as a property interest but as a safeguard of social security. A citizen

of the class, he says, would be disposed to cherish the Union as long as it bade fair to promote prosperous and orderly conditions.

The moment, however, that a planter was convinced that the various northern attacks on slavery would lead gradually but inevitably to abolition, he foresaw not only the sudden ruin of prosperity, but all the other social dangers that have been described. If this were the case, the very Union that had seemed a protection now appeared to him as a league with destruction. Hence it must be abandoned at once. . . . The "Union man" was usually just one step behind the secessionist, and that step was simply a matter of evidence and conviction (p. 50).

Professor Shryock argues tellingly that Georgia was never upon the brink of secession in the period of his concern, and that the "Georgia Platform" of 1850 was a product not of the Toombs-Stephens-Cobb campaign but of a steadily prevailing desire for intersectional peace through compromise. The debate, however, was earnest and far-reaching, to the effect that (pp. 291, 292) "The years 1850 and 1851, indeed, constituted a time of education during which the people of the South first went to school to study those problems which they later attempted to solve during the tragic period of 1860-1865."

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

The People Next Door: an Interpretive History of Mexico and the Mexicans. By GEORGE CREEL. (New York: John Day Company. 1926. Pp. xii, 418. \$4.00.)

THE mental attitude and fitness of the writer and his method of treatment are of more significance than possible error in the record of facts. Of Mr. Creel's thirty-five chapters interpretative of the life of the Mexican people, twelve are concerned with the Texas and the Mexican War episodes, and one with the Monroe Doctrine during the French Intervention. The final chapter, the Future and its Challenge, concerned with the problems and hazards confronting Calles, frankly avers that success obviously depends quite as much upon the United States as upon the Mexican president. The dedication of over one-third of the book to American relations leaves no space for valid interpretation of the three hundred years of Spanish colonial administration; not a single chapter is given to it, and references thereto in the narrative reiterate the hackneyed criticism of eighteenth-century English writers who labored the thesis that Spanish America was one uninterrupted sequence of mistakes of Providence, which Albion must correct.

The author is not the only North American incapable of thinking about Mexico save in terms of United States history. To such an extent does the position of dominance, the sensation of power versus weakness, affect our international vision. And while it is true that many educated Mexicans see their national life only as projected on the screen of relations with the United States, they are not likely to be flattered by an interpretative history of their country which (though it is the most recent full statement

in English) neglects much in the analysis of their more recent problems and plans of reconstruction. When foreign absorption monopolizes even the mental attitude of the popular writer of history, Mexican hunger for national entity must approach despair.

Much space is dedicated to showing that American historians have "lied" about the causes of the Mexican War. In past events, which Mr. Creel judges by the printed page, Americans really treated Mexico quite properly; in modern ones, within the author's experience, they are doing everything wrong and badly. Just what is to be gained, in a history of Mexico, by attempting to prove that the United States had the correct attitude, and that the war was brought on by Mexican politicians, it is hard to see, especially if one's major thesis is the development of international understanding and good-will. This especially from one whose business it was to direct war publicity upon a propaganda basis. We have rather run amuck of late in our preoccupation with the assessment of war guilts in general. The subject has a certain validity for students who have access to valid authorities and the will and training to discriminate in their use, but in works of propaganda the shedding of innocent ink on this topic will not unfight any past wars or allay hankerings for new ones. There is another inconsequence too, in over-emphasizing the mistakes of policy of the United States for consumption in Spanish America; this in spite of the fact that Americans generally have yet much to learn about the inner motives which have influenced our history.

In the development of the thesis that we fought the Mexican War upon just provocation, the author draws his conclusions from Justin H. Smith's penetrating historical studies, but his methods (and many of his facts) are taken from a medley of journalists ranging from Gutiérrez de Lara on the extreme left to Francisco Bulnes on the extreme right; it is a pity that one who writes well and knows much about his subject should not have studied to make his work conform more closely to the established canons of historical writing. For instance, in support of statements concerning affairs of the past fifteen years, it would be useful to have more definite citation of documents than the assertion that they are in the archives of the Department of State.

The main thesis of the book, admirably stated in the foreword and concluding chapter, is that the "fortunes of the two countries are linked indissolubly" and that the United States and Mexico must work as co-operating friends; this will not happen until there "is an end to the ignorance that both peoples have been at such pains to cultivate". The only way up for Mexico is by self-development under unhampered Mexican leaders, who deserve American sympathy and intelligent understanding. The reviewer warmly applauds this sentiment and hopes the book will be widely read for its value in inculcating it.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

MINOR NOTICES

Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria: their Relations to Greece from the Earliest Times down to the Time of Philip Son of Amyntas. By Stanley Casson, M.A. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xxi, 557, figures 106, maps 19.) This work will make an instant appeal to all who have even a passing interest in Macedon and her neighbors, especially to those desirous of knowing how excavations will answer the old question, who were the Macedonians. It fills a need, for much of the material here collected is widely scattered. The plentiful illustrations and maps add much to its usefulness. No phase of the subject is neglected. To the geographical introduction, based for the most part on autopsy, is added a discussion of the natural resources and the grouping of cities. A convenient, though uneven, appendix lists and evaluates the ancient sources. The bibliography is long, yet neither complete nor accurate. In addition, part I. contains chapters on the prehistoric periods, the kings and chieftains of Macedonia and Thrace, the Thracian Chersonese, and art. Part II. gives a brief account of Illyria.

Casson's main interest, it would seem, centres in the fusion of ancient tradition with archaeological discoveries: the Macedonians were a return wave of an iron-age invasion which passed hastily through Macedonia into Thessaly, and the return of a portion of the tribe to historical Macedonia corroborates the Temenid theory of Macedonian origins. The tribes which the returning Argeads subdued were Thracians, of a similar culture, closely akin to the bronze-age Phrygians, who between 2000 and 1200 had been filtering southward into the Balkans, while the main body passed into Asia Minor. The Phrygians are "equated with the North Aegean Bronze Age". In Macedonia they found an earlier neolithic culture, which was likewise of northern origin, and quite distinct from that which existed in Thrace and Thessaly. Gradually, however, this Serbo-Macedonian wedge of neolithic culture "merged into that of the Bronze Age, firstly of an Aegean and then of a northern type".

Since this is Casson's contribution to the Macedonian question, it may be unjust to call attention to inconsistencies and errors in the historical sections. I mention only two, the false picture of the wealth of western Chalcidice, given in map and text alike, and the three different and contradictory statements (within six pages) about the use of the Maronitan mint by the Odrysian Amatokos.

As for the prehistoric period, future excavations, possibly even those made since the book was written—so meagre are the existing data—may well produce evidence to disprove, or prove, Casson's theses. Nor will all archaeologists accept his interpretation of that which is available.

A. B. W.

Choses et Gens de Byzance. Par Charles Diehl, Professor à l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Boccard, 1926, pp. iv, 248.) In this convenient

little volume are collected six previously published, but scattered, essays on various phases of Byzantine archaeology, art, and history. The first, occupying nearly a half of the booklet, is a reprint of the author's pioneer article on the church and mosaics of the Monastery of St. Luke in Phocis.¹ Though that appeared nearly forty years ago, the author has reprinted it exactly, referring the interested reader to his *Manuel d'Art Byzantin* (revised, 1926) for more recent bibliographical information. The other five articles are brief, averaging about thirty pages in length and are unencumbered, or unadorned, with many foot-notes. In the second the author sets forth clearly, if briefly, his thesis that Byzantine architecture was indebted to the Orient, Iranian and Semitic, for important details.² The third article, entitled "La Dernière Renaissance de l'Art Byzantin", contains the author's extended criticism of Gabriel Millet's theory on this subject.³ Incidentally it sets forth some of his own canons in judging the historic significance of art forms. The next two articles are historical, biographical studies of Justinian II.⁴ and Irene Angelus,⁵ two characters whom the novelists have overlooked. The disfigured ruler of the seventh century (*l'empereur au nez coupé*) appears in sober historical narrative as a monster of cruelty, while the thirteenth-century princess appears as a very pathetic figure, the innocent victim of a series of tragedies. If the narrative is confined rather closely to the central figures, this is a pardonable concession to the popular audience for whom these articles were written, and can easily be corrected in available references. The last article, "Byzance dans la Littérature",⁶ also written for an unprofessional audience, contains a suggestive, if incomplete, list of modern literary efforts, prose, poetry, and drama, devoted to this region and period.

The author explains in his preface how he happened to bring these scattered and unconnected articles into one work. The collection of them in this convenient and accessible form is in itself a real service. All are concerned with the Byzantine Empire, and will be welcomed by those interested in the period.

A. C. KREY.

The Growth of Europe through the Dark Ages, A. D. 401-1100: a Brief Narrative of Evolution from Tribal to National Status. By General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. (London, H. F. and G. Witherby, 1927, pp. 357, 10 s. 6 d.) "Our instruction in Ancient History", says General Barrow, "has usually begun with the Bible and the campaigns of Alexander the Great, and ended with Julius Caesar, or at

¹ *L'Eglise et les Mosaïques du Couvent de Saint-Luc en Phocide* [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises de Rome et d'Athènes, fasc. 55] (Paris, 1889).

² *L'Amour de l'Art*, March, 1924.

³ *Journal des Savants*, August, 1917.

⁴ *Revue de Paris*, Jan. 1, 1923.

⁵ *Dépêche d'Orient*, Jan. 1, 1912.

⁶ *Vie des Peuples*, August, 1921.

latest, with Constantine the Great, while in Modern History it has been confined almost exclusively to England. Consequently there is a wide gap in our historical knowledge" of the intervening period. "That particular field of historical knowledge is practically untrodden." If English historical instruction is usually confined within the limits which he indicates there may be need of a manual of the sort which he provides, but for the United States it must be declared to be superfluous. Our manuals of medieval history do not neglect the so-called Dark Ages, and some of them treat that period in a manner which is both scholarly and interesting. It is to be feared that General Barrow's excellent intention, to show the political and cultural development of all Europe during these formative centuries, will not be found to have achieved its object in such a manner as to interest and impress the young mind. He is confessedly an amateur, who bases his text on Gibbon, Bury, Oman, Hodgkin, Bryce, Fletcher, and the *Britannica*, and he writes dryly, weighting down his narrative with too great a multitude of facts.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fourth series, vol. IX. (London, the Society, 1926, pp. 229.) Professor Tout's presidential address, with which the volume opens, recounts portions of the history of the Society, founded in 1868. Another general paper is that by Professor F. M. Stenton on the Foundations of English History, advocating modern and better editions of many sources for the history of the period before the Conquest. Between the two come five monographs. In the first, scholarly and useful for comparative illustration of English practice, Miss M. V. Clarke treats of Irish Parliaments in the reign of Edward II. Miss Marian J. Tooley discusses the authorship of the *Defensor Pacis*, which she would divide between Marsilio of Padua and John of Jandun. Professor Caroline Skeel gives an account of the Cattle Trade between Wales and England from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, which is both an entertaining and a useful contribution to economic history. Sir Richard Lodge relates an episode in Anglo-Russian relations during the War of the Austrian Succession, namely, the difficulties in which Friedrich Lorentz, Hanoverian, assistant to Lord Hyndford, envoy to Berlin, involved himself and others by intervening in the struggle between Bestuzhev and Voronzov, Russian chancellor and vice-chancellor. Miss L. M. Penson describes the Making of British Guiana into a Crown Colony, tracing its history from the Dutch surrender in 1803 to the full establishment in 1833 of the crown colony system of government which prevailed from that time on.

Camden Miscellany. Vol. XIV. (London, Royal Historical Society, 1926, pp. 279.) The first place in this volume is occupied by Spanish narratives of the English attack on Santo Domingo in 1655, in translation, from the original documents in the Archivo General de Indias, by Miss Irene A. Wright, affording a vivid picture of the affair from the

side not hitherto presented in English, the chief piece being an excellent narrative by the Spanish captain Pallano. Next is presented, in Spanish and in English translation, by the Rev. H. J. Chaytor, from a manuscript in the Library of All Souls College, a treatise on the Spanish embassy and its practices, by a member of the staff of Don Pedro Ronquillo, ambassador in England from 1680 to 1691, a document valuable to the student of diplomatic practice. The volume also contains the will of Peter de Aqua-Blanca, bishop of Hereford, 1268, a body of documents concerning the ransom of King John of France, 1360-1370, and, from a Bodleian manuscript, a history of the Parliament of 1386, by Thomas Favent, clerk.

Histoire de la Nation Française. Dirigée par Gabriel Hanotaux. Tome II. *Géographie Humaine de la France.* Par Jean Brunhes, Professeur au Collège de France. Deuxième volume. *Géographie Politique et Géographie du Travail.* Par Jean Brunhes et Pierre Deffontaines. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1927, pp. 652, 65 fr.) Jean Brunhes is the ideal scientist in a work of this nature—a pioneer work, a work of immense erudition, yet written in a style so simple and so graceful that we seem to see Voltaire and Anatole France nodding their literary approval from some pleasant corner of the Elysian fields—for of course there can be no Elysian fields without good books and good people with whom to discuss them! And Jean Brunhes is a worthy compeer of him who wrote the *Histoire des Mœurs* and also of the master historian of Jeanne d'Arc. The history of France is here presented in a form so incontrovertible that no bigotry of theologian or politician can take offense and no mind however young or untrained can fail to absorb knowledge. Indeed, the work is encyclopaedic in that the history of the French people is illustrated by more than three hundred pictures, maps, diagrams, and plans—each one of which explains admirably some detail of historical importance in the field of commerce, transportation, handicraft, architecture, folklore, dress, fishing, agriculture, etc., etc.

Of course Jean Brunhes is a Frenchman—French of the very French. Every page of his work bears witness to his love of France and pride in her past achievement. But he has travelled much and wisely also. When he discusses mercantile or municipal progress he has plenty of material for comparison with other countries—Germany no less than England and the United States. And in this delicate field he sets the world the rare example of an ardent patriot who yet can see good beyond his borders and even point out home defects in a loving manner.

When shall the United States have its Jean Brunhes to write our history from the testimony of rivers, roads, mills, quarries, harbors, forts, churches, monuments? The field is fascinating if somewhat bewildering in extent of space to be covered. We have but three centuries of civilization here, where France has more than twenty. We have, however, in our short span of years, furnished examples of human endeavor as various as

those between the founding of Rome and its decline through luxury and military inaptitude.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

Les Origines. Par Frantz Funck-Brentano. [L'Histoire de France racontée à Tous.] (Paris, Hachette, 1925, pp. 400, 20 fr.) The somewhat belated publication of this initial volume completes the well-known and popular *Histoire de France racontée à Tous* through the period of the French Revolution. Like the second volume of the series, it is by the distinguished editor himself. It is a work of enormous scope, for, in the author's view, the history of France is no mere matter of medieval and modern times: it began far back among the ancient hunters who roamed the plains of Western Europe some twenty or thirty millennia before the beginning of the Christian era, and founded "by far the oldest civilization which the world has known". There is, therefore, a not inconsiderable chapter on the prehistoric period, and this is followed by four long chapters on Celtic Gaul, Roman Gaul, the Merovingians, and the Carolingians, which bring the story down to the election of Hugh Capet in 987 A. D. There are some dull pages, the result of excessive condensation, but there are many brilliant ones; and on the whole the book is written with the same lucidity and distinction of style and with the same strong appeal to human interest which have characterized all the other works of this versatile author. It is a valuable work which will be widely read. Yet it is blemished by what must surely seem to most readers, at least outside of France, an over-ardent nationalism which manifests itself in an extreme antipathy towards the Romans and, in a lesser degree, towards the Germans. For the author, the essential element of the French nation is to be found in the Celto-Ligurians, commonly called Gauls, whose civilization, already far advanced, was on the point of blossoming into a flourishing national life at the moment when it was overthrown by Julius Caesar, *un homme de proie*. The fall of Alesia marks the gravest hour in the national life. Vercingetorix was a glorious national hero. The Roman conquest of Gaul was an unmitigated disaster. The Roman contribution to the history of France was next to nothing. Indeed, in one place the author goes so far as to say that it was nothing—*ce n'est rien*. Not even the French language was derived from Rome, that is to say, not from the Latin of Virgil and Cicero. "Dans son essence et sa structure, dans son génie propre, le latin se rapproche de l'allemand . . . beaucoup plus que du français." The Germanic invasions and the long domination of the Franks still further turned back the clock. Their principal service was to sweep away the débris of the Roman domination, a work happily completed by the Northmen. Thus it was not until the ninth century A. D. that the people of France, in the main *le vieux peuple gaulois, celto-ligure*, recovered the control of its destinies, which had been lost at Alesia, and began the regeneration of the national life.

Among slips in proof-reading, the following may be noted: p. 149, l. 21, *avant notre ère* should read *de notre ère*; p. 177, l. 35, *un* is misspelled; p. 191, l. 4, *épiscopales* is misspelled.

C. W. DAVID.

Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia. By Elaine Elnett, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. xi, 151, \$2.50.) The chief object of Elaine Elnett's interesting book is to bring together in united and consistent form the story of the changes which have taken place in the organization of Russian family life and in its relation to the social institutions of the country, from the oldest times of the original patriarchal state of the Russian family life to the epoch of the great reforms under the Emperor Alexander II. (A. D. 1855-1881). First of all, I have to emphasize that the author possesses a good knowledge of Russian and is well acquainted with Russian literature; the reader will find, on pages 145-151, an interesting list of very well-selected Russian publications on the subject. Such an acquirement gives the author a considerable advantage over many other writers who have written upon Russia without knowing the language.

Russian literature being, in its major part, as says the author, the reflection of the surface of Russian life, has never been free from governmental censorship and interference; hence it is a poor guide to the depths of our social consciousness. As the Russian peasant, still essentially as primitive as he was centuries ago, has stored his accumulated wisdom in his folklore, and particularly in his proverbs and sayings, the author, in this book, turns her special attention to proverbs, and gives us, in the third chapter (pp. 90-134), a very long list of Russian proverbs which she accompanies with some explanatory remarks. This collection of Russian proverbs is interesting and instructive not only for the foreign but even for the Russian reader.

The first chapter (pp. 1-45) is devoted to the Pre-Petrine Life, *i.e.*, to the epoch preceding Peter the Great, the second chapter (pp. 46-89) to the Post-Petrine Life.

The author gives us a very vividly written picture of the gradual evolution of the life-conditions of the Russian woman. She shows in this portrayal of the development of Russian woman its dark and bright sides, childish superstitions and the seclusion in a terem—a special addition to the house, the change of the position of women under Peter the Great, and the new social and intellectual problems in the life of the Russian woman under Alexander II. in the nineteenth century.

Of course, historically entirely wrong is the statement of the author that Russia adopted Christianity from Greece when the Byzantine culture was already in the state of decline and decadence (p. 21; *cf.* also pp. 22-23). The time of the Macedonian dynasty, during which Russia was converted to Christianity, belongs rather to one of the brilliant epochs of the Byzantine civilization. A useful and living book!

A. A. VASILIEV.

English Life and Letters in the Middle Ages. By L. F. Salzman, M.A., F.S.A. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. 287, 7 s. 6 d.) The particular excellence of Mr. Salzman's work, a text-book written for schools and for students who are not already experts in the matters treated of, lies in the extensive field it covers and in the singularly happy illustrations, both pictorial and embodied in the text, of many homely matters of medieval life. The book necessarily, as is evident from its avowed purpose, does not touch on the deeper and more subtle questions of medieval civilization, but deals with daily living and ordinary thinking. The amount of useful and interesting information packed away in its pages is surprising. Some of the descriptions, like that of the manor and of the church, are perhaps a little stereotyped; others like the chapters on home life and industry and towns are fresher and less hackneyed. There is a certain amount of repetition and a recurrence of occasional phrases which revision would have eliminated. More serious is the question of the degree to which the writer of a general text-book of this kind may, for the sake of completeness and clearness, state uncertainties in minor matters as certainties, make definite assertions in cases where there may be reasonable doubt, as for example, the case of the date of the origin of the confederation of the Cinque Ports. On the whole, however, there is much faithfulness in the picture to medieval life as we know it.

Another question arises in relation to the great length of time included in the volume, the author defining his period as extending from the early conquest of Britain to the reign of Henry VIII. It is perhaps unavoidable that, in dealing with so long a period and treating necessarily so many phases of life somewhat superficially, he should fail to keep his chronological perspective clear. One wonders whether the student will understand easily the distance of time and difference of degree of civilization that separate King Alfred from Sir Thomas More. Leaving to one side, however, such criticisms, there is much in the book that is of interest to the general reader who will appreciate many of the delightful illustrations of the life and manners of the past—King John with his bath every three weeks, the boy under the counter removing the dough from the housewife's loaf under her very eye, the pious friar "who observed that Providence always caused rivers to run through large towns" to their advantage. The sense of vigor and motion and color that the book as a whole conveys will make the Middle Ages a living period to many young students, and medieval people will seem not so essentially different from ourselves.

N. NEILSON.

The Order of Minoresses in England. By A. F. C. Bourdillon. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. XII.] (Manchester, University Press, 1926, pp. 107.) Minoresses was the designation applied in England to those members of the Second Franciscan Order who on the

Continent were called Clarisses or Clares. The subject is not a large one, for there were in all but four establishments of this order in England, the most important being the one outside Aldgate, London, which gives name to the Minories. But out of wide and patient research and out of many bits of testimony or information Miss Bourdillon has constructed an excellent account of the foundations, their property, their relations with noble or gentle patrons and with the Friars Minor, the varied life of the sisters, and the circumstances of the dissolution in 1539. Moreover, writing with a light touch, she invests the story with a degree of interest not often given in this country, alas, to "masters' theses" on institutions of the Middle Ages.

Some New Light on Chaucer. By John Matthews Manly. [Lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1926, pp. xi, 305, \$2.40.) Chaucer's poetry, beyond that of any other medieval poet, even Dante, shows a steadily increasing love of concrete reality. Sometimes the reality is clear on the face of things, sometimes his sympathetic ink becomes no less readable with the help of learning and imagination. There is some presumption, therefore, in favor of Professor Manly's chief germinal idea, that Chaucer had real individuals in mind when he portrayed the characters in the *Prologue* and later in the *Canterbury Tales*. What Mr. Manly offers is "a collection of suggestions of a more or less speculative character", based on a prodigious mass of documentary evidence—names, dates, personal relations, events. "That some at least of the pilgrims were real persons" may mean that pretty much every detail would be recognized by an informed contemporary, such as those to whom Chaucer doubtless read his poetry; or merely that a general resemblance, or an occasional allusion, or a flicker of an eyelid toward a friend or oftener a victim would be understood. To prove the former must be impossible forever; that at least the latter is sometimes the case Mr. Manly makes us believe. It is true that Chaucer's love of concrete reality may have made him create it as well as photograph it. Instead of characterizations of real people "carefully wrecked" by subtle satire, the reviewer often sees rather a generalized admiration for efficiency, for competence in a man's main job, combined with a tough-minded amused half-toleration for the rough sins of this wicked world that may go with it. Chaucer could never quite ban a fellow-creature who did his main work well—one thinks for example of the Reeve and the Shipman. In many other cases, naturally, more than one interpretation is possible. But no short notice can do justice to what Professor Manly has contributed in deepening the background of the *Canterbury Tales*. Nor should one fail to mention the fresh points of view in the first quarter of the book, the new facts, the sound deductions as to Chaucer's life, especially as to the date of his birth, his family circumstance, his education and later use of it.

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK.

English Women in Life and Letters. By M. Phillips and W. S. Tomkinson. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xviii, 408, 10 s.) Students of social history and of literature will both welcome this delightful volume. It is composed largely of well-chosen direct quotations from varied sources, ranging from the familiar accounts of women in the *Canterbury Tales* to letters, diaries, and even fiction in more recent times. The extracts are cleverly woven together and their significance is made evident through pointed comments.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries receive more elaborate and happier treatment than the introduction on medieval women and the concluding sections on the early nineteenth century. Women of many types are depicted, some well known, as Dorothy Temple or Charlotte Brontë, others obscure. Most of women's occupations and interests are included: life at home in town or country, as mistress or servant, work in the professions or the factory, education, literary achievements, fashions, amusements, even crimes.

Choosing individuals to represent phases of periods means that idiosyncrasies of personality and character tend at times to blur the features of the age. Since, however, the book is primarily descriptive and illustrative, and only incidentally analytical, this limitation is less important than the vividness which the plan assures.

The book ends with a pessimistic note sharply contrasted with the tolerant, objective attitude of the earlier chapters. An indulgent smile for the foibles and shortcomings of long ago is replaced in parts by the tone of the indignant social reformer. By 1848 the evil consequences of an era of economic upheaval were appallingly evident, while even partial solutions of the problems and such ultimate benefits as the new régime brought to women were not yet clear. The scope of the book precludes adequate and balanced treatment of this period.

The value and interest of the volume are greatly enhanced by the lavish illustrations, chosen with rare felicity by Mr. John Johnson, printer to Oxford University, from illuminated manuscripts, wood-cuts, engravings, cartoons, and quaint old advertisements.

JUDITH BLOW WILLIAMS.

Histoire de la Suisse, Essai sur la Formation d'une Confédération d'États. Par William Martin. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 319, 20 fr.) "The object of this book is to place our history within reach of the general public and to help the Swiss to understand their country." In view of the vast amount of historical research carried on by Helvetic scholars and the numerous short manuals which have appeared on that soil, some reason for another attempt is reasonably due. The author finds in many books at least two faults, one in the excessive amount of detail, and another in the lack of perspective where Swiss history is a part of the general European current. From these the reader of this work has been mercifully delivered by reason, in part, of the limits set

by the subtitle, which calls it an "essay on the formation of a confederation of states". After a short chapter on racial origins and early medieval movements it leads at once to the beginnings of the confederation in the thirteenth century.

In his discussion of obscure points in the earlier combinations of the primitive cantons the author is fully up to date with modern scholarship, while his comments on causes and motives are keen and appreciative. The treatment of the period when Switzerland was a commanding military power exhibits the tendency to consolidation of the republics which the wars of religion later disrupted. Here the book makes good the promise of wide political perspective as well as just appreciation of the social and political factors at work. Not a single battle in the whole history of Switzerland is described in detail, but the causes and results of important conflicts are vividly set forth. The selfish separatism of the states, the costly mistakes of the leaders, the powerless futility of the federal diets, all receive their proper castigation, while the author holds fast to the threads of economic and political necessity which prevented complete disunion, and is not wanting in hearty appreciation of patriotic action.

The views expressed regarding the motives at work in certain crucial periods sometimes differ from those commonly accepted, while the estimates of well-known situations are often strikingly stated. Speaking of the French Revolution the author points out that of all the ideas spread abroad by that upheaval two struck a sympathetic chord among the Swiss, equality and the abolition of feudal rights. Liberty they thought they had already, but although personal service had practically disappeared the presence of tithes and privileges was a burden and a humiliation to the great peasant class. The Helvetic Revolution was, therefore, an agrarian uprising which eventually had no use for the imported unit state.

Swiss neutrality is usually assumed to be historically derived from Zwingli, but to the author it dates neither from 1516 nor from 1815, but is an international guaranty from 1860. Swiss jurists assume that it is an inherent right of sovereignty which is simply recognized by outside states, while, curiously enough, the Swiss government in practice acts upon the foreign theory.

Bringing the story through the World War, the problems of the future are set forth in a few paragraphs. The style of the book keeps the reader's attention throughout. To write one interesting chapter on the dull history of the eighteenth century in Switzerland is in itself an achievement.

J. M. VINCENT.

Le Cardinal de Retz: Ambitions et Aventures d'un Homme d'Esprit au XVII^e Siècle. Par Louis Batiffol. (Paris, Hachette, 1927, pp. 240, 30 fr.) Some fifteen years ago the firm of Hachette began the publication of a series known as *Figures du Passé*, to include popular biog-

raphies of eminent characters in French history. Fourteen have now appeared, of which at least five, those of Mirabeau, Lauzun, Danton, Dumouriez, and Gambetta, have been reviewed in these pages. The most recent in the series is the present life of the Cardinal de Retz, by M. Louis Batiffol, the librarian of the Arsenal Library. M. Batiffol is well known as the author of the *Century of the Renaissance* in Funck-Brentano's *National History of France*, and of various books and monographs on the age of Louis XIII.

The memoirs of Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz, first published in 1717, were by some critics considered spurious, until the discovery of Retz's autograph copy cleared these doubts and permitted the publication in 1837 of the first critical edition. The authoritative edition to-day is that of M. Chantelauze and others in that admirable collection, the *Grands Écrivains de la France*. M. Batiffol, asked to contribute the biographical article in that edition, has expanded that article to the present book, and explains that it has been his intention to prepare a life of the cardinal, devoid of prejudice, and based upon a critical use of all available sources.

There was a decided need for such a book. Extensive sketches of Retz have appeared in Bazin's, Ste. Aulaire's, and Chéruef's studies on the period of the Fronde, but these are all antiquated; and Sainte-Beuve's articles on Retz in his *Causeries du Lundi* are excellent, but very brief. No satisfactory life of the cardinal existed.

In some ways the results of M. Batiffol's work are disappointing. The nature of the series, perhaps, necessitates a book of popular character. Even so, the total absence of any bibliographical material and of an index is deplorable; and in consequence the book can hardly be of much value to the historian, save as the author may present new interpretations of events already known. And M. Batiffol has few new interpretations to present. His lack of interest in social and intellectual development is perhaps less serious in a biography than in his *Century of the Renaissance*, but is very noticeable even here.

Aside from these features, Batiffol's book is marked by clarity of style and fairness of judgment. Chantelauze believed that the cardinal, whose life was said by a Jansenist to be "the least ecclesiastical possible", was at heart a libertine, in the seventeenth-century sense of the word. Batiffol inclines to doubt his skepticism, although he remarks that a sermon of his, on hypocrisy, is done with a master's hand. The seven votes cast for Retz in the papal conclave of 1667 form an interesting commentary.

T. F. J.

The Gordon Riots. By J. Paul de Castro. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xiv, 279, 18 s.) This book should be welcomed both by the would-be "social scientists" and by those who enjoy history. For the latter it is a graphic day-to-day narrative of that week in 1780 during which London came near to mob rule, if not to revolution; and to the

scientific historian it offers a good compilation of contemporary accounts—some previously printed, but many presented for the first time—often overlapping in a story which is frequently compelled to return on its tracks, but which keeps the vividness of the eyewitness even where the author himself takes up the tale. The chronological account is followed by an interesting examination of possible foreign influence behind the outbreak; and in his appendixes the author gives the best possible assistance to his reader.

In his preface Mr. de Castro claims to have established several points, and in some at least he is fully justified: for example, that the lax conduct of many city magistrates amounted to direct complicity with the rioters; that the government, notably Lord Stormont, acted wisely and with vigor, but was held back by an unfortunate legal interpretation which gave the magistrates too great a control over the use of the military; and that one great lesson of the insurrection was the need for establishing an effective police force in the city. On the other hand, his claim that Lord George Gordon was "a revolutionary of the first water", seeking an outlet for political ambitions, seems hardly more justifiable than a similar claim based on the rather different characterization in *Barnaby Rudge*. The contemporary view, expressed forcibly by Horace Walpole, that Gordon was a lunatic, could be far more easily supported. The author's emphasis, too, on the unpopularity of the American war seems a little far-fetched in the light of the narrative, although no one would deny that the war was one contributory cause of a deep-seated unrest. He does not balance this claim by any adequate consideration of the bitter class-animosities which alarmed such impartial observers as Wesley, and which, coming out unmistakably in the events of these few days, form after all the main reason for allowing more than incidental importance to the Gordon Riots. It would seem appropriate also to make more than a brief mention of the way in which the riots helped to frustrate some interesting attempts at constitutional reform.

These criticisms, however, provoked chiefly by the claim to a thesis, do not seriously affect the main function of the work; and the author is entitled to high praise for a colorful, authentic, and well-documented narrative.

G. H. GUTTRIDGE.

Labor and Politics in England, 1850-1867. By Frances Elma Gillespie, Ph.D. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1927, pp. viii, 319, \$4.00.) The years immediately following the collapse of Chartism have tempted few students of labor politics. Yet this is the period selected by Miss Gillespie for investigation and her effort has been justified by the results.

The history of this phase is a difficult one for the investigator to follow because there was no connected movement. Instead there was a

series of spasmodic and intermittent agitations for reform. Although all failed in the immediate objective, the outcome was a new and significant policy. The class antagonisms of Chartism and the theory of independent political action on the part of Labor gave way before a spirit of co-operation with the middle classes. The sequel was the winning of the Second Reform Bill of 1867. The apparently barren period of the 'fifties was ultimately most fruitful.

The significance of the social and economic background of the movement is well set forth. So are the motives which finally converted the masses to political action and those which underlay the support of some classes for reform and the opposition of others. The importance of the entry of the trade unions into the agitation of 1866-1867 is rightly emphasized.

The prevalence of working-class enthusiasm for political reform during most of the period seems to the reviewer to be somewhat overstated. Most of the agitations concerned no great portion of the working class, but little minority groups here and there struggling to make an impression upon the apathetic mass about them. There was much latent sympathy with democratic causes, but far more active interest in building up trade unions and co-operative societies. Political indifference disheartened every reformer. There actually existed, moreover, a widespread feeling, especially among the trade unions, that tinkering with the machinery of government was futile. This sentiment was positively anti-political.

CARL F. BRAND.

Profili Biografici e Bozzetti Storici. By Alessandro Luzio. (Milan, L. F. Cogliati, 1927, pp. 525, 565, 78 lire.) *Studi Critici.* Nuova ristampa con illustrazioni. By Alessandro Luzio. (Milan, L. F. Cogliati, 1927, pp. 533, 39 lire.) In the bibliography of Risorgimento history Luzio's name recurs more frequently than that of any other writer, and not one of his volumes or pamphlets fails to make a serious contribution to historical studies. His new volumes of *Profili* are an important collection of studies previously published in periodicals, and about two-thirds of them previously republished in Luzio's volume bearing this same title and in his two volumes of *Studi e Bozzetti*; a very considerable number of the studies given in these two earlier works are, however, here omitted. The present volumes include Luzio's "G. Mazzini", "Un Dramma in Casa Carducci", "Gli Ultimi Giorni di Carlo Alberto", "Napoleon III. e l'Italia nel 1859", "Garibaldi a Varese", "La Notte di Caprera di G. d'Annunzio", "Mantova nel Quarantotto", "Moltke e la Guerra del 1859", "Le Autoapologie dei Generali Austriaci sconfitti nel 1859", "Persano e Tegetthoff" and "Il Carteggio di G. Verdi con la Contessa Maffei". The other studies relate to a great variety of men and events of the Risorgimento. Many of the studies are book reviews, but even these contain information and judgments of value not to be found in the books reviewed. Unfortunately Luzio gives no bibliographical references to indicate where the studies originally appeared.

The volume of *Studi Critici* consists of four important Risorgimento studies, being reprints of Luzio's *Le Cinque Giornate di Milano*, without alterations; *Radetzky*, without change from the edition of 1910; "Antonio Salvotti e i Processi del Ventuno", with slight verbal retouching and bibliographical additions; and a study entitled, "Il Principe di Metternich e gli Ambasciatori Sardi Conte Pralormo e Conte Sambuy". This last is primarily a favorable review of von Srbik's *Metternich*, to which are appended extracts from unpublished despatches of Pralormo written in 1832, in Vienna, where he was Sardinian minister, of which the originals are preserved in the R. Archivio di Stato in Turin, of which Luzio is director.

La Bessarabie, Étude Historique, Ethnographique, et Économique. Par Antony Babel, Docteur en Sociologie, Privat-Docent à l'Université de Genève. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1926, pp. 360, 30 fr.) About half this book is taken up with historical matter, perhaps one-fifth with economic; smaller sections are devoted, one to geographical and the other to ethnographical information. The historical sections take in general the Rumanian interpretation of the origins, development, and recent history of the Rumanian peoples both north and south of the Pruth. Yet one can not say that this Rumanian viewpoint is over emphasized or too sweeping in its expression. There follows the story of Bessarabia's connection with the neighboring lands, a confusing story well told here.

There is more than a bit of the atmosphere of a reference book, perhaps an unfortunate amount since the volume will thereby appear much drier to the casual reader than it should. There is however something of interest in the story of Bessarabia's development and in the descriptions of present-day conditions. The treatment may seem somewhat superficial—even the statistics—and the material itself incomplete, full data apparently not being available on some of the racial, economic, and social questions, but we can take what there is with some confidence and rejoice at having so much, at any rate.

Want makes for gentle criticism. When we have mysterious sections of the world with vexed questions of vital interest, direct or indirect, to the world at large, even a little light upon them is most heartily appreciated. Hence our pleasure in reading what Mr. Babel has to say. For here is a study of Bessarabia that appears to have the earmarks of impartiality, by one neither Russian nor Rumanian, and coming as it does from an atmosphere supposedly neutral, that is from Geneva. It is all the more welcome at present in view of the recent act of Italy: the recognition of Rumanian sovereignty over Bessarabia. Some light has been vouchsafed us before in the controversies connected with Bessarabia, its natural complexion, and the Rumanian rights. Alfred L. P. Dennis¹ a few years ago in a necessarily brief chapter showing thoughtful study decided for Rumania and the preponderance of Rumanian culture; Charles Upson Clark also² gave us the strongly Rumanian view.

¹ *The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia.*

² *Greater Rumania.*

A few typographical errors show: Bismark (p. 176 f.), etc. Though there is no general bibliography, the abundance of references given in the foot-notes is worthy of commendation. One is accustomed nowadays to the unfortunate lack of an adequate index in cheaply published books. Here the lack is absolute though somewhat mitigated by excellent section headings. More to be deplored is the complete absence of maps for recent history; the three inserted come down only to 1812.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

Europe since 1870. By Edward Raymond Turner, Ph.D., Professor of European History in the Johns Hopkins University. Revised edition. (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1927, pp. xii, 776, \$3.50.) The first edition of this book which appeared in 1921 did not fulfil the promise of its title, but ignored post-war events of first-rate importance. In the present edition this defect has been remedied and the history of Europe brought as near to date as can reasonably be expected.

Chapters XX. and XXI., respectively entitled Problems after the War and European Countries after the War, give the reader the major essentials of European development since the Treaty of Versailles. They are concerned with economic and political conditions in the various countries, with the difficulties which the statesmen are struggling to overcome, and with international relations and alliances. They give brief and satisfactory accounts of such important events, movements, and achievements as the conferences concerning reparations, the occupation of the Ruhr, the Dawes plan, Fascism, the work of the League of Nations, the Locarno Conference, the Washington Conference, and the Irish Free State. That Professor Turner has unusual gifts for the selection and condensation of material is beyond question.

Other portions of his book have also been enlarged, revised, and strengthened, notably his discussion of the immediate causes of the World War. For this subject he has utilized the information made available during the past six years by the opening of the German, Austrian, Russian, and British archives. He refuses, however, to accept the revisionist dogma of a "Franco-Russian Plot that Caused the War" and clings with contumacy to his earlier belief that Germany stands first in responsibility for the struggle; and he does this in spite of being excommunicated and anathematized by the Great High Priest of American Revisionism, a fact which may explain why he finds no place in his bibliographies for the *Genesis of the World War* by the redoubtable Dr. Barnes.

His following description of the revisionists (p. 490) touches their professional honor so closely that new thunderbolts may be launched:

When the war was over German apologists and advocates endeavored to undo the ascription of blame to Germany, which elsewhere generally prevailed. In this they were presently supported not merely by extensive propaganda but by the efforts of idealists, enthusiasts, sympathizers, friends, some of whom styled themselves "revisionists"—they would re-

vise the verdict and the penalties which the verdict assessed. By dwelling little or not at all upon what Germany and Austria had done, by ignoring old evidence and stressing the importance of new information, by implying that the victors were guilty of withholding evidence still more damaging to themselves, by stressing whatever evil the Allies had done, and arranging the evidence to support their allegations, above all by alleging that previous judgments unfavorable to Germany were the result of misinformation and propaganda by the Allies and "war hysteria" which made most people mistaken and easily deceived, German advocates and revisionists undertook to show that not only was Germany not solely guilty of causing the war, but that she was not principally guilty, and that the Allies had been most to blame.

There are, of course, minor defects in the book, as for example, an unnecessarily confusing account of the difference between communism and socialism, a difference now clearly established and well recognized (pp. 603-604). His description of the German presidency under the new constitution is not accurate (p. 698), a fact attested by his own statements on page 699. On the whole the book is scholarly, impartial, and comprehensive, and is an excellent introduction to a course on the World War.

E. E. SPERRY.

The Oil War. By Anton Mohr, Lecturer in Political Geography in the University of Oslo. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1926, pp. vii, 267, \$2.50.) Books and articles upon the political history of petroleum are common and typical symptoms of the growing pains of a world-economy, into which the national economies of the present era seem to be rapidly merging. Professor Mohr's volume is the latest and in many respects the best of these contributions. It is interestingly written and is probably as accurate as the uncertainties of the data permit. Furthermore its author enjoys the advantage of being the latest in the field and of speaking as a neutral, from a neutral tribune, to a neutral audience.

Essentially the book is a record of international oil rivalry since the World War. Although well toward one-half of its contents are devoted to the earlier history of the petroleum industry, the real story begins with the sudden awakening of the belligerent governments, in 1914, to the fact that the internal combustion engine, on land, on the sea, under the sea, and in the air, was an absolutely decisive element in that conflict. This conviction logically precipitated a struggle for oil even among the former allies as soon as armed hostilities were over. That struggle is the oil war which gives the book its title.

Four chapters cover this campaign up to the present. Their respective headings are: Re-Grouping, which deals with the mobilization and deployment of the adversaries; the Near East, which describes hostilities on the eastern front; Central America, which traces the fortunes of battle on the western front, and America versus Britain, which summarizes the gains and losses of the chief contestants to date. Such a presentation is sufficiently sensational and alarming, at least to Americans, who are represented as hopeless losers in the contest. A rather futile State Depart-

ment—at least as compared with the long-headed gentlemen of Downing Street—a domestic oil industry that has waxed fat and slothful, and national staleness begotten of a plethora of prosperity that disqualifies us to cope with our lean and eager rivals account for this.

So much for the author's thesis and conclusions. We think he over-stresses the military at the expense of the industrial aspects of the oil question. His interpretation of post-war diplomacy in western Asia, although absorbingly interesting and in its way illuminating, and his description of political jobbery—we can hardly dignify it by the name of diplomacy—in Spanish America, are almost too oily. Some of his sources are weak. An oil promoter's matutinal cock-crow and a newspaper despatch hardly measure up as authorities to the foreign office arcana upon which the author's generalizations are ostensibly based. Probably also he would have spoken more conservatively of Britain's petroleum conquests in America had he been aware that the operations of British-Controlled Oil-fields—just reorganized—which "have very rarely been made public", have now been sufficiently illumined to disclose the fact that its shareholders have lost two-thirds of their capital, and that only one—and that a rather minor area—of the numerous and costly concessions of this great pioneering company seems to be blessed with petroleum in paying quantities or to be held by an assured title. Nevertheless we should class this volume among the—we fear too numerous—books that "every American should read". It will give him more of a thrill than an ordinary novel, and will call his attention to many indisputable facts which every citizen should know.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

The Social Revolution in Austria. By C. A. Macartney. (Cambridge, University Press, 1926, pp. xii, 288, 8 s. 6 d.) This is an extremely useful and, at times, entertaining study of a subject upon which there is at present little available information in English. The four opening chapters sketch the background of the political revolution of 1918 and the history of the first years of the Austrian republic; there follows the most important portion, albeit less than a third, of the work, dealing with Austrian Socialism and Socialist legislation; after a study of the peasants, the middle classes, and the Jews, in each instance rather summary in character, it concludes with a chapter upon the relations of Austria to Central Europe.

The book contains so much of suggestive as well as of informative values that it may seem ungracious to complain that the space given to the general setting appears excessive in comparison with the more special study of Austrian Socialism. It is certainly necessary, as the author contends, to "see what were the conditions which gave birth to this form of world movement . . . and further, what was its effect on the non-Socialist classes of society". But an expansion of the middle portion, dealing specifically with the Austrian Social Democrat Party, would have en-

hanced its value for the special student and clarified a complex situation for the general reader. In a work so largely given to generalization mis-statements are pleasingly infrequent. It is hardly true that in Bohemia and Moravia the "population was in general almost inextricably mixed"; nor that during the first two years of the war the Habsburg armies were "undefeated". In his larger statements Mr. Macartney has done service by emphasizing facts which are not invariably recognized, as for example, that, apart from the prohibition of the "Anschluss", the peace treaties did little beyond legalizing a *de facto* state of affairs.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

Social Life in the Cape Colony in the 18th Century. By Colin Graham Botha, Chief Archivist for the Union. (Cape Town and Johannesburg, Juta and Company, pp. 115.) Out of the rich stores of record and correspondence in the archives of the Cape Colony and out of books of early travellers Mr. C. Graham Botha has acquired an immense amount of detailed knowledge respecting the social life of his country under the régime of the Dutch East India Company. Out of this wealth of detail he has prepared this unpretending but very interesting and well-illustrated book, written with great compactness, wasting no words, but full of information. The life of the company's officers and the burghers in Cape Town, and that of the dwellers in the country (two widely differing types of life) are minutely described—government, militia, church, houses and furniture, farms and agricultural operations, travel and hospitality, recreations, manners and dress and customs. Descendants of New Netherlanders, members of the Holland Society, and all who care for the history of the Dutch in America, will find a great deal to interest them in the volume.

The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615-19, as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence. Edited by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. New and revised edition. (Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. lxxix, 532, 18 s.) In 1899 the journal of Sir Thomas Roe was printed by the Hakluyt Society in one of its usual small editions—printed for the first time from the original manuscript in the British Museum, Purchas and subsequent editors having printed from copies, imperfectly or with great abridgment, though Purchas had access to versions which went to a later date than the one surviving volume of the original manuscript. The Hakluyt Society's volume, edited twenty-eight years ago by Mr. (now Sir) William Foster, has long been out of print. The present edition makes available to all readers the history of a remarkable negotiation and a vivid narrative and description of India under Jahāngīr, which has quite extraordinary value and interest. The editor, whose competence in his field is of course unsurpassed, has amplified his introduction and annotations. As in the previous editions, the text of the original manuscript, ending February 11, 1617, is pieced out by Purchas's additional

text and by letters, of which however thirty are added in the present edition, from the archives of the India Office and from other sources.

China and her Political Entity: a Study of China's Foreign Relations with reference to Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia. By Shuhsi Hsü, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Political Science in Peking (Yenching) University. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xxiv, 438, \$2.00.) This book is based on Chinese as well as on Occidental sources. The statement supplied by the publishers that it is "unique" in this respect is, however, not warranted. It is a very illuminating historical and critical study of *some* of the problems, both of domestic politics and of foreign relations, which have confronted China during the past three centuries.

On the title-page and in the author's preface John Hay is quoted as saying, "The policy of the United States is to preserve the territorial and administrative integrity of China". Also in the preface appears, "the active policy of restoring the complete control of Manchuria to China as pursued consistently by the McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft Administrations". What Hay really said, that it was the policy of the United States to "seek a solution which may . . . preserve China's territorial and administrative entity", is correctly quoted on page 256.

The chapters on Historical Background and Decline of the Tsing Dynasty, based almost wholly on Chinese materials, are the most original contribution; but the chapters on the Korean Problem and the Boxer Rebellion and a portion of the chapter on the Reconstruction of Manchuria also contain much valuable material that is for the first time made available.

Chinese historical scholarship exhibits a tendency to be subjective in the field of political argumentation. Thus Professor Hsü writes: "one is prompted to ask whether fifteen years constitute a reasonable length of time after a war to permit the return to ante-bellum conditions. . . . The question as to whether tranquillity is re-established being a question of opinion rather than a question of fact" (p. 408). With regard to the Boxer indemnities he says: "for the mad acts of these few culprits China was yet made to pay a lump sum of 450,000,000 taels" (p. 238).

Professor Hsü repeatedly lays emphasis upon the incompetency of the Manchus. He throws new light upon American participation in Far Eastern diplomacy. In the last chapter he gives an interesting account of proposals for intervention in China during and after the Rebellion of 1911 (pp. 348, 376-377); he summarizes the principal acts of aggression against China by foreign powers since 1911; and he gives a much needed and very illuminating account of the Russian-Chinese negotiations of 1924 and the "preliminary agreement on general principles" of May 31, 1924 (pp. 419-426), which is usually and erroneously thought of as a treaty in which Russia has "restored" China's "lost rights".

STANLEY K. HORNBECK.

China's International Relations and other Essays. By Harley Farnsworth MacNair, Ph.D., Professor of History and Government in St.

John's University. (Shanghai, China, Commercial Press, 1926, pp. ix, 326, \$2.50, Mex.) Professor MacNair has made good use of his years in China and has placed us all in his debt by a number of volumes on the land and people of his sojourn. One of these, *The Chinese Abroad*, is a scholarly departure into what had been a practically unworked field. Another, *Modern Chinese History: Selected Readings*, is a useful collection of material for teachers. The present little volume, like its immediate predecessor, is a collection of essays and deals with topics which have been of great importance in the past few months. The "unequal treaties", the land regulations of the International Settlement at Shanghai, the government registration of Christian schools, and various other phases of the missionary enterprise are among those treated. All the essays have previously appeared elsewhere, but some of them have been worked over for the purposes of the volume. None of them represents any extensive research—they do not profess to do that—but they are all based upon excellent works. Professor MacNair is a good judge of sound research and has an unusual capacity for putting into popular and readable form the technical and sometimes arid material collected in the monographs of others. Especially informing is his description of the government and the titles to property in the International Settlement at Shanghai. He frequently draws lessons from the past and so ventures onto debatable—at times hotly debatable—ground. Occasionally, too, he falls into error in a statement of historical fact. For example—and here he has good company—he ascribes the misfortunes of the Catholic Church in China in the eighteenth century to the decision on the rites question, whereas that was only one and perhaps not the most important one of the causes. On the whole, however, the historical statements are thoroughly dependable. Dr. MacNair concludes his volume, as is fitting, with a chapter on what the study of history can contribute to the solution of the China problem.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

China Yesterday and To-day. By Edward Thomas Williams, Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature, University of California. Revised edition. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1927, pp. xviii, 664.) On its first appearance, four years ago, this volume by Professor Williams immediately took its place as the best recent general book on China in English. It covered the geography, history, and many of the phases of the life and culture of the land with a wealth of vivid illustration based upon wide observation and extensive reading. The new edition brings the historical section down to the close of 1926 and adds a chapter on Chinese art. The supplement to the historical narrative will not prove especially helpful, for it is very brief and the author has little to say of the intellectual renaissance and student movement which are so important a part of recent events. We shall, however, all be grateful for the chapter on art.

K. S. L.

Foreign Rights and Interests in China. By Westel W. Willoughby, Professor of Political Science in the Johns Hopkins University. Two volumes. Revised and enlarged edition. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1927, pp. xxxvi, xvii, 1153, \$12.00.) This excellent work, first issued in 1920, has been a recognized reference book on the subject with which it deals. In this new form it has been brought down to date and considerably expanded. Its classification is excellent, its scope is comprehensive, its comments are judicial and well tempered, and its extracts from official documents and its quotations from other works are extensive and well chosen. It is easily the best source-book on a topic which is to-day of great importance.

K. S. L.

American Orations: Studies in American Political History. Introduction by George Haven Putnam, Ph.D. Fifth edition, two volumes. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927, pp. xxiv, 405, 433; iv, 416, 481.) This is a useful collection of contemporary opinion, which first appeared in 1884 as *Representative American Orations*, three volumes, edited with introductions by Alexander Johnston, late professor of jurisprudence and political economy in the University of Princeton, which in 1896 was re-edited in four volumes, with new materials and historical notes by Professor James A. Woodburn of Indiana University, and now appears in its fifth edition in two volumes with an introduction by Dr. George Haven Putnam. Apart from this introduction of nineteen pages, the only change made is the combining of two volumes of the earlier edition into one, as parts I. and II. The pagination is repeated in each volume for each part. There are no new references added to the notes, nor have any specimens been included to illustrate recent issues, the last address reprinted being that of Carl Schurz before the Civil Service Reform League, December 12, 1894.

Washington. By Joseph Dillaway Sawyer. Two volumes. (New York, Macmillan, 1927, pp. xviii, 640; vii, 619, \$20.00.) One of the most difficult American biographies to write is that of George Washington. The many reasons for this have not daunted Mr. Sawyer who has assailed the problem with unbounded, honest enthusiasm and a wealth of illustration most unusual. The work begins with the English ancestry of Washington, but the fundamental principles of a biographical study are quickly forgotten in the evident pleasure with which the author inducts the reader into his concept of Washington. In this he is not so successful as he, doubtless, would wish. The thread of biographical continuity is continually broken by excursions into collateral American history which, however interesting, obscure the main theme, at times completely. This enthusiasm probably explains the presence of many of the particularly irritating Washington legends, which are placed before the uncritical reader, often with scant caution, as the drama of the Revolutionary War lures the author from the safe path of historical rectitude. There are

over a thousand illustrations, many of which are good, and it is a pleasing renewal of an old acquaintance to meet again with the *Godey's Lady Book* picture of the battle of Germantown, even though redrawn and greatly reduced. It requires, however, hardened sensibilities to withstand the shock of the hand-to-hand fighting at Trenton, where buckskin-clad frontiersmen battle in a forest over the corpse of an Indian warrior. Also General Greene's fight at Ninety-Six seems, from the picture, to have been largely an effort of nude negroes to draw buckets of water from a swampy stream.

As to the text it seems sufficient to point out that Thomas Paine is there stated to have been the secretary of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence; that the British force landed on Staten Island, prior to the battle of Long Island, is given as 55,000, of which 17,000 were Hessians, though a few pages later the total is reduced to 25,000; that the two battles of Trenton are fused as one; that Arnold's conduct in Philadelphia resulted in "defalcations"; that Washington set a trap for Cornwallis at Yorktown and that Washington founded the Society of the Cincinnati in 1785.

The bringing together of 250 portraits of Washington in volume II. is a real convenience, even though many of them are greatly reduced in size and others are scored, doubtless perforce, by the disfiguring line of the auction-catalogue illustration.

The many quotations lack authorities and are not over-exact. It seems impossible to quote correctly Washington's remark regarding Shays's Rebellion: "Influence is no government", just as it seems difficult to spell General Greene's name Nathanael. It should be remembered also that the November 12, 1799, letter, a copy of which is shown on page 367, volume II., is not the last letter written by Washington, as in the Library of Congress the last holograph letter is of December 10, 1799, and there is also, in the Hamilton Papers, an L.S. to Hamilton, dated December 12.

J. C. FITZPATRICK.

The Preliminaries of the American Revolution as seen in the English Press, 1763-1775. By Fred Junkin Hinkhouse, Ph.D., Philo Carpenter Hildreth Professor of History, Parsons College. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 276.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. 216, \$3.50.) This is a very satisfying study, in that the author has strictly limited his inquiry, and then confined himself loyally to the field so delimited. The twelve years before the outbreak of the American Revolution have been the subject of a number of searching inquiries in recent years, but strangely enough it has not occurred to any previous investigator to examine thoroughly the English newspapers. Bearing in mind the fact that English newspapers of the eighteenth century, like English newspapers to-day, were filled with letters from really respectable correspondents (not mere cranks), and that in the eighteenth century these letters often took the place of editorial comment,

we can see at a glance what field for a study of public opinion such a source offers. Moreover, the author of this book makes out an excellent case to support his contention that the English newspapers were surprisingly impartial in the letters and paragraphs which they accepted. The findings as to the nature of the discussions preliminary to the Revolution are fitted by this author into categories already pretty well defined by the pioneer researches of Professor McLaughlin, and the subsequent study of Professor McIlwain. The same is true as to the theories heretofore advanced about the Revolution. Such a statement as "The Stamp Act was repealed, not because of any recognition of the justice of the American claims, but because of pressure brought to bear by the trading and manufacturing interests of England", is not new—but to have the statement made by one who has taken the trouble to examine thousands of contemporary newspapers and has not relied upon pamphlet propaganda alone, is refreshing. Moreover, there is something satisfactory about the date of a newspaper, as when the author discovers that the effectiveness of the non-importation policy was actually coincident with the discharge of hundreds of workingmen in Birmingham. Did or did not the people of England support the policy of the king and Lord North? Was or was not articulate opinion behind the policy of government? Such a study as that of Mr. Hinkhouse is essential to anything like a correct answer to this question.

He refrains from dogmatic conclusions, but suggests that his researches on this point convince him that the American Revolution was in fact an English Civil War. That the newspaper paragrapher was as much of a phrase-maker as the pamphleteer may be seen from the remark, "the Question rightly understood, is not Great Britain against America, but the Ministry against both". As the outbreak approached, the opposition to the ministry seemed to grow rather than to decline, and Mr. Hinkhouse adduces yet more evidence to prove how utterly unlike modern wars was the American Revolution in which, after Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, Englishmen came out flatly and denounced the sending of troops to America. Mr. Hinkhouse's effort is sometimes a trifle deficient in effective presentation, but it is a distinct addition to our knowledge in the vexed and nebulous field of public opinion, as well as in that of the political and economic preliminaries of the Revolution itself.

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia. Volume I., *The Letters of Patrick Henry.* Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1926, pp. vii, 410, \$4.00.) The inauguration of this series is a most commendable enterprise and its consummation will be eagerly awaited by all who are interested in Virginia history, for it will not only make available much hitherto unprinted material, but will bring into proper sequence the whole body of executive communications.

The present volume covers the first three terms of Patrick Henry as governor of the state, extending from July 1, 1776, to June 1, 1779. Un-

fortunately the executive letter-books of the period have been lost, as have also disappeared many important letters known to have been written by Governor Henry, the consequence of which is that this volume is essentially, so far as letters are concerned, a collection of survivals. Dr. McIlwaine disclaims indeed that the volume is to be regarded as in any sense definitive. (This reviewer, by the way, has noted a few letters in the Library of Congress which the editor did not discover.)

It is further to be observed, as Dr. McIlwaine takes pains to point out, that this volume is more comprehensive in character than its title would indicate; for it includes not only letters written by lieutenant governors (notably John Page), but also extracts from the Journals of the Council and House of Delegates, and even extracts from other sources which throw light particularly on missing letters.

This reviewer has, upon the whole, only commendation for the editorial work; nevertheless he feels tempted to suggest that a little greater uniformity in the headings is desirable. He likewise makes bold to call attention to a few of the errors noted: The letter of John Page (p. 141) is misplaced; "Benjamin Harrison" (p. 169) for Benjamin Franklin; "St. Gerard" (p. 327) for Sr. Gerard (*i.e.*, Sieur); "John Jay" (p. 332) for Henry Laurens. The indexer has consolidated two Benjamin Harrisons and also Robert and Richard Morris.

E. C. B.

David Hartley, M.P.: an Advocate of Conciliation, 1774-1783. By George Herbert Guttridge. [University of California Publications in History, vol. XIV., no. 3.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1926, pp. 110, \$1.25.) This study gives an account of David Hartley's attempts to arrange a conciliation or "succidaneum" with the colonies during the Revolution by way of letters with Franklin, speeches in Parliament, and interviews with Lord North, and after the war as the representative of Shelburne, Fox, and Carmarthen in Paris. He had in mind an arrangement a little short of independence or an autonomous position within the empire based upon a liberal commercial policy, and for that reason the study is particularly interesting now in view of recent British Empire developments. Perhaps the American representatives looked upon a plan which included liberal terms of commerce with England more favorably than the author brings out and the publication of a Hartley letter describing the "succidaneum" as for instance Hartley to Fox, no. 1, Nov. 6, 1783 (Leiter Library, Hartley Papers, IV. 49), would have been more helpful in understanding the paper than the one given in the appendix and already published in C. Sumner, *Prophetic Voices of America*.

An Introduction to the Study of the American Constitution. By Charles E. Martin, Ph.D., Dean of the Faculty of Social Science, University of Washington. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xliii, 440, \$3.50.) Professor Martin states his purpose to be "to

furnish the student and the general reader with an introductory study of the American Constitution". The work falls into three parts. In the first the formation of our constitutional system from its English and colonial beginnings is traced through the Federal Convention of 1787. In the second the development of the Constitution principally through judicial interpretation is sketched. Part III. deals with the Spirit of the American Constitution. Parts I. and II., with the appendixes, make the work a useful *vade mecum* for the student of American government, although its value for that purpose could have been considerably enhanced had more attention been given to bibliography.

Part III., as is perhaps inevitable, contains a number of questionable statements. The conception of "the sovereignty of the state" did not begin with Aristotle (see p. 272); the problem had not yet been dreamed of. "The doctrine of natural rights and of the social contract" was not "introduced into England by the Scotch Presbyterians" (p. 273). The English version of both is unique, and the Mayflower Compact preceded the Scottish National Covenant by nearly two decades. The term "doctrine of judicial supremacy" (p. 278) is misleading. There may be judicial supremacy as a matter of fact, but judicial doctrine denies it. It is also a mistake to speak of Aristotle as an "advocate" of the "doctrine of the separation of powers" (p. 277), although his observation that government involves three more or less distinguishable functions doubtless affords the starting-point of the doctrine. The statement, too (p. 125), that Story "resigned" soon after the decision in the Charles River Bridge case is erroneous. Story remained on the bench until his death in 1845.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

The Frontier in American Literature. By Lucy Lockwood Hazard. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1927, pp. xx, 308, \$2.75.) Professor Turner's paper, "The Significance of the Frontier", has had a peculiarly stimulating effect upon the younger generation of scholars. From it seemingly can be drawn theses accounting for every phase of American life. During the last publishing season two volumes have appeared accounting for our literary history solely as a frontier evolution and other similar works, as we happen to know, are in preparation. Miss Lucy Lockwood Hazard, who is an instructor in English in Mills College, California, has the distinction of being the first in the field. "Astride the thesis that up to this time American literature has been written with the accent on "literature" she starts out to rewrite the history of American letters not only with the accent on "American", but with the ever-present contention that every phase of it worth noticing at all has been a frontier development. The tone of the book throughout is revolutionary, the tone of a conscious rebel who is sometimes aghast at her own daring. "It is time to decanonize Emerson. . . . Is it too shocking a heresy to suggest that John Winthrop, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and

George Follansbee Babbitt stand in logical succession? 'If this be treason, make the most of it.'" Longfellow she dismisses in two sentences, and Aldrich, Stedman, Howells, and kindred writers she barely alludes to: they were not frontier developments; they really are not of *American* literature at all. But David Crockett, Daniel Boone, the Washington Irving of *Astoria* and *Captain Bonneville*, Cooper, and John Neihardt are presented in full-length studies. Even transcendentalism, as she voluminously explains, was a frontier phenomenon. The disappearance of the frontier with its free land she, with Professor Turner, places in the eighteen-nineties. It was followed by the gilded age of industrial pioneering and then by the period of depression and hopeless pessimism—the age of Dreiser. She, however, is serenely optimistic. In her last chapter she prophesies with Hebraic enthusiasm "the coming age of spiritual pioneering" with—it is hard to refrain from smiling—H. L. Mencken, Sinclair Lewis, Vachel Lindsay, and Sherwood Anderson as the prophets of the new golden age. The book is a stimulating one and in parts really brilliant. Its weakness comes from the fact that the author has adhered too strictly to her thesis. The frontier undoubtedly has had an important influence upon American life and development, but to treat it as if it were the only influence, to weigh every writer in this one balance, is to create a false perspective. To look solely at things uniquely American in our literary product is to belittle our literature and our intellectual development. Longfellow is still as worthy of our study as is David Crockett.

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

The Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Brazil. By Joseph Agan. Volume I. *The Portuguese Court at Rio de Janeiro.* (Paris, Jouve and Company, 1926, pp. 146.) This book under review is the first of five volumes "dealing with the major legal, political, and commercial questions that have arisen from our intercourse with the Kingdom, Empire, and Republic of Brazil". That such a survey is a desideratum has long been recognized by students of Hispanic-American history and diplomacy. The present volume embraces only the period 1808–1821, which coincides with the residence of Dom João VI. and the Portuguese court at Rio de Janeiro. These years, though of outstanding significance in the history of Brazil, yield rather meagre results to the investigator of inter-American relations. Our State Department evinced only a perfunctory interest in Brazil and much of the time of our minister was consumed in futile efforts to obtain satisfaction from Portugal for her unneutral conduct during the War of 1812. Though Portugal had formally proclaimed her strict neutrality she did not scruple to furnish British merchant ships with convoys, she made no real effort to prevent the destruction of the privateer *General Armstrong* by the British brig *Carnation* while the American ship was at anchor under the guns of the fort at Fayal in the Azores, nor did she prevent the capture of the *Levant* in the harbor

of Porto Praia in the Cape Verde Islands. It was this failure of Portugal to enforce observance of her neutrality which explains in some measure Monroe's policy with regard to the capture and pillaging of Portuguese vessels by Americans in the alleged service of Uruguay although his attitude was also conditioned by his well-known sympathy for the cause of Spanish-American independence. As a consequence of Dom João's designs on the north bank of the estuary of the La Plata, Artigas, the founder of Uruguayan nationality, issued commissions in blank and sold many to adventurers, principally at Baltimore. Mr. Agan analyzes the ineffectual protests of the Portuguese chargé, Corrêa da Serra, against the activities of these privateers. And in truth, despite the stiffening of our neutrality laws, no really serious effort was made to check the depredations of these adventurers whose status was but little removed from that of pirates. In the preparation of his monograph the writer has made use of the archives of the State Department and of the unpublished papers of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe in the Library of Congress. His bibliography reveals a knowledge of all the more important Portuguese and Brazilian works dealing with the period. It is a pity that the results of his researches should appear in such a shabby format. The book was printed in France on poor paper and with flimsy binding. Typographical errors, the results of careless proof-reading, abound. Occasional errors of fact also appear. Bahia is not three hundred miles north of Rio de Janeiro but nearer eight hundred (p. 10). The statement (p. 67) that "most of the opposition to Artigas came from another guerilla, Elio", is misleading. Elio was the seventh Spanish governor of Montevideo and returned to Spain in 1811, while Artigas did not retire from Uruguay until nine years later. It is to be hoped that the make-up and appearance of subsequent volumes in the series will be more in keeping with the dignity and importance of the subject.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Statesmen and Soldiers of the Civil War, a Study of the Conduct of the War. By Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1926, pp. xi, 173, \$3.00.) The studies in this book were delivered as the Lee-Knowles Lectures for 1925-1926 at Trinity College, Cambridge, and were later published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, with the exception of one lecture, the substance of which appeared in the *Forum*. These studies are "frankly . . . objective", and are a consideration of Lincoln and Davis and their respective policies as they illustrate "how not to interfere with soldiers" in war time, and of how Lincoln "evolved a system for the conduct of war" that was at once effective and illustrative of the principle that "policy and strategy should go hand in hand". Because of the "similarity in their broad outlines of the problems of the American Civil War and of the Great War" and the diverseness of the personalities of Lincoln and Davis and of Lee and Grant there seemed to be an opportunity to illustrate this principle and to point a moral.

"War found the North with a President who with little administrative and less military experience was far from being master in his own house." But despite this situation Lincoln "was able from the first to do, in those matters most important for military success, that which might have baffled the skill of a very practised statesman" and, we might add, an experienced administrator. From the first he had a very definite military policy—to exert continuously the greatest possible military pressure upon the South—but he did not know how to translate this policy into suitable instructions to his generals. He required "a military interpreter of his policy as well as a commander of his armies and it took him time to discover that need". His failure to reach this decision caused him to evolve a military plan of his own which only caused trouble and disaster until he ceased making plans and stuck to formulating and enforcing a policy. As General Maurice says: "Statesmen and Soldiers must have clear ideas as to their respective functions." Lincoln learned this through trial and error, enforced by his lack of qualified advisers and the failure to find a commander who could bend his strategical conceptions to the political and civil requirements of the moment. In the end, he "worked out a definite formula for the relations between statesmen and soldiers . . . that . . . has not since been improved". Davis, on his part, was not so fortunate.

Lincoln and Davis and their respective advisers were but the instruments or victims of a bad system. There were not enough trained leaders to provide them with the qualified technical advice of which they were both sorely in need, nor was there any well-considered system of conducting war. Lincoln developed and built up such a system under the stress of bitter need. Davis never devised any effective system. Vagueness, want of precision, and needless defeats were the inevitable consequence of the absence of such a system and of the lack of a clear understanding by all concerned of their respective functions, responsibilities, and powers.

The book under consideration is of value in that it points out, clearly and effectively, the need for a previously thought out and accepted system of conducting war. Always, in this day of the nation-in-arms in war time, there must be intelligent and whole-hearted co-operation between the people, the statesman, and the soldier. This necessity and the results to be expected from its fulfillment, General Maurice has pointed out clearly and in an interesting and convincing manner. The book is a plea for a considered relation devised in peace time to be applied and used in war time. It should be in the library of everyone, student and general reader alike, interested in the study of the proper relations of civil policy and military leadership in war time.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln. By Brigadier-General Colin R. Ballard, C.B., C.M.G. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926,

pp. 246, 15 s.) This book is written on the premise that Lincoln "was solely responsible for the strategy of the North". The author finds little to criticize and much to praise. Lincoln "struck the key-note", his was the responsibility, to him belongs the credit.

The author discusses Lincoln's relations with McClellan in some detail and arrives at the conclusion that McClellan's "organizing faculties were overdeveloped" and that his "self-importance had grown to such an extent that he looked upon himself as the only hope of the North". In these two factors the author finds the key to McClellan's conduct. The removal of the army to northern Virginia after the failure of the Peninsula campaign is justified on the ground that it could only be expected that McClellan, if left there, would continue to do nothing; that officer's restoration to command after Pope's failure was ordered because McClellan "had shown once before his power of control". His final removal from command is justified because of his continuing a "do nothing" policy, but no suspicion of treasonable acts or intentions is ascribed to him.

The blockade is justly considered as a strategic move; likewise the Emancipation Proclamation. Criticism of the policy of "attending too much to the occupation of territory" rather than "to the destruction of the enemy's forces" is made. Grant's neglect properly to consider the threat of an active invading force in the Shenandoah Valley is discussed and the blame for this failure is somewhat attached to Lincoln because where Grant was concerned he "effaced himself too much" and "in withdrawing his control he also withdrew his assistance".

The book does not contribute anything that is new on the subject, but furnishes a good brief account of the military operations in Virginia with particular reference to Lincoln's leadership and control. There is only passing mention of the operations in the West. The book is well printed, has a number of useful maps, an index, and a short bibliography of standard works.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

Expansion and Reform, 1889-1926. By John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D., Professor of History in Smith College. [Epochs of American History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. xix, 355, \$1.50.) Like the preceding volumes in this series this book is primarily a chronicle of the most significant events and developments of the period assigned to it. As such it is open to little unfavorable criticism. The reader who desires a clean panoramic view of the years 1889 to 1926 will find it here set forth with a really remarkable detachment and freedom from personal bias. Indeed it will be found that the author's treatment of the administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt is, if anything, rather more sympathetic than is that of the administrations of Cleveland and Wilson. When one considers the recentness of the events and the well-known political predilections of Mr. Bassett, this is no inconsiderable achievement.

The first ninety pages deal somewhat inadequately with the years from 1887 to 1901 in that the reader will find little guidance in forming a correct estimate of the sordid and materialistic character of this period of our history. In fairness to Mr. Bassett it should be pointed out that the limitations set upon his work probably account for general lack of philosophic treatment of the facts he presents; and certainly this is the safest course for one to pursue in attempting to treat as history such very recent occurrences. The four following chapters, which take us from the beginning of Roosevelt's administrations to the end of the first Wilson term, constitute an extremely skillful study of the great struggle for social and political improvement at home and of our growing importance abroad. The various characters, methods, and achievements of Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson are set forth with the utmost deftness and fairness. Most of the remainder of the book is devoted to a very valuable presentation of our relations with Europe at war—as neutrals, as allies, and as leaders in attempts at peace-making. It can safely be said that no such complete account of America's participation in the Great War has elsewhere been compressed into such small space and such satisfactory form.

In the preface Mr. Bassett says he has "tried to keep before the reader the continuing struggle of a free people to govern themselves in the best attainable way". That a very large measure of success has attended his efforts will be apparent to every thoughtful reader.

The bibliographical suggestions are very comprehensive and will be found most useful. The maps are clear and really illustrate the text. A few unimportant errors have escaped the attention of the proof-readers.

FREDERIC L. THOMPSON.

Prince Lucien Campbell. By Joseph Schafer. (Eugene, Oregon, the University Press, 1926, pp. 216, \$2.50.) This is a brief biography of an attractive figure and personal force in the history of public education in Oregon. Written by a friend and colleague of many years, it has the advantage of personal interpretation based on intimate knowledge. The author was thus enabled to supply many admitted deficiencies in written records of a personal character. The reader will note the omission of a bibliography and of an index. To such disappointments one must add the rather frequent use of conjecture in the words, "perhaps", "probably", "possibly", etc., when there was a lack of letters and documents. Prince Lucien Campbell is revealed as a descendant of a line of pious religionists and teachers, a man trained in a small denominational college but broadened by study at Harvard, a teacher in and president of a rural normal school, then for twenty-three years president of a small but developing state university. In these various activities and opportunities Mr. Campbell was a man marked by love of scholarship, expanding visions of service, clean ambition to lead the people of Oregon

to maintain public education worthy of an enlightened commonwealth. And this was no easy task in that state, as Dr. Schafer's story makes plain. That President Campbell won through to success against opposition and discouragements is the best tribute to his reasonableness and to his power in the management of men. He does not appear as a dominating personality, or a creative thinker, or a leader inspiring devoted disciples to heroic endeavor, but he inspired confidence and won loyalty both for himself and for his policies, applying high intelligence and fine good-will to educational administration in co-operation with colleagues and officers of government. The reader will enjoy the pleasant pictures of contacts between this university president and students, as well as avocations pursued in philosophy and verse writing. The net result of Dr. Schafer's analysis and affectionate tribute, a publication made possible by the graduating class of 1927 of the University of Oregon, is to reveal the significance of a life's devotion of a gentleman and scholar to the realization of his purposes.

C. A. DUNIWAY.

Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. Edited by Adelaide L. Fries, M.A., Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province. Volume III., 1776-1779. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company; 1926, pp. 977-1490.) The third volume of Moravian records in North Carolina is introduced by "A Short Historical Account about the present Constitution of the Protestant Unity of the Brethren of the Augustan Confession". This is a translation into clear, quaint English by Traugott Bagge in 1778 of a German original by Bishop Spangenberg (printed in Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1772), explaining to the Brethren and to the public the essentials of the constitution of the *Unitas Fratrum*. Under three heads Spangenberg gives a specification of the places where Brethren's congregations and missions existed all over the world at that date; a description of the inward constitution (doctrinal confession); of their outward constitution, *i.e.*, government, meetings, statutes, customs, and ideals. Graff reports, July 14, 1778 (see *Salem Diary*, p. 1239), that Bagge's manuscript translation "will be lent to visitors of distinction who ask to read something about the Brethren", and adds: "I wish it were printed." This wish is now fulfilled after the lapse of 148 years, in part I. of this volume.

Part II. continues the memorabilia, minutes, diaries, etc., of Salem, Bethabara, Bethania, and Friedberg, covering the years from 1776 to 1779. The materials presented are equal in importance and perhaps superior in general interest to those published in volumes I. and II. The following are typical entries (from the Bagge MS., 1779):

In March the value of paper money had fallen so low that we had to change the ratio of 4 for 1 to 8 for 1; but when the British invaded Georgia and South Carolina the value went quite to the ground. The

dollar fell to 4 d., and from then on each man traded as best he could without a standard; we used hard money.

On April 26th a large detachment of Gen. Pulaski's Legion arrived unexpectedly at Salem. . . . Most of the men had been captured from the English and their German auxiliaries and had enlisted again on this side. . . . They and their horses were cared for as well as we could. On the 30th they marched on to South Carolina. As they were leaving the Major asked that a certificate be given that the soldiers had behaved well. During their stay some of them heard the preaching of the Gospel in our Saal, and not without effect.

But they had with them one man who was sick with the small-pox, and this brought the infection into our town. Our ignorant and malicious neighbors threatened to destroy the town if we inoculated, so the small-pox stayed among us until October. . . . It was customary for such people [passersby] to have a leaf of tobacco which they smelled as a preventive, some stuck tobacco leaves in their nostrils, one even saw some passersby who had smeared tar on the forehead, under the nose and elsewhere. On account of the small-pox the Brethren in Salem escaped many intended demands and much passing, for we saw little more of troops except that on the 3rd of May twelve Virginia recruits passed with a baggage wagon toward South Carolina. . . .

In 1779 the insecurity of the position of the Brethren was relieved by the resolution of the general assembly in Halifax (N. C.), which ordained that if they would take the prescribed affirmation of allegiance to the United States they should be left in the peaceful possession of their lands, and should be exempt from military service, paying a threefold tax in lieu thereof.

Part III. contains Bagge and archive papers of the same period, 1776-1779, and part IV. Moravian liturgies and funeral chorals, with musical notations, a welcome addition. The volume is well printed and illustrated as were the previous volumes.

A. B. FAUST.

History of Mississippi. By Dunbar Rowland. Two volumes. (Chicago, S. J. Clarke Company, 1925, pp. xxi, 933; xii, 905, \$40.00.) Dr. Rowland's *History of Mississippi, the Heart of the South*, has probably given us the best narrative history of the state and the only advanced work which brings the history up to a recent date. In this interesting and patriotic work the author has succeeded in presenting the political and military history of Mississippi for the popular reader, but it is not a complete story of the development of the state as a community.

Beginning with the physical features of the state, it takes up the Spanish, French, and English explorations and colonization, followed by the story of American rule and a chronological treatment of events up to 1924. This consumes the first volume and half of the second. In the latter part of volume II. chapters on Education, Industries, Transportation, Slavery, and Racial Influences are interesting, but, though well done, are not complete. Other chapters entitled Mississippi in Congress,

Banks, Banking, and Finances, and the Mississippi Press are composed largely of lists which are of varying interest and importance. Volume II. ends in a rather stereotyped form with chapters on the history of counties of Mississippi.

The production abounds in illustrations which are always interesting and often instructive. The inclusion of several clear maps would have been a benefit. Though liberal use has been made of quotations, seldom are the sources definitely stated and foot-notes are not to be found. The amount of space given to topics often indicates nothing of their relative importance. For instance, Legends, Myths, and Eloquence of the Mississippi Indian consumes twenty-six pages, while the famous "Black Codes" are stated and discussed in three. Thirty-three pages are given to a list of Mississippians paroled at Appomattox; the Panic of 1837 takes two, the same number being given to Mrs. Humphreys's account of her ejection from the gubernatorial mansion. Much of local interest could be extracted without injuring the work.

On the whole the two volumes show much research both in these books and the forerunner to them, Rowland's *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* (1902), from which much of the material is derived.

ROSS H. MOORE.

Arkansas in War and Reconstruction, 1861-1874. By David Y. Thomas, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science, University of Arkansas. (Little Rock, Arkansas, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1926, pp. vi, 446, \$1.50.) Within the compass of 435 pages Professor Thomas has written an impartial and accurate history of Arkansas during the Civil War and the Reconstruction period. While, as the author states, the book was not written for mature scholars, it is nevertheless scholarly in all essentials. As the title indicates, the narrative is largely confined to those phases of the war that primarily concerned Arkansas. From an intimate and exacting study of the sources the writer has presented the economic, social, and political aspects of life during the war period with rare appreciation and judgment. The chapters on the nature of the Union, party politics in Arkansas on the eve of the war, the movement for secession, and preparations for defense show a discriminating comprehension of all the elements involved and a sympathetic understanding of the forces which swept the state into the Confederacy and held the majority of the people in firm allegiance throughout the war. As with other accounts of the secession movement, the discussion of the Union sentiment of 1860-1861 in Arkansas lacks definiteness of conclusion. This, however, is accounted for by the paucity and the very nature of the sources available.

Though the author is avowedly "no militarist and very much averse to war", there is no clear evidence of such aversion in the statement of facts or the interpretations. Throughout the treatment of military problems, leaders, and policies runs a well-sustained detachment not

usual in state histories of this class. The bewildering confusion in which the minor military operations have been heretofore related is largely cleared away, and light engagements, hitherto meaningless except as guerrilla or bushwhacking activities, are shown to have had real military purpose and significance. From the standpoint of pure military history this is a distinct contribution to the literature of the period. Further elaboration at this point would add interest to the book for the special student. Without glorifying war or the exploits of military heroes, both are set forth in an evenness of temper that makes the book historically useful for the special student as well as for the general reader. The account of the horrors of war and the part played by the women of the period does full justice to the participants without statements or constructions that might stir anew long-allayed animosities. The absence of meticulous details of a biographical or local nature is a feature of the book which meets the demands for a nonpartizan and unembellished story of the war in Arkansas.

THOMAS S. STAPLES.

Spanish Alta California. By Alberta Johnston Denis. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. x, 537, \$3.50.) This is a narrative of Upper or New California from the moment it dawned upon the Spanish scheme of things American to the birth of the first Mexican empire—from 1542 to 1822. It is told in the lives of the chief personages, explorers, missionaries, and governors seriatim, with punctilious faithfulness to the published sources and great respect for chronology. Generous and graceful credit is given for all the authorities used, and they have been carefully winnowed. The result is a readable and on the whole an accurate account of the Spanish province. There is a minor mistake in following Eldredge's account of Anza's expedition; the route taken is now known, through H. E. Bolton's researches, to have been several miles farther west for a space of some forty miles. The background of Spanish interest in the occupation, though indicated, hardly conveys a conception of the tremendous task completed in the conquest of the south before the take-off beyond the desert into the new realm could be undertaken. The ocean voyages, the final land expeditions, and the founding of the missions, that is the big epic of the occupation, is well told. All the round-the-world voyagers, and all the governors and missionaries receive their due portion of attention. The character of each personage is adequately drawn, without departure from the conventional pictures we have. It can not be said that the work adds anything to the already-told story. An effort has been made to make it a "popular" history by the use of a few well-chosen illustrations and by elimination of foot-notes. Authors used are simply noticed parenthetically. This device, with short paragraphs and a generous use of quoted selections from documents, tends to give the text a little jerkiness. But there is no mawkish effort to "sickly o'er" with a pale cast of romance the deeds of the Spaniards, and the use of their source-materials is faithful, and, it should be noticed, correct, even to spelling and accentuation. This is a rare accomplishment with our "popular" writers.

Raffles, 1781-1826. By R. Coupland, Fellow of All Souls College, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. 134, 6 s.) This is the fourth biography of Raffles which has appeared in English since 1897. Measured in quantity the attention which the English have paid to their great colonial administrator is certainly adequate. Measured by quality this last biography, like the others in the series, is far below the deserts of its hero; it is ill-informed and inconclusive.

Raffles's greatest achievement was the reorganization of Java in the period of British occupation extending from 1811 to 1816. An account of what Raffles proposed to do in the island, a sketch of his ideals and his projects, can be constructed from his own writings; and these are provided sufficiently well by the author. An account of what he actually accomplished can be given only by a student who has taken the pains to inform himself as to conditions existing before Raffles's arrival, during his stay, and after his departure. A comparison of facts is necessary for a just appreciation of Raffles's work, and a knowledge of the facts is open only to one who uses Dutch sources. The author cites "a very valuable account of Raffles's administration" translated from the *Indische Gids* without recognizing, apparently, that this is but one of a long series of similar studies by Dutch scholars, based on original documents, and essential to an understanding of the facts. So long ago as 1857 Levyssohn Norman wrote a better account of British rule in Java than any which the English have since given us, and no careful scholar would now attempt to treat the subject without studying the recent contributions of P. H. van der Kemp, scattered through the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, and published in separate volumes. The author accepts at their face value statements by Raffles and others without allowing for ignorance and prejudice; he assumes that projects were realized without following them through their transformations; his whole account of the institutional reform is fanciful. He omits facts that were not to Raffles's credit (for example, the land sales to private parties), and, on the other hand, does less than justice to his hero by his failure to recognize the difficulties of the situation and Raffles's magnificent efforts to overcome them.

The latter part of the book, dealing with the administration of Bencoolen and the founding of Singapore, likewise neglects Dutch studies, but suffers less on that account than the part dealing with Java. The little book is admirably written and shows a faithful study of English sources. It is unfortunate that it is so ill-founded.

CLIVE DAY.

The Life of John Graves Simcoe, First Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, 1792-96. By the Honourable William Renwick Riddell, LL.D., D.C.L., Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario. (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1926, pp. 492, \$6.00.)

The Correspondence of Lieut.-Governor John Graves Simcoe, with Allied Documents relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada. Collected and edited by Brigadier General E. A. Cruikshank, LL.D., F.R.S.C., for the Ontario Historical Society. Volume IV., 1795-1796. (Toronto, the Society, 1926, pp. xviii, 424, \$1.00.) Justice Riddell's life of Governor Simcoe has many solid merits. It is based upon wide research and a very full body of materials, collected with great industry by the late John Ross Robertson. The writing of the biography, which was to be a work of co-operation of two friends, has fallen to Justice Riddell alone. Besides the published material—the four volumes of the *Correspondence*, Lady Simcoe's *Diary*, etc.—the author has drawn upon the rich stores of the archives at Ottawa and Toronto, and much else. All the knowledge that anyone would need to have respecting Simcoe is in the book, and every student of the history of the United States during the years when Simcoe was lieutenant governor of Upper Canada should have and use it, if he has any appreciation whatever of the important relations between Canada and the United States during those years. The thoroughness of Justice Riddell's research is everywhere evident in the book, perhaps too evident. *Redolet lucernam.* At the end of each of the twenty-nine short chapters there is a group, as long or longer, of supporting notes giving chapter and verse for all statements. That the book will be found highly readable can not be affirmed with equal confidence, nor does it give a penetrating study of Simcoe's character. The reader is hardly made aware of his defects of temper or the bigotry of his mind. Apart from some references of a slighting character, quite unwarrantable, to Professor Bemis's *Jay's Treaty*, the tone of the book in dealing with controverted matters is moderate and fair, but it is not one of those rare books which, in treating such matters, give equal weight to the testimony of both sides. In the crucial matter of the Western posts, for instance, their retention is based on American infractions of the treaty. That the British Secretary of State sent orders for their indefinite retention the day before King George proclaimed the British ratification of the treaty, and five weeks before ratifications were exchanged, is a known fact, and has been known for thirty-three years, but the fact seems to have no weight on the mind of Justice Riddell. After the biographical chapters there are excellent chapters on provincial finance and on the personnel of councils and assembly.

General Cruikshank's edition of the *Correspondence* has been sufficiently discussed in connection with the preceding volumes. The fourth and last of them covers the period from May 2, 1795, until Simcoe's departure in August, 1796. Like its predecessors, it contains much besides letters from or to Simcoe; out of 450 documents or so, some 200 are not of that character. One need not quarrel with this, for the series is a wonderful storehouse of information on Canadian and Canadian-United States history of the period, and the Ontario Historical Society makes it available at an astonishingly low price.

COMMUNICATIONS

Editor of the *American Historical Review*:

SIR:

In your January number, page 317, Professor Sidney B. Fay reviews my pamphlet *Der Schlüssel zur Kriegsschuldfrage*. I ask leave to reply, omitting, to save space, some minor points:

1. Professor Fay declares that I could not adduce a single expression of any authoritative person in which the exchange of thoughts between the two chiefs of the General Staffs, German and Austrian, is designated as a "military convention". It is true that Moltke and Conrad themselves always apply to it purely German expressions, such as *bindende Abmachungen*. But "*bindende Abmachungen*" means in German the same as Konvention, and "*bindende militärische Abmachungen*" constitute a "*Militärkonvention*".

2. Professor Fay declares further that the arrangements between Conrad and Moltke were not "binding". In this he sets himself in opposition to Conrad and Moltke, and also, as I have shown on page 22 of my pamphlet, to the German secretary of state von Jagow, and thus to all possible authorities.

3. Professor Fay declares that the correspondence between Conrad and Moltke did not alter the terms of the German-Austrian treaty of alliance of 1879. Bismarck however declared, in 1887 and earlier, and it was agreed to by the Austro-Hungarian government, that the *casus foederis* of the treaty of 1879 was a purely defensive one and did not come into operation if Austro-Hungary by an attack on Serbia provoked a war with Russia. By the treaty of 1879 Germany was not under obligation to come to the help of Austro-Hungary in 1914 in such a case. (See the documents quoted in my pamphlet, pp. 6-11, 14, 15.) If, nevertheless, Germany put herself under obligation to render that help, and did in fact render it, the *casus foederis* between Austro-Hungary and Germany must have been changed in the meantime. I have shown that this was done by correspondence between Conrad and Moltke, that by that correspondence an offensive *casus foederis* was substituted for the defensive *casus foederis*.

4. But why did the German government on July 31 sharply break off the steps toward mediation then in progress, send Russia a merely twelve-hour ultimatum, and on August 1 declare war? The reason lies in Conrad's plan of operations, "*Aufmarschplan*". That was so arranged that at latest on the fifth day of the mobilization of Austro-Hungary against Serbia, that is to say, on August 1, the decision must be made, whether war was to be waged merely against Serbia or also against Russia. Just as Schlieffen's plan of operations for the German army carried with it the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, so Conrad's plan of operations

carried with it the sudden breaking off of the mediation of Germany between Austro-Hungary and Russia, Germany's short-termed ultimatum on July 31, and her declaration of war against Russia on August 1. This plan of Conrad's, joined with the German-Austrian Military Convention of 1909, forms the key to the question who is responsible for the war. One is as important as the other. For this reason I in my pamphlet—for the first time—called attention to the critical term of Conrad's plan of operations. But Professor Fay in his review does not mention it.

5. Finally, Professor Fay reproaches me with having falsified a date in order to prove that Emperor William II. was responsible for the ultimatum presented to Serbia in October, 1913, by Austro-Hungary. What he describes as a falsification is only a misprint or slip of the pen; October 19 is given in my pamphlet as the day of despatch of the ultimatum, instead of October 18. But my assertion that William II. agreed to this ultimatum is and remains nevertheless correct. At the time when I wrote my pamphlet I could rest that assertion only upon an indication, a conversation that Emperor William II. had with Conrad on October 18, 1913, and—what was more important—upon my political judgment sharpened by thirty years' observation of the relations between Vienna and Berlin. Meantime, however, the official documents have been published, which, to my great satisfaction, confirm my judgment and contradict Professor Fay's reproach. They are in vol. XXXVI. of the collection of documents published by the Berlin Foreign Office, *Die Grosse Politik*, etc. From them it appears that in fact the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Berchtold, on October 15, informed the Berlin government of his intention to send a new ultimatum to Serbia, and sought the support of that government, and that that support was promised him by the German government, already on October 16. In taking that action the German government assumed that the German emperor, then absent on a journey, would agree to this consent, and in fact the emperor on October 17, "with great satisfaction", expressed to the Berlin government his approval (nos. 14160, 14161, 14162, and 14172). Accordingly, the assertion which I made long before the publication of the documents, and which Professor Fay stigmatizes as falsification, that the Emperor William agreed beforehand to the Austrian ultimatum of 1913, has subsequently been completely confirmed by the documents.

6. I have shown that the German government, a couple of hours before it learned authentically of the general mobilization by Russia, had resolved on sending the ultimatum to Russia. Professor Fay, without stating my proofs, finds them unconvincing. A German historian on the other hand, Professor Veit Valentin, has declared them to be "incontestable" (*Die Friedenswarte*, August, 1926). If, however, my previous proofs have not yet convinced Professor Fay, I will bring forward a new one. Herr von Tschirschky, German ambassador in Vienna, on the basis of a telephone message received from Berlin, assured Count Berchtold, early ("früh", that is, according to Viennese usage, in the morning hours before 9 o'clock) on July 31, 1914, that the German Imperial

Chancellor intended immediately ("sofort") to send an ultimatum to Russia (*Oesterr. Rotbuch*, 3. Teil, no. 80). Since, however, the authentic news of the general mobilization of Russia arrived in Berlin at 11:40 a.m., and was not registered there till afternoon (*Deutsche Dokumente*, no. 473), it is clear that the German government's resolve to send an ultimatum to Russia was taken some hours before it learned of the Russian general mobilization.

With the best thanks in advance for the publication of this letter in your esteemed *Review*, I am, Sir,

Very truly yours,

DR. HEINRICH KANNER.

Editor of the *American Historical Review*:

SIR:

May I answer very briefly Dr. Kanner's letter?

1. I am gratified that Dr. Kanner confirms my criticism that no responsible authority ever speaks of the Moltke-Conrad arrangements as a "Military Convention". This phrase connotes a written and signed document, specifying such things as the number and allocation of troops. But no such document was exchanged between Moltke and Conrad, or between their respective governments. Therefore Dr. Kanner was not justified in using it as the "key" to the question of war responsibility.

2. When Dr. Kanner says I "declare that the arrangements between Conrad and Moltke were not 'binding'", he does not quite correctly represent what I said. I wrote that their arrangements were "hardly as definite or as binding as those which had been made by the French and Russian staffs". The reader may judge for himself by comparing the former in Conrad's memoirs with the latter in the *Livre Noir*. It may be added that in the crisis of July, 1914, Conrad and Moltke each had some uneasy hours wondering if the other was going to leave him in the lurch (*cf.* Conrad, IV. 151 ff.), but no such uncertainty appears to have troubled the French and Russian staffs; and afterwards the French and Russians seem to have carried out substantially their military agreements, but Germany, owing to the Battle of the Marne, did not feel "bound" to move troops against Russia as the pre-war arrangements with Conrad had contemplated; it is to this fact that the Jagow letter refers.

3. I said that the Moltke-Conrad letters did not "legally" modify the terms of the alliance, but I also mentioned in the first paragraph of my review, as one of the "good points" in Dr. Kanner's pamphlet, his contention that the Austro-German alliance was originally under Bismarck essentially defensive, but later tended to become offensive. The Franco-Russian alliance underwent a somewhat similar change from a defensive to a potentially offensive character. This change in the spirit of both alliances was largely caused by the tightening of the tension between the two groups of powers into which Europe was divided after 1907, and by the rival aims of Austria and Russia in the Balkans. No doubt the ar-

rangements of the military staffs in both cases also contributed to this unfortunate change; but it is a great exaggeration to ascribe the change in the Austro-German alliance, as Dr. Kanner appears to do, to the Moltke-Conrad arrangements alone.

4. Dr. Kanner is quite correct in saying that Conrad desired a decision before August 1, but quite wrong in saying that this is the main reason for the German ultimatum to Russia. Germany was trying hard to delay Russian general mobilization, and would have continued to do so even beyond August 1, quite regardless of Conrad's plan of operations. If Conrad's desire for a decision before August 1 had really been an important factor at Berlin in determining the sending of the ultimatum to Russia, it would find an important place in the documents which we have concerning decisions in Berlin. But such is not the case. The real reason, as Bethmann told Tirpitz at 4:30 p.m. the same afternoon the ultimatum was sent, was that: "Otherwise our [German] mobilization would have fallen too much behindhand" (Tirpitz, *Politische Dokumente*, II. 10).

5. As to the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia on October 18, 1913, Dr. Kanner in his pamphlet attributed this to Emperor William's conversation with Conrad, although Conrad's memoirs (which was the only authority which he cited or which was available to either of us at the time we wrote) clearly show that the conversation took place several hours *after* the ultimatum had been sent. By dating the ultimatum October 19, instead of October 18, Dr. Kanner made it appear that the conversation was known at Vienna *before* the ultimatum was sent. This made me suspicious of Dr. Kanner's historical method. If the change in date was "only a misprint or a slip of the pen", I gladly retract my criticism.

The new documents in *Die Grosse Politik*, which subsequently became known to Dr. Kanner and myself, do show that the Berlin Foreign Office did give moral support to Austria before she sent the ultimatum, and that Emperor William did on October 17 express "great satisfaction" to the *Berlin Foreign Office* at its reply to Austria, but there is no indication that his satisfaction was known at *Vienna* at the time the ultimatum was sent.

6. Dr. Kanner thinks that the German ultimatum to Russia was "resolved on" several hours before Germany learned of the Russian general mobilization, and would thus destroy the common German contention that the latter caused the former. The facts are simple. Russian general mobilization was definitely ordered about 6 p.m. on July 30. Several rumors of it reached Berlin (*cf.* Renouvin, p. 162 f.) before it was finally officially confirmed by Pourtalès's telegram at 11:40 a.m. on July 31. It is probably true that the Berlin authorities, in view of these rumors, resolved to send an ultimatum to Russia, if and when the rumors should be definitely and officially confirmed. It is significant, however, that Bethmann resisted militarist pressure, kept control, and did not act on his "resolution" until he was assured beyond doubt that Russia had ordered general mobilization. It was therefore after all the Russian general

mobilization, first rumored, then confirmed, which caused Berlin to send the ultimatum and take steps preparatory to German mobilization.

Very truly yours,

SIDNEY B. FAY.

CORRECTION

In the *American Historical Review*, vol. VII., pp. 704-706, is printed a letter of Alexander von Humboldt written in 1845. Through the kindness of Lieut.-Col. John Bigelow, U. S. A., Retired, we have been shown a photostat of the letter, from which it clearly appears, although the handwriting is excessively difficult, that certain words of importance in the text were rendered incorrectly. The following corrections should therefore be made:

P. 704, line 3 of the text, for "grandement" read *généralement*; line 13, for "Veraguas" read *Verapaz*.

P. 705, line 7, for "Doliver" read *Bolívar*; line 18, for "douté" read *dressé*; lines 33, 36, and 37, for "Gavella" read *Garella*.

P. 706, the last sentence but one should read, "J'espère que vous avez vu ma Notice sur l'Amazone et les communications avec la Mer du Sud (Jn [John] Clause) que j'ai insérée dans la Gazette de Spener il y [a] 6-7 jours".

This sentence refers to an anonymous paper entitled "Handelsverbindung mit der Westküste von Südamerika durch den Amazonenstrom" published (by Humboldt, it appears) in Spener's *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und Gelehrten Sachen*, no. 275, November 24, 1845, p. 4, columns two and three, in which it is recorded that a certain Philadelphia sea-captain named John Clause was said to have penetrated South America in a steamboat by the Guallaga River from the Atlantic Ocean to within eight English miles of the Pacific.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is expected that vol. I. of the *Annual Report* for 1922 will be distributed during the month of July.

The Committee on Endowment reports in May that, to an endowment which eighteen months ago stood at \$52,000, additions amounting to \$128,000 have been paid in or promised. It is hoped that a successor to Senator Beveridge as chairman of the committee will soon be secured. Its vice-chairman, Professor Dana C. Munro, and its executive secretary, Professor Harry J. Carman (609 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University), will care for its interests and work till October 1.

No. 6 of the *Bulletins* of the American Council of Learned Societies, issued in May, contains reports of the proceedings of that body and its executive committee for nearly a year past, of the conference of secretaries of the constituent societies which usually accompanies the Council's annual meeting in January, and of the seventh meeting of the Union Académique Internationale held at Brussels in May, 1926. It is expected that Professor Ogg's report on his survey of research in the humanistic sciences will be published in October, as a volume of about 400 pages.

The first annual meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences since its organization in Geneva a year ago was held in Göttingen, on May 13 and 14. The meeting may justly be regarded as one of the most significant events in international intellectual relations since the war. Thirty-five delegates were present, representing twenty countries: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Jugoslavia, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. The committee was enlarged by the acceptance of applications from Danzig, Esthonia, and Algeria-Tunis for membership. The final report of the subcommittee on the *International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography* was adopted, and a committee of three was appointed to execute that important undertaking: Messrs. Reincke-Bloch, Breslau, chairman, Ussani, Pisa, vice-chairman, and Pierre Caron, Paris, secretary. The first volume of the *Yearbook* will appear in 1928 and will include the production of 1926. The chapters devoted to general works and to the history of science will be edited in the United States. The *Yearbook* will be edited from Paris, under the immediate direction of M. Pierre Caron. The report on the project of a list of diplomatic agents since 1648 was presented by Dr. L. Bittner, of the Austrian General Archives, for the subcommittee of which Dr. J. F. Jameson is chairman. The subcommittee was continued and charged with securing the necessary co-opera-

tion in the various countries for the execution of the project. A proposal for the creation of an *International Review of History*, approved by the governing board at its meeting in Paris, last November, was referred to a subcommittee, Dr. Aage Friis, Denmark, chairman, with instruction to report on the character of the proposed review and on the means of establishing it. The other members of the subcommittee, subject to acceptance of service, are Messrs. Pirenne, Belgium, Steinacker, Austria, Lhéritier, France, and G. S. Ford, United States. The Committee also voted to create an international committee on the teaching of history, the composition of which will be announced later. Among other projects discussed by the Committee and referred to the governing board for further study were the creation of an advisory committee on historical cinema films, the compilation and publication of a collection of constitutions, a bibliography of the various colored books issued by the foreign offices of the different countries, the preparation of a new handbook of chronology, a new guide to the sources of the history of the Middle Ages, an analytical catalogue of narratives of travellers, etc. The plans for the International Congress to be held at Oslo were reported on and approved, and arrangements were made for the representation of the International Committee in the various specialized or regional congresses that may be held hereafter and for the publication of a calendar of historical congresses. The Committee was received at tea by the Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in the university library, and was entertained at dinner by the rector of the university, Dr. Meinardus. Most of the members of the Committee were received as house-guests by the professors of Göttingen and their families, and the meeting was marked by a cordial and thoughtful hospitality that made a deep impression on all who were so fortunate as to be there. The arrangements for the meeting had been carried to an unusual degree of perfection by Professor Brandi, and nothing was omitted that could insure the comfort of the members or the effectiveness of the meeting. The American delegates were Professor John S. Bassett, secretary of the American Historical Association, and Mr. Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The proceedings of the Göttingen meeting will be published in full in the third issue of the *Bulletin* of the International Committee.

The eighth meeting of the Union Académique Internationale was held in the Palais des Académies, in Brussels, on May 9-11. Fifteen countries were represented, the delegates of the American Council of Learned Societies being Professor Charles H. Beeson, University of Chicago, and Mr. Waldo G. Leland, executive secretary elect of the Council. Good progress was reported on most of the projects under way—the corpus of ancient vases, the dictionary of medieval Latin, the catalogue of alchemical manuscripts, the corpus of Greek mosaics, the survey of current bibliography, etc. Subventions of 4000 francs from the American Council of Learned Societies and of 2000 francs from the Italian Academic Union were announced, and the balance in the treasury on January 1 was re-

ported as standing at 142,244 Belgian francs. The application of the Academy of Budapest for affiliation with the U. A. I. was unanimously accepted, and a brief report was made on the progress of the correspondence undertaken by the Netherlands, Norway, and the United States with respect to the entrance of the German and Austrian academies into the Union. The vice-president, Professor Heiberg, and the secretary, Professor Bidez, whose terms expire this year, were replaced by Professor Koht, Norway, and Professor Roswadowski, Poland. The next meeting of the Union was fixed for May 21-23, 1928.

PERSONAL

Albert J. Beveridge, senator from Indiana 1899-1911, died on April 27, at the age of sixty-four. His public services as a senator and a party leader were of high value to the country, and were performed with public spirit, conscientiousness, intelligence, and unbounded vigor. When his service as senator ended he turned with the same extraordinary energy to literary work in the field of history. At the beginning entirely an amateur, he in the preparation of his *Life of John Marshall* (1916, 1919) acquired the arts of historical research with a completeness and skill surpassing that of almost any of the professionals. Unwearied diligence and an eloquent style made that book one of the most successful and valued of American biographies. His later years were devoted, with the same assiduity and concentration, to the preparation of a life of Lincoln, to which he brought, besides the diligence and uprightness of the historian, an exceptional experience of political life in the Middle West. It is understood that two volumes, bringing the narrative to 1860, were left by him nearly ready for publication. Despite his devotion to the task, Senator Beveridge consented to serve, and during the last sixteen months of his life served energetically and resourcefully, as chairman of the American Historical Association's Committee on Endowment. The canvass has been greatly indebted to his enthusiasm and his wide knowledge of men. His affection for the society, his obvious enjoyment of its meetings, his *bonhomie*, and the vigor and interest of his conversation drew many members to him with warm feelings of friendship, and cause his loss to be keenly felt.

No historian can hope to do so much for history as has been done by Henry E. Huntington through the upbuilding of his marvellous library and the munificent endowment which in his last months he associated with it. His death (May 23, aet. 77) should therefore be chronicled in these pages with the warmest recognition of his public spirit and of the great benefits to American history which are destined to flow from it. A similar tribute of gratitude should be paid to the memory of the genial and friendly Edward E. Ayer of Chicago (d. May 3, aet. 86), whose noble collection of Americana, printed and manuscript, after being for many years shared freely with scholars, went years before his death to increase the riches of the Newberry Library.

Mrs. Washington E. Connor (Jeannette Thurber Connor) died on June 10. Her death was a sad loss to many friends, and especially to the members of the Florida State Historical Society, in whose foundation, and all its subsequent work, she had borne a foremost part. Her *Pedro de Menéndez Avilés* (1923), the first volume of her *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida* (1925), and her *Jean Ribaut* (1927) were but the beginning of what promised to be a long and most valuable series of documentary volumes for the history of Florida, edited with learning, enthusiasm, and affectionate care.

Dr. Isaac S. Harrell, assistant professor of history in New York University, died on May 16, at the early age of thirty-two. His book on *Loyalism in Virginia*, published last year, was highly commended, and he was regarded as one of the most promising of our younger students and teachers.

Hugh E. Egerton, fellow of All Souls College, who from 1905 to 1920 was Beit professor of colonial history in the University of Oxford, died on May 21, at the age of seventy-two. He was a recognized master of the history of the British colonies, and in knowledge of the history of the United States no other Englishman equalled him. His *Short History of British Colonial Policy*, first published in 1897, has passed to its sixth edition, his *Origin and Growth of the English Colonies* (1902) to its third. Among his other volumes may be noted his *Federations and Unions within the British Empire* (1911, 1924) and his *British Colonial Policy in the Twentieth Century* (1922). All his books were marked by fullness of knowledge, clear thought, and sound judgment.

Professor A. F. Pribram of the University of Vienna will be a lecturer in history in Harvard University for the year 1927-1928.

Professor George H. Blakeslee of Clark University has received appointment as "visiting Carnegie professor of international relations" to universities in Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. He has leave of absence from Clark University for the first semester of the coming year and, after attending the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu, July 15-29, will sail to New Zealand.

Professor George E. Woodbine has been appointed to the newly established George Burton Adams professorship of medieval history in Yale University.

Professor Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University will spend the summer abroad, working in various European libraries.

Professor David M. Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University, has leave of absence for the academic year 1927-1928, which he will spend in study and research in ancient history, spending a large portion of the year in Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. Professor Raymond Turner will spend the summer in London and Oxford continuing his search for materials on the Privy Council.

Dr. Thomas P. Oakley, of Hardin College, Missouri, goes to Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, as acting professor of European history for the year 1927-1928.

Professor Homer C. Hockett, of Ohio State University, has leave of absence for several months, for the completion of a constitutional history of the United States.

In the University of Chicago Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, for many years head of the department of history, has resigned his administrative position, but will continue his teaching. Professor William E. Dodd has been made chairman of the department. Professor Ferdinand Schevill has retired from active teaching, and will occupy himself in investigation and writing. Dr. Dorn will be absent on leave during the whole of the academic year 1927-1928, working in Europe toward a book on Frederick the Great. Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt will be on leave of absence in Europe from January to September, continuing his studies of the causes of the World War.

Professor Guernsey Jones of the University of Nebraska was able to return to his teaching the second semester.

Professor Frederick J. Turner, formerly of Wisconsin and Harvard universities, has been engaged by Professor Farrand to assist in an advisory capacity in the work of the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Gabriel, Calif.

We note the following promotions and appointments: *Harvard University*, W. K. Boyd of Duke University to be lecturer in history for the next semester in the absence of Professor Schlesinger, J. P. Baxter and W. L. Langer to be assistant professors of history; *Yale University*, H. C. Bell of Wesleyan University to be visiting professor of English history, L. W. Labaree, D. W. Owen, and DeForest Van Slyck to be assistant professors of history; *Cornell University*, Allan Nevins to be professor of American history; *Hamilton College*, E. B. Graves to be assistant professor of history; *Columbia University*, D. R. Fox to be professor; *Princeton University*, E. A. Beller and J. E. Pomfret to be assistant professors; *University of Pennsylvania*, A. P. Watts of Harvard University to be assistant professor of European history; *Temple University* (Phila.), A. N. Cook of Princeton University to be assistant professor of history; *Duke University*, L. M. Sears, on leave of absence from Purdue University, to be professor of history; *Vanderbilt University*, Curtis H. Walker to be professor of European history; *University of Chicago*, Einar Joranson to be associate professor and W. L. Dorn, Frances E. Gillespie, and W. T. Hutchinson to be assistant professors, W. W. Sweet of De-Pauw University to be professor of the history of American Christianity; *Colorado College*, J. C. Russell to be associate professor; *University of California*, C. E. Chapman to be professor of Hispanic-American history, P. B. Schaeffer of the University of Ohio to be assistant professor of European history.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted in addition to those mentioned in our last two numbers: Professor W. T. Morgan of Indiana University is to teach in Boston University; Professor Theodore Collier of Brown University in Clark University; Professors F. H. Hodder of the University of Kansas and Donald McFayden of Washington University in Cornell University; Professors G. A. Wood of Lake Forest College (Ill.) and Lane Lancaster of Wesleyan University in Pennsylvania State College; Professors J. D. Hicks of the University of Nebraska and A. C. Wilgus of the University of South Carolina in George Washington University; Professor M. L. Bonham, jr., of Hamilton College in the North Carolina College for Women; Professor L. M. Sears of Purdue University in Duke University the second term; Professor Edgar H. McNeal is to return to the University of Ohio; Professor Loren H. MacKinney of Louisiana State University is to teach in the University of Illinois; Professor T. C. Gronert of Wabash College in Indiana University; Professor R. L. Meriwether of the University of South Carolina in the University of Tennessee; Professors A. S. Aiton of the University of Michigan, A. O. Craven of the University of Illinois, L. R. Gottschalk of the University of Louisville, L. H. Jenks of Rollins College, W. E. Lunt of Haverford College, J. G. Randall of the University of Illinois, and Carl Wittke of Ohio State University in the University of Chicago; Professor L. F. Hill of Ohio University in the University of Michigan; Professors H. S. Lucas of the University of Washington and E. M. Violette of the Louisiana State University in the University of Minnesota; Professors W. M. Gewehr of Denison University, R. C. McGrane of the University of Cincinnati, and L. M. Sears of Purdue University in the University of Nebraska; Professors E. C. Barker of the University of Texas, J. S. Buchanan of the University of Oklahoma, and A. H. Sweet of Washington and Jefferson College in the University of Colorado; Dr. Joseph Schafer of the Wisconsin State Historical Society in the University of Oregon; Professor C. R. Fish of the University of Wisconsin in Stanford University; Professor D. M. Robinson of Johns Hopkins University in the University of California; and Professor J. H. Latané of Johns Hopkins University in the University of Southern California.

GENERAL

General review: Henri Lévy-Bruhl, *Histoire du Droit, 1918-Juillet 1926* (Revue Historique, March).

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published vol. I. of *An Introduction to the History of Science*, by Dr. George Sarton. This volume covers the period from the earliest times of ancient history to Omar Khayyam. The Williams and Wilkins Company of Baltimore will sell such copies of this book as are not required by the Institution for free distribution. Announcement is also made that the second volume of Dr. Victor S. Clark's *History of Manufactures in the United States*, con-

tinuing from 1860 his volume previously published by the Institution, will be issued during the coming year. The Carnegie Institution of Washington will be prepared to present copies to libraries which received the first volume.

The Pulitzer prize of \$2000 for the best book of the year 1926 upon the history of the United States has been awarded by the Columbia University School of Journalism to Professor Samuel F. Bemis's *Pinckney's Treaty*; the prize of \$1000 for "the best American biography touching patriotic and unselfish service to the people, illustrated by an eminent example, excluding as too obvious the names of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln", was awarded to Emory Holloway's *Whitman: an Interpretation in Narrative*.

Translations of several volumes in the series *L'Évolution de l'Humanité* have been published in the British series *The History of Civilization* (London, Broadway House; New York, Knopf), namely: C. Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization* (French original reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI. 301); A. de Ridder and W. Deonna, *Art in Greece* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX. 122); L. Homo, *Primitive Italy* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX. 847); A. Grenier, *The Roman Spirit in Religion, Thought, and Art* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI. 159); and J. Declareuil, *Rome, the Law-Giver*. Into their British series the publishers have also brought, from Renard's series, *Hist. Universelle du Travail*, translations of Paul Louis's *Ancient Rome at Work*, and of P. Boissonnade's *Life and Work of Medieval Europe*; likewise C. G. Cumston's *History of Medicine from the Time of the Pharaohs to the End of the Eighteenth Century*.

In the April number of the *Historical Outlook* Professor Edgar Dawson discusses the question Why Social Studies? and Dr. N. G. Goodman relates the history of the Extension of the Franchise to Women. In the May number appears Professor Harry Elmer Barnes's paper on the Essentials of the New History, read at the Rochester meeting of the American Historical Association.

The Oxford University Press is about to publish a volume of *Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, to which more than a score of distinguished historians have contributed. It is also about to publish a volume of *Essays in Aegean Archaeology* presented to Sir Arthur Evans, written by a number of his friends, and concerned with those branches of archaeological research in which he has been so distinguished a figure.

The January *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library contains a paper, marked we should say by a good deal of conjecture, on the Apostle Thomas in South India, by Dr. J. N. Farquhar, and one, highly ingenious in its discussion of place-names, but also not without a conjectural element, on Further Traces of Hittite Migration, by Dr. J. Rendel Harris. A treatise against the Melchites, by Barsalibi, Jacobite (d. 1171), is printed in English translation by A. Mingana, and also in facsimile of the Syriac.

The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society will be held on November 23 and 24 at Newark, N. J.

The Study of War for Statesmen and Citizens, edited by Major-General Sir George Aston, embodies lectures delivered in the University of London, 1925-1926. There is an introductory address by Viscount Grey of Fallodon (Longmans).

The Evolution of War: a Marxian Study, by Emanuel Kanter, is published in Chicago by Charles H. Kerr and Company.

Social Factors in Medical Progress, by Bernhard J. Stern, is no. 287 of the Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

In a pamphlet printed in Russian, but with an English summary, *Phizitcheskie Phaktori Istoricheskogo Prochessa*, "Physical Factors of the Historical Process" (pp. 72), A. Tchijevsky of Kaluga puts forth a sketch and theory of the influence of cosmic factors upon the behavior of organized human masses and the general historical process.

The History of the Feminine Costume of the World, in two volumes, by Paul Louis De Giafferi, is published by Foreign Publications, Inc., 47 West 47th Street, New York.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has written *The History of Spiritualism*, in two volumes (New York, Doran).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. E. Barnes, *The Essentials of the New History* (Historical Outlook, May); Col. J. F. C. Fuller, *The Influence of Armour from Alexander to Joan of Arc* (Army Quarterly, April); W. G. Perrin, *The Prime Meridian* (Mariner's Mirror, April).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: Paul Cloché, *Histoire Grecque* [ancient] 1922-1925 (Revue Historique, January).

In *L'Art et la Religion des Hommes Fossiles*, by G. H. Luquet (Paris, Masson, 1926, pp. 231), the reader will find both a description and a theory of the origins of primitive art.

Materials for scholarship are furnished by Paul Collart's publication of *Les Papyrus Bouriant*, 63 Greek papyri from Egypt, belonging to the collection of the University of Paris, 58 being unpublished (Paris, Champion, 1927, pp. 250).

Dr. G. Contenau, who since 1914 has been general director of all French excavations in Syria, sums up in a manual entitled *La Civilisation Phénicienne* (Paris, Payot), in masterly fashion, clearly and concisely, and with many illustrations, what is now known of Phoenician art, religion, agriculture, navigation, commerce, writing, and exterior relations.

The Gifford Lectures delivered by Sir William Ramsay in 1915-1916, modified somewhat by years of further study, are now published under the title *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization* (London, Murray).

The lectures of Professor John L. Myres, delivered on the Bennett Foundation at Wesleyan University, 1925-1926, have been published by the Abingdon Press with the title *The Political Ideas of the Greeks, with special reference to Early Notions about Law, Authority, and Natural Order in relation to Human Ordinance*.

The Loeb Classical Library (Putnam) has finished its issue of Polybius by the issue of the sixth volume, and has brought out four volumes (of eight) of Strabo, the fourth (of thirteen) of Livy, the first (of eight) of Josephus, and the first (of two) of Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, translated by Professor Kirsopp Lake of Harvard.

Professor Luigi Pareti of Florence, after long researches, intends to put forth in several volumes a work dealing with the whole cycle of Etruscan civilization from prehistoric times down to the decadence of Etruscan power. The first volume, lately published, is on *Le Origini Etrusche* (Florence, Bemporad).

Professor Tenney Frank has brought out, through the Johns Hopkins Press, a new and enlarged edition of his *Economic History of Rome* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 309), which includes the history of the Empire through the fourth century A. D. The additional 209 pages (chapters IX., X., XVIII.-XXII.) deal with the history of the provinces and its effect on Rome, rather than with the city of Rome to which the sixteen chapters of the first edition were devoted. There are a few additions to the original chapters, the longest being three pages on the racial inheritance of the Latins, inserted in chapter I. Chapter XVI. of the 1920 edition, on the Exhaustion of the Soil, has been omitted.

V. Chapot, professor in the École des Beaux-Arts, has written for Henri Berr's *Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique*, a survey of *Le Monde Romain*, covering all the countries on the Mediterranean littoral, besides central and eastern Europe (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1927, pp. 503).

In a thoughtful and discriminating dissertation, *A Study of the Causes of Rome's Wars from 343 to 265 B. C.* (Princeton, pp. 69), Dr. J. W. Spaeth, jr., now assistant professor in Brown University, examines the fundamental causes (almost always political) and the more immediate occasions of the wars preceding the complete subjection of Italy south of the Apennines—the wars against the Samnites, the Latins, the Etruscans, the Gauls, and Tarentum.

Gabriel Lepointe proposes to consider in two volumes the life of Quintus Mucius Scaevola, consul in 95 B. C., proconsul in Asia and author of a great treatise in eighteen books on the civil law. The first volume (Paris, Tenin, 1926, pp. 134) discusses his career and his theories of pontifical law; the second will deal with his conception of the civil law.

The Princeton University Press has brought out *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, by the late Professor F. F. Abbott and M. A. C. Johnson.

Beiheft XIX. of *Klio* consists in a facsimile reproduction of the *Monumentum Antiochenum; die Neugefundene Aufzeichnung der Res Gestae Divi Augusti in Pisidischen Antiochia*, accompanied by a critical commentary by Professors William M. Ramsay of Edinburgh and Anton von Premerstein of Marburg (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1927, pp. 121, 15 tab.). An English edition was published last year by Professor D. M. Robinson of the Johns Hopkins University (*American Journal of Philology*, XLVII. 1).

A quarter of a century after completion of his definitive edition of Dio Cassius, Boissevain offers as vol. IV., an *Index Historicus* to that historian's works, prepared with great exactness by Heinrich Smilda (Weidmann, Berlin, 1926, pp. 706).

Hitherto, the religion of the Roman hearth before the imperial period has been inadequately known. The Delos discoveries make it possible to go back a full century toward the origin of beliefs, later profoundly changed. They are described by Marcel Bulard in *La Religion Domestique dans la Colonie Italienne de Délos d'après les Peintures Murales et les Autels*, fasc. 131 of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (Paris, Boccard, 1927, pp. viii, 548).

Based on the rich store of inscriptions brought by E. Glaser from inner Arabia in the latter part of the last century, Dr. Ditlef Nielsen of Copenhagen is projecting a three-volume *Handbuch der Altarabischen Altertumskunde*. Vol. I., *Der Altarabische Kultur*, has now appeared, containing articles on the history, life, archaeology, and religion of southern Arabia by Professors Fr. Hommel of Munich, N. Rhodokanakis of Graz, Adolf Grohmann of Prague, and Dr. Nielsen respectively (Copenhagen, Busck; Paris, Geuthner; Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1927, pp. viii, 272).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. C. MacLeod, *Trade Restrictions in Early Society* (*American Anthropologist*, April-June); G. Vinaccia, *Alcune Considerazioni sull' Arte Paleolitica Europea* (*Nuova Antologia*, April 1); D. M. Robinson, *The Discovery of a Prehistoric Site at Sizma [Asia Minor]* (*American Journal of Archaeology*, second ser., XXXI. 1); Kurt Sethe, *Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenswechsel dieses Königs* (*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXII. 2); Theodor Dombart, *Der Stand des Babelturmproblems* (*Klio*, XXI. 2); Luigi Pareti, *Nuovi Orientamenti circa l'Importanza Storica e la Missione Culturale degli Etruschi* (*Nuova Antologia*, February 16); Ettore Pais, *Lo Svolgersi della Costituzione e delle Attività Politiche a Cartagine ed in Roma* (*ibid.*, March 1); Walter Judeich, *Cannae* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXVI. 1); James Wall, *The Mystery Religions* (*Quarterly Review*, April); M. Ites, *Zur Bewertung des Agathias* (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVI. 3-4).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Professor George F. Moore of the Harvard Divinity School has summarized the results of thirty years' study in a work entitled, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: the Age of the Tannaim*, to be published in two volumes by the Harvard University Press.

The announcements of the S. P. C. K. include another edition of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, translated with introduction and notes by Dean H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton.

The late Monseigneur Louis Duchesne left at his death, nearly completed, the manuscript of an important volume on *L'Église au VI^e Siècle* (Paris, Fontemoing, pp. viii, 668), edited for publication by Dom H. Quentin, which forms in a way a fourth or additional volume to the author's celebrated *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Maximin Deloche, *Le Christianisme en Poitou au II^e Siècle* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); Paul Monceaux, *Paul de Samosate* (*Journal des Savants*, February); E. Tobac, *L'Édition Critique de la Vulgate* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April); H. Delehaye, *Hagiographie et Archéologie Romaines*, I. (*Analecta Bollandiana*, XLIV. 3-4).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Speculum for April has an important historical article by Professor Lynn Thorndike on the Survival of Medieval Intellectual Interests into Early Modern Times, based upon the interesting paper which he read at the Rochester meeting of the American Historical Association.

The second volume of N. Iorga's *Essai de Synthèse de l'Histoire de l'Humanité*, dealing with the *Histoire du Moyen Age*, has now appeared (Paris, Gamber, 1927, pp. 572). The two remaining volumes are promised early in the current year.

We have mentioned on a previous occasion the expectation that the French version of Professor Pirenne's little book on *Medieval Cities: their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, published in English by the Princeton University Press, would be forthcoming. It has now been published: *Les Villes du Moyen Age: Essai d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* (Brussels, Lamertin, pp. 206).

After an intermission of nine years the *Monumenta Palaeographica*, which Anton Chroust began to publish in 1897, are to be resumed and completed. The work, which embraces specimens of the medieval art of writing, both in Latin and in German, is to receive a third series, including three volumes of eight fascicles each. During the current year three fascicles will appear, containing especially examples of the north German schools (Leipzig, Harrassowitz).

The second of the *Benedictine Historical Monographs* published by St. Anselm's Priory at Washington is a pamphlet of 76 pages on *St. Boniface and St. Virgil*, by Rev. Francis S. Betten, S.J., dealing with the question of the knowledge of the sphericity of the earth in the time of St. Boniface and the attitude toward that subject of the saint, of Pope Zachary, and of other authorities of the time.

The Oxford University Press has published this spring Dr. Reginald Lane Poole's edition of the *Historia Pontificalis* of John of Salisbury.

The Belgian Historical Institute in Rome has nearly ready for publication vol. I. of the *Lettres d'Urbain V.*, a volume of more than 1000 pages, comprising nearly 2000 letters of the first four years of this pontificate, 1362-1366.

In *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'Opinion Française depuis la Guerre de Cent Ans jusqu'à la Fin du XVI^e Siècle*, Georges Ascoli essays the interesting task of extracting from contemporary writings a body of opinion on their neighbor across the narrow seas. The book forms part of the *Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille* (Paris, Gamber, 1927, pp. 356).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. G. Coulton, *The Inquisition Once More* (Edinburgh Review, April); W. Holtzmann, *Papst Alexander III. und Ungarn* (Ungarische Jahrbücher, December); H. Delehaye, *Les Lettres d'Indulgence Collectives*, I. (Analecta Bollandiana, XLIV. 3-4); Roger Doucet, *Les Finances Anglaises en France à la Fin de la Guerre de Cent Ans, 1413-1435* (Le Moyen Age, XXVII.).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

By arrangement with the (English) Historical Association the office of this journal has been supplied with a hundred copies of *A Short Bibliography of Modern European History, 1709-1926*, by Drs. Harold Temperley and Lillian M. Penson, being no. 68 of the leaflets of that Association. Of this brief bibliography (pp. 16) a copy will be sent to any member of the American Historical Association who applies for it, so long as the stock lasts.

The Macmillan Company has published *The Life, Character, and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, derived from a Study of his Works and Correspondence*, in two volumes, by John Joseph Mangan, M.D.

Most historians of Franco-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century have limited themselves to political matters. This can not be said of the excellent work by S. Elzinga, *Het Voorspel van den Oorlog van 1672; de Economisch-Politieke Betrekkingen tusschen Frankrijk en Nederland in de Jaaren 1660-1672* (Haarlem, Willing, 1926, pp. xxiv, 311).

The Broadway House (Routledge and Kegan Paul) announces for this spring three new volumes in its series of *Broadway Travellers*, edited

by Sir Denison Ross and Miss Eileen Power: *The Diary of Henry Teonge*, chaplain in the royal navy in the time of Charles II. (1675-1679); *Memoirs of an Eighteenth-Century Footman*, of the life and travels of John Macdonald in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1745-1779; and Lescarbot's *Nova Francia*. The first two were first printed in 1825 and in 1790, respectively, and never since reprinted.

Émile Henriot has written for *Récits d'Autrefois* an account of the friendship between *Voltaire et Frédéric II*. (Paris, Hachette, 1927).

Professor R. M. McElroy's lectures given on the Sir George Watson Foundation are to be published under the title of *The Pathway to Peace: an Interpretation of some British-American Crises*.

The drama of European politics as seen through the eyes of successive British ambassadors at Paris from 1814 to the present time is presented in Beckles Willson's *The Paris Embassy* (London, Benn).

A learned study of *Die Päpstliche Diplomatie unter Leo XIII.* has been made by Ulrich Stutz on the basis of the important and hitherto unused memoirs of Cardinal Domenico Ferrata, papal nuncio in Paris, later member of various congregations and commissions in Rome, and, for a month before his death, secretary of state under Benedict XV. (*Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1925; Berlin, Gruyter, 1926, pp. 154).

Professor Harold S. Quigley of the University of Minnesota has prepared for students and other readers a brief survey of the work of the League of Nations and the various institutions connected with it, and has added the documents likely to be most useful to the teacher of contemporary international organization, in a manual entitled *From Versailles to Locarno* (University of Minnesota Press, pp. 170).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Max Braubach, *Frankreichs Rheinlandpolitik im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, V. 2); Albert Pingaud, *La Politique Italienne de Napoléon Ier* (*Revue Historique*, January); Pietro Silva, *La Politica di Napoleone III. in Italia*, I. (*Nuova Rivista Storica*, January-April); Henri de Manneville, *La Mission de M. de Gobineau en Grèce, 1864-1868* (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XLI. 2); E. Conte Corti alle Catene, *Bismarck und Italien am Berliner Kongress, 1878* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIII. 4); Fr. Frahm, *England und Russland in Bismarcks Bündnispolitik* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, V. 3); E. N. Johnson and J. D. Bickford, *The Contemplated Anglo-German Alliance, 1890-1901* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX^e Siècle*, XXXIII.-XXXVI. (*Nouvelle Revue*, March 1-April 15); Jacques Ancel, *Le Duel Isvolski-d'Aehrenthal, 1908-1909* (*Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire Moderne*, March); Ernst Kabisch, *Die Militär- und Marinekonventionen der Triple-Entente vor dem Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* (*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, April); Wolfgang Foerster, *Die Deutsch-Italienische Militärkonvention [1914]* (*ibid.*, May).

THE WORLD WAR

The task of those engaged in research on the World War will be lightened by the publication of a *Catalogue Méthodique des Fonds Britannique et Nord Américain de la Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre*, vols. I., II., compiled by Maurice Bourgeois (Paris, Costes, 1927, pp. 160, 120).

One of the most important volumes in the Carnegie Foundation's *Economic and Social History of the World War* is Joseph Redlich's *Oesterreichische Regierung und Verwaltung im Weltkrieg* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925, pp. 302). To be cited are also, in the Belgian series, *Le Secours de Chomage en Belgique pendant l'Occupation Allemande*, by Ernest Mahaim, former minister (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1927, pp. xii, 324), and in the French series, *L'Afrique du Nord pendant la Guerre*, by Professor Augustin Bernard of the University of Paris (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. xx, 164), and *De la Lutte contre la Cherté par les Organisations Privées*, by Professor Charles Gide of the Collège de France and M. Daudé-Bancel (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. xii, 76).

The third volume of the British official *History of the Great War*, by Brig.-Gen. J. E. Edmonds and Capt. G. C. Wynne, lately published (Macmillan), narrates the military operations in France and Belgium during the winter of 1914-1915 and the battles of Neuve Chapelle and Ypres, and describes the development of organization and supply up to the formation of the Ministry of Munitions.

The historical series of the French general staff, in its narrative of *Les Armées Françaises dans la Grande Guerre*, has reached vol. III., *Les Offensives de 1915; l'Hiver de 1915-1916, 1^{er} Mai 1915-21 Février 1916* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1927).

One of the recent studies on special aspects of the World War is *Le Procès de Salonique, Juin 1917*, by M. Boghitchevitch (Paris, Delpeuch, 1927, pp. 168).

Lieut.-Comm. John Irving, R. N., retired, has prepared *Coronel and the Falklands*, a documented study of both battles, published in London by Philpot.

The Truth about Jutland, by Rear-Admiral J. E. T. Harper (London, John Murray), is a critical professional commentary, in moderate compass, upon the known facts of the Battle of Jutland.

Dr. Carl Bergmann, German economic expert of high position, is the author of *The History of Reparations* (London, E. Benn), a work published with a preface by Sir Josiah Stamp, and having exceptionally high value.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Die Narodna Odbrana* [reprint of Serbian pamphlet, translated] (*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, March); Paul Herre, *Italiens Rolle in der Kriegsschuldfrage* (*ibid.*, April); *Die Griechischen Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch* (*ibid.*, March); Emil Daniels,

Konnte August 1914 in Frankreich Gesiegt Worden? (Preussische Jahrbücher, February); Werner Rust, *Die Strategischen Grundlagen der Yserschlacht* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, V. 3); Joh. V. Bredt, *Die Marineunruhen 1917* (Preussische Jahrbücher, April); Paul Chack, *Sur les Bancs de Flandre*, I.-V. (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1-May 1); Capt. T. G. Frothingham, U. S. R., *The Entrance of the United States into the World War* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, April); Clive Day, *War Shocks to European Commerce* (Foreign Affairs, July).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: J. Loth, *L'Archéologie et la Linguistique dans le Pays de Galles*, I., 1921-1923 (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVII. 3-4).

A General Index to vols. XXXI.-XL. of the *English Historical Review* (1916-1925) has been published by Longmans, Green, and Company.

In 1920 Professor Henri Prentout of the University of Caen published an intelligent and fair-minded general *Histoire l'Angleterre*. A new and revised edition has now been published (Paris, Hachette, pp. xii, 497, 692) in two volumes, extending however no farther than the end of 1918.

J. Turrall has brought out through the Clarendon Press (Oxford, 1926) a new edition, with slight changes, of his *Select Source-Book of British History*, illustrating life, laws, and letters, from 55 B. C. to A. D. 1878. As its title indicates the book illustrates from contemporary literature the life of the "dim multitudes".

The British Academy has added to its series of *Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales* a sixth volume, relating to a more modern period than its predecessors, *The Account Book of a Kentish Estate, 1616-1704*, edited by Miss Eleanor C. Lodge, and comprising the accounts of the estate of Godinton near Ashford, kept by proprietors named Nicholas Toke, uncle and nephew. This will be followed by a volume devoted to *Records of the English Templars*, edited by Miss Beatrice A. Lees.

Messrs. Putnam have included in the *Everyday Life* series *Everyday Life in Anglo-Saxon, Viking, and Norman Times*, by Marjorie and Charles H. B. Quennell.

The Selden Society expects to publish soon, under the editorial care of Professor F. de Zulueta, the *Liber Pauperum* of Vacarius, the manual of Roman law which that civilian compiled in connection with the lectures he gave at Oxford in 1149.

The ninth volume in the series of *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* will be a volume on *The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia*, by David C. Douglas (Oxford University Press).

The Cambridge University Press will publish before long a volume, illustrated with 44 collotype plates, on *English Court Hand, 1390-1620*, by Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Record Office.

The *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research for February has papers by Professor J. F. Baldwin of Vassar College on the Chancery of the Duchy of Lancaster, and by Professor Bertha H. Putnam of Mt. Holyoke on (commissions of) Justices of the Peace from 1588 to 1688.

A Quaker Saint of Cornwall: Loveday Hambly and Her Guests (Longmans, pp. xvi, 236), by L. V. Hodgkin (Mrs. John Holdsworth), is an interesting contribution to the history of the rise of Quakerism in Cornwall and its progress during the life of George Fox and his immediate friends, the central figure being the widow Loveday Hambly of Tregangeeves, whose history Mrs. Holdsworth has elaborated with affectionate care. The book (which has a few beautiful illustrations) will primarily interest the Society of Friends, but there are many, and might well be more, who find a pleasant savor in the early Quaker writings and occasions for high admiration in the early Quaker story.

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, on the basis of characteristically thorough researches in the period from 1660 to 1834, have brought out *English Poor Law History*, part I, *The Old Poor Law* (Longmans).

Mr. Algernon Cecil has published a survey of the conduct of British foreign affairs from Castlereagh's time in a volume entitled, *British Foreign Secretaries, 1806-1916: Studies in Personality and Policy* (London, Bell).

A. C. Acworth's *Financial Reconstruction in England, 1815-1822* (London, P. S. King and Son, pp. viii, 158), though a small book, is a very intelligent and useful study of an important subject.

The Oxford University Press hopes to publish during the present year a new volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Professor H. W. C. Davis and Mr. J. R. H. A. Weaver, and embracing those worthies who died during the years 1912-1921.

The corporation of Maidstone, Kent, has put forth a volume of *Records of Maidstone* (Maidstone, William Hobbs, pp. 303) giving a list of the records of the borough and selections from documents in the possession of the corporation, which begin chronologically with accounts of the Fraternity of Corpus Christi from 1474 to 1497, and embrace churchwardens' accounts, burghmote papers, court leet papers, session papers, deeds, etc.

The most interesting article in the *Scottish Historical Review* for April is that of Miss Marjory A. Bald on the Pioneers of Anglicized Speech in Scotland. There is also a paper by Mr. John Edwards, illustrating bonds of manrent, maintenance, and friendship by a Scottish Bond of Friendship betwixt Lord Lovat and the Captain of Clanranald, 1572; one by Arthur Birnie on Ridge Cultivation in Scotland; and a polemic but informing discourse on the official treatment of the National Records of Scotland, by Sheriff J. R. N. Macphail of Stirling and Dumbarton.

Duncan Dewar, a Student of St. Andrews 100 Years Ago: His Accounts (Glasgow, Jackson, Wylie and Co., pp. 189), gives a close and full picture of such a student's life, the accounts being illuminated by an interesting and minutely informed commentary by the late Sir Peter R. Scott Lang, professor of mathematics in the university.

British government publications: *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward VI., vol. V., with appendixes, 1547-1553; *Report on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue of Dropmore*, X. (Historical Manuscripts Commission).

Other documentary publications: *The Great Rolls of the Pipe of the Third and Fourth Years of Richard I., 1191, 1192*, ed. Doris M. Stenton (Pipe Roll Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Capt. J. S. Baines, R. E., *The Roman Army in Britain* (Army Quarterly, April); Hilda Johnstone, *Everyday Life in some Medieval Records* (History, April); Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Le Roi d'Angleterre et ses Parlements au Moyen Âge* (Revue Historique, January); E. B. Demarest, "Consuetudo Regis" in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk (English Historical Review, April); J. F. Baldwin, *Household Administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster* (*ibid.*); Georg Brodnitz, *Die Finanzen des Englischen Absolutismus* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXII. 2); R. D. Richards, *The Evolution of Paper Money in England* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); J. H. Hollander, *Adam Smith, 1776-1926* (Journal of Political Economy, April); A. Aspinall, *The Coalition Ministries of 1827, I. Canning's Ministry* (English Historical Review, April); H. D. Jordan, *The Political Methods of the Anti-Corn Law League* (Political Science Quarterly, March); André Maurois, *La Vie de Benjamin Disraeli*, I.-V. (Revue de Paris, February 15-April 15).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 987; for India, see p. 973.)

Richard II. in Ireland, 1394-1395, and Submissions of the Irish Chiefs (Clarendon Press, pp. ix, 248), by Professor Edmund Curtis of the University of Dublin, contains thirty-nine instruments—submissions and indentures—printed from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, in the original Latin, with a translation, and the larger part of thirty-six letters written to the king during his stay in Ireland by the submitting chiefs, including nearly all the principal chieftains of Ireland. An introduction traces their history up to the date of the submissions.

The *Victorian Historical Magazine* for last September has an article by Professor Ernest Scott of the University of Melbourne, of particular interest to American students, on the *Shenandoah* Incident of 1865, referring to the stay of the Confederate cruiser of that name in Port Melbourne. The number for March is chiefly marked by a biographical account of Angus McMillan, first pioneer of Gippsland, by Charles Daley.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Gregory Cleary, *St. Francis and Ireland*, II. (Studies, March).

FRANCE

General review: Henri Hauser, *Histoire de France; Époque Moderne jusqu'en 1660* (Revue Historique, March).

The first French Congress of the historical sciences ever held was held in Paris April 20-23. It is not practicable to describe in detail proceedings which embraced seventy-nine papers, ranging through all periods and many aspects of ancient, medieval, and modern history; but it may be permitted to mention that one of them (and the only one American in theme, and almost the only one not European) was a discourse by Mr. W. G. Leland on the Sources in France of American History. Prominent historians discussed the organization of historical work in France, and preparations for the International Congress at Oslo were considered.

An exhaustive monograph has been written by Michel Clerc, dean of the Faculty of Letters in Aix and director of the Marseilles archaeological museum, on *Massalia; Histoire de Marseille dans l'Antiquité des Origines à la Fin de l'Empire Romain d'Occident, 476 A. D.* (Marseilles, Tacussel, 1927, 2 vols., pp. 482, 500); vol. I. has been published, vol. II. is expected in a short time.

A fresh contribution to the literature of the patron saint of Roman Gaul, marked by both charm and scholarship, has been made by Paul Monceaux, *Saint Martin, Récits de Sulpice-Sévère mis en Français avec une Introduction* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 242).

The Oxford University Press is bringing out a translation in two volumes of Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks*, with introduction and notes by O. M. Dalton.

A translation of the *Autobiography of Guibert, Abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy*, by C. C. S. Bland, has been published in the series of *Broadway Translations* (London, Kegan Paul; New York, Dutton).

Up to 1924, no general history of Paris had been attempted for many years. At that time, the first volume of Marcel Poëte's *Une Vie de Cité; Paris, de sa Naissance à nos Jours* appeared. Another important book, laying greater emphasis on the political standpoint, has since been published, the *Histoire de Paris* by Lucien Dubech and Pierre d'Espezel (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 511). Now comes the second volume of Poëte's elaborate work, covering *La Cité de la Renaissance, du Milieu du XV^e à la Fin du XVI^e Siècle* (Paris, Picard, 1927, pp. 338).

A richly-documented life of *Antonio Caracciolo, Évêque de Troyes, 1515?-1570*, bishop, soldier, Protestant, and diplomat in turn, has been written by Joseph Roserot de Melin from the archives of Paris, Troyes, Rome, and elsewhere (Paris, Letouzey, pp. liii, 446).

Mr. A. A. Knopf has done a useful service by publishing an English translation of Professor Henri Sée's *La France Économique et Sociale au XVIII^e Siècle*, reviewed in this journal (XXI. 351)—*Economic and Social Conditions in France during the 18th Century*. Meanwhile Messrs. Putnam have published *French Society in the Eighteenth Century*, by Louis Ducros, in translation.

Two monographs by E. Carcassonne, *Montesquieu et le Problème de la Constitution Française au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1927, pp. xvi, 738), and *Écrits Inédits de Mlle. de Lézardière* (Paris, 1927, pp. 496), are announced by Les Presses Universitaires.

Zwischen Nationalismus und Demokratie; Gestalten der Französischen Vorrevolution, by Eva Hoffmann-Linke, forms Beiheft 9 of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1927, pp. 324).

Students of the period will receive with interest the announcement of a third volume in the history of the French Revolution by Albert Mathiez, covering *La Terreur* (Paris, Colin, 1927, pp. 224).

Émile Gabory, who has written much on the counter-revolution, continues his important study of *La Révolution et la Vendée d'après des Documents Inédits* with a second volume, *La Vendée Militante et Souffrante* (Paris, Perrin, 1927).

The memoirs of Gaudin, duc de Gaëte, Napoleon's great minister of finance, have been republished by Armand Colin in photographic facsimile of the first edition, that of 1826-1834 (*Les Mémoires du Duc de Gaëte*, 3 vols., Paris, 1926). It will be recalled that the most important part of this work is the "Notice Historique sur les Finances de France de l'an VIII au 1^{er} avril, 1814", which is in volume I. Volume II. is mainly composed of pamphlets and speeches belonging to the period of the Restoration. The memoirs in the ordinary meaning of the word are partly in volume I., partly in the supplementary volume III.

The *Mémoires de la Reine Hortense* may soon be had in book form; they are to be published in three volumes with notes by Jean Hanoteau, vols. I. and II. being now available (Paris, Plon, 1927, pp. 400, 400). At the same moment, Joseph Turquan adds a second volume to his *La Reine Hortense* (Paris, Tallandier, 1927, pp. 224), which may serve as a foil to the memoirs.

A recent book in the field of economic history is the *Histoire de la Classe Ouvrière en France depuis la Révolution jusqu'à nos Jours* by Paul Louis (Paris, Rivière, 1927, pp. 416).

A useful manual by G. Bourgin, *Les Sources Manuscrites de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France Moderne* (Paris, Letouzey, pp. ix, 144) gives a detailed list of materials in archives, preceded by a dissertation on the history of the Catholic, Protestant, Israelite, and Mohammedan organizations in France.

A new volume in the excellent series *Histoire de France racontée à Tous*, edited by Fr. Funck-Brentano, is that on *La Troisième République* by Raymond Recouly (Paris, Hachette, 1927).

As part of the excellent collection, *Les Vieilles Provinces de France*, directed by A. Albert-Petit, G. Morizet has produced an admirable *Histoire de Lorraine* (Paris, Boivin, 1926, pp. xiv, 330).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Marc Bloch, *Observations sur la Conquête de la Gaule Romaine par les Rois Francs* (Revue Historique, March); Marcel Handelsman, *Le soi-disant Précepte de 614* (Le Moyen Age, XXVII.); L. Levillain, *Études sur l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'Époque Mérovingienne*, I, II. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January-June, July-December, 1926); L. H. Labande, *La Commune de Marseille, ses Origines, son Développement jusqu'à l'Acquisition de la Seigneurie des Vicomtes*, concl. (Journal des Savants, February); Harold D. Hazeltine, *Some Aspects of French Legal History* (Quarterly Review, April); Paul Deschamps, *Les Lettres Closes au Début du XIV^e Siècle* (Le Moyen Age, XXVII.); Jules Viard, *La Campagne de Juillet-Août 1346 et la Bataille de Crécy* (*ibid.*); Antoine Degert, *Louis XI. et ses Ambassadeurs* (Revue Historique, January); W. K. Ferguson, *The Place of Jansenism in French History* (Journal of Religion, January); G. Martin, *Les "Chambres Littéraires" de Nantes et la Préparation de la Révolution* (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVII. 3-4); Alfred Stern, *Briefve Konrad Engelbert Oelsners an Paul Usteri aus Paris 1795* (Preussische Jahrbücher, April); André Auzoux, *L'Expédition d'Égypte en 1801; les Projets de Bonaparte et Ganteaume* (Revue Historique, March); Jean Hanoteau, *Lettres Inédites de Napoléon I^{er} à la Reine Hortense* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); Serge Fleury, *Mme. de Mirbel et ses Amis en 1848* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLI. 2); J. Dontenville, *La Chute de la Royauté en 1848*, concl. (Nouvelle Revue, February 15); Comtesse D'Agoult, *Mes Souvenirs*, Nouvelle Série, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); B. J. Hovde, *French Socialism and Franco-German Relations* (Journal of Political Economy, April).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: Raymond Lantier, *Histoire Ancienne de la Péninsule Ibérique, 1911-1926* (Revue Historique, January).

The prefect of the Vatican Archives, Mgr. Angelo Mercati, has begun the publication of a series of guides to the use of those archives, *Sussidi per la Consultazione dell' Archivio Vaticano*, intended to give investigators in those archives a better guidance than any they have thus far received from the existing manuscript indexes, ample in size and number (658 tomes), but old-fashioned in construction and covering but parts of that enormous repository of historical material. The first volume, to be issued as fasc. 45 of the *Studi e Testi* (Rome, Vatican Library, 1926), is mainly devoted to the "Schedario Garampi", explaining its contents, defects,

gaps, and abbreviations, and in general making it more useful. This is followed by a general exposition of the Vatican and Lateran registers and the *Rationes Camerae*, and an inventory of the archives of the Consistorial Congregation, turned over to the Vatican Archives in 1907.

A handsome volume descriptive of *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo*, by Professor Christian Huelsen of Florence, has been published by Olschki of that city (1927, pp. cxvi, 640).

Messrs. Dutton have included in their *Medieval Towns* series *The Story of Naples*, by Cecil Headlam.

In *Carboneria e Massoneria nel Risorgimento Italiano; Saggio di Critica Storia* (Genoa, 1926, pp. 442), Giuseppe Leti has set forth a learned and eloquent exposition, in antithesis to the recent work of Alessandro Luzio on the same subject.

F. Quintavalle has revised and greatly enlarged his previous publications on modern Italian history to 1870, in a volume entitled *Storia dell' Unità Italiana, 1814-1914* (Milan, Hoepli, 1926, pp. 702).

A monograph and a number of unpublished letters are gathered together by Arturo Codignola under the title *La Giovinezza di G. Mazzini* (Florence, Vallecchi, 1926).

A list of *Periodicals in American Libraries for the Study of Hispanic Languages and Literatures* has been compiled by a committee of the Modern Language Association, of which Hayward Keniston was chairman, and published by the Hispanic Society of America (New York, 1927). It contains the serial publications, except newspapers, dealing with the Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan languages and literatures both in Europe and in America, including reviews and magazines of general interest, bulletins and memoirs of learned societies, as well as literary, critical, and philosophical journals. Unfortunately the holdings of the Library of Congress are not included in the list.

In addition to his labors on the *Italia Pontificia* and the *Germania Pontificia*, Professor Paul Kehr has begun in the *Abhandlungen* of the Göttingen Academy a series of preliminary publications toward a *Hispania Pontificia*, in the form of two volumes of *Papsturkunden in Spanien* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1926, pp. 585), covering the eight dioceses of the Catalan province of Tarragona, and embracing, besides learned dissertations, some 275 papal letters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Much praise is bestowed upon the *Historia de España y su Influencia en la Historia Universal* by D. Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, who has now published the first part of his fourth volume, relating to the period from Charles V. to Philip III. (Barcelona, Salvat, 1926, pp. 505).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Falco, *I Comuni della Campagna e della Marittima nel Medio Evo*, II. (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XLVIII.); Gioacchino Volpe, *Aspetti del Quattro-*

cento Italiano (Nuova Antologia, March 16); R. de la Sizeranne, *Le Vertueux Condottière; Montefeltro, Duc d'Urbino, 1422-1482*, IV.-VI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 15-April 15); Niccolò Rodolico, *Italia ed Europa nei Primi Due Secoli dell' Età Moderna* (Nuova Antologia, February 1); Carlo Morandi, *Una Polemica sulla Libertà d'Italia a Mezzo il Seicento* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January-April); Angiolo Tursi, *Decadenza e Fine della Repubblica di Venezia* (Nuova Antologia, May 1); M. de Rubris, *Genesi e Vicende del Primo Scritto Politico di Massimo d'Azeglio*, II. (*ibid.*, February 1); Giovanni Zoppi, *Garibaldi a Brescia nel 1866* (*ibid.*, March 16); P. Kehr, *Die Aeltesten Papsturkunden Spaniens* (Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1926, 2); B. W. Wheeler, *The Portuguese Tribute to Rome, 1179-1213* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, VII.); *id.*, *The Papacy and Hispanic Interstate Relations, 1195-1212* (Catholic Historical Review, April); Louis Bertrand, *Sainte Thérèse*, VI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); Henri Sée, *Documents sur le Commerce de Cadix, 1691-1752*, II. (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, XV. 1); J. Torre Revello, *Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci y el Cargo de Cronista en las Indias* (Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, no. 29).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The complete series of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (folio edition) was for a long time unprocurable, as some of the volumes went out of print shortly after publication. The reprinting of the missing volumes by the photo-chemical process (*Scriptores* 2-12, 16-21 and *Leges* 1-4) has now rendered it possible to acquire the full series or to complete sets (Leipzig, Hiersemann).

Miss Maud Joynt has prepared, and the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge has published, a translation of Walafrid Strabo, *The Life of St. Gall* (pp. 188), with an introduction on the history of the abbey of St. Gall and its library.

Die Italienische Kaiserpolitik des Deutschen Mittelalters, mit besonderem Hinblick auf die Politik Friedrich Barbarossas, is ably discussed by Georg von Below, with a complete survey of the controversial literature on the subject, in Beiheft 10 of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1927, pp. 159). The author, as is well known, regrets the imperial Italian policy as subversive of German nationalism, following the view of the Sybel school rather than that of Ficker and Giesebrecht.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons are publishing an English translation of the *War Diary of Emperor Frederick III., 1870-1871*.

General Hans Lothar von Schweinitz, after being German military attaché in Vienna and St. Petersburg, was from 1869 to 1892 the diplomatic representative from his country in those capitals successively, and as ambassador had the highest confidence of William I. and of Bismarck.

Much importance may therefore be attributed to the two volumes of the *Denkwürdigkeiten des Botschafters General von Schweinitz*, published in Berlin by Reimar Hobbing.

Professor Erick Brandenburg's *Von Bismarck zum Weltkriege*, reviewed in this journal two years ago (XXX. 362), has been published by the Oxford University Press in an English translation, *From Bismarck to the World War: a History of German Foreign Policy, 1870-1914* (pp. xiii, 542). *Der Missverständene Bismarck*, by Otto Hammann, formerly chief of the press division of the German Foreign Office, published in 1921 and then reviewed in this journal (XXVII. 152), now appears in a translation (from the new and enlarged German edition), by Dr. Maude A. Huttman of Columbia University, under the title, *The World Policy of Germany, 1890-1912* (New York, Knopf).

Students of the Hussite movement should take account of Father A. Neumann's volume of documents for the history of the Bohemian clergy from 1330 to 1415, *Prameny k Dějinám Duchovenstva v Době Předhusitské a Husově* (Olmütz, Matice Cyrilometodějská, pp. 241) specially devoted to showing the life and condition of the clergy, Augustinian, Benedictine, Cistercian, Franciscan, Premonstratensian and secular.

Material of the utmost importance for the history of Maria Theresa's government and administrative reforms is collected in a volume published by the Commission for the Modern History of Austria (*Veröffentlichungen*, XVIII., Vienna, Holzhausen); edited by J. Kallbrunner and Melitta Winkler, extending from 1743 to 1760, and entitled, *Die Zeit des Directoriums in Publicis et Cameralibus*.

The Macmillan Company publishes in English translation *Count Berchtold's Own Story*, treating the whole period during which its author was minister of foreign affairs for Austria-Hungary.

In Band XXV. of the *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* the most important item is a long monograph (pp. 135) by Professor Emil Dürr on "Arthur de Gobineau und die Schweiz in den Jahren 1850-1854", tracing the influence of these years in Switzerland on Gobineau's doctrines respecting race, afterward so potent in Germany.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Erich Marcks, *Auf- und Niedergang im Deutschen Schicksal* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, V. 1); Georg von Below, *Die Unfreie Herkunft des Niederen Adels und ihre Beurteilung* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXV. 3); Johannes Kleinpaul, *Der Nachrichtendienst des Sächsischen Hofes vom 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Geschriebenen Zeitungen* (*Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, LXXXII. 2); Heinrich Dübi, *Die Haltung der Berner in dem Streite zwischen Georg Supersaxo und Matthäus Schiner [1490-1522]* (*Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, XXVIII. 2); Jakob Strieder, *Die Geschäfts- und Familienpolitik Jacob Fugger des Reichen* (*ibid.*); Fr. Walter, *Die Organisation*

der Staatlichen Polizei unter Kaiser Joseph II. (Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, VII.); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Das Oesterreichische Kaisertum und das Ende des Heiligen Reichs, 1804-1806*, I.-concl. (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, V. 2, 3); Albert Pražák, *Czechs and Slovaks in the Revolution of 1848* (Slavonic Review, March); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Zur Geschichte der März-tage 1848* (Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, VII.); Ludwig Dehio, *Benedict Waldeck* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXVI. 1); Karl Alexander von Müller, *Treitschke als Journalist* (*ibid.*, CXXXV. 3).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: Henri Laurent, *Bulletin de Bibliographie Critique, le Travail d'Histoire du Moyen Âge en Belgique pendant la Décade 1915-1925* (Le Moyen Age, XXVII.).

Following the method employed by G. von Below and his pupils for Germany, I. H. Gosses, professor at Groningen, has depicted in a remarkable volume the social constitution of the county of Holland during the Middle Ages. The title reads *Welgheborenen en Huisleden; Onderzoekingen over Standen en Staat in het Graafschap Holland* (Groningen, Wolters, 1926, pp. viii, 221).

Martinus Nijhoff of the Hague has completed, some months ago, the publication of *La Miniature Hollandaise et les Manuscrits Illustrés du XIV^e au XVI^e Siècle aux Pays-Bas Septentrionaux*, by Professor A. W. Bijvanck of Leyden and Dr. G. G. Hoogewerff, director of the Dutch Institute in Rome. The work consists of 106 pages of text and 240 helio-type plates, representing 597 subjects, 12 of the plates being executed in colors and gold. The text is in French. The edition (300 fl.) is limited.

A subject but little explored and of interest for the history of capitalism is B. S. Chlepner's *La Banque en Belgique; Étude Historique et Économique*, vol. I., *Le Marché Financier Belge avant 1850* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1926, pp. 429).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Reuning, *Balthasar Bekker, der Bekämpfer des Teufel- und Hexenglaubens* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLV. 4).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Cornell University published in 1914 a *Catalogue of the Icelandic Collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske*. It now issues, in a quarto of 284 pages, a *Supplement* exhibiting the additions made from 1913 to 1926, compiled by the same competent hands as the original catalogue, those of Professor Halldór Hermannsson.

A recent Danish archaeological and geological expedition to South Greenland has discovered at Ivigo the foundations of a large cathedral, bishop's palace, and accompanying buildings.

A masterly treatise on the origins of Swedish towns, *Studier rörande det Svenska Stadsväsendets Uppkomst och äldsta Utveckling* (Stockholm, univ., 1926, pp. xxxii, 472), has been published by Dr. Adolf Schück, now docent. Along with this, attention may be called to the important archaeological dissertations on "Hedeby och Birka" (Hedeby in Slesvig and Birka on Lake Mälär) and on Slesvig and Birka which Professor Sune Lindqvist contributed to *Fornvännen*, 1926, 1 and 4, and to the same author's article, *ibid.*, 5, on the coins found at Birka, representing, whether struck there or at Hedeby, the oldest types of indigenous Scandinavian coinage.

Nos. 2-4 of the Norwegian *Historisk Tidskrift* consists of a body of letters and speeches of Jacob Hoel, written from or delivered in the sessions, 1818, 1821, 1822, 1833, of the Storting, in which that member—veterinary, lieutenant of dragoons, small proprietor—was an energetic leader of the rising peasant party. The volume, edited by Professor Halvdan Koht, is entitled *Fra den Gamle Bonde-Opposisjon* (Oslo, Grøndahl, pp. 248).

A useful summary of our knowledge of the people of Eastern Europe is given in the *Manuel de l'Antiquité Slave* by Professor Lubor Niederle of Prague; vol. II., *La Civilisation*, is now ready (Paris, Champion, 1927, pp. 360). Closely related and likewise published by the Institut d'Études Slaves, is F. Dvornik's volume on *Les Slaves, Rome, et Byzance au IX^e Siècle* (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. v, 360).

A glimpse into the mind of the modern materialistic school of Russian historians is afforded by the interesting *Introduction à l'Histoire Sociale de la Russie* of Georges Plékhanof, one of the most important representatives of this school, translated by Mme. Batault-Plékhanof for the *Coll. Hist. de l'Institut d'Études Slaves* (Paris, Bossard, 1926, pp. xii, 160). It is an extract from the author's history of the social idea in Russia, whose three volumes, published in Russian, are untranslated.

A useful *Essai sur l'Histoire des Institutions Agraires de la Russie Centrale du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle* has been written by Alexandre Miller, with preface by G. L. Duprat (Paris, Giard, 1926, pp. viii, 385).

The Princess Stéphanie Dolgorouki, as wife of a gentleman of the court under the last three czars, and sister-in-law of the Princess Yourievsky, morganatic wife of Alexander II., seems amply qualified to write from personal knowledge a volume of memoirs on *La Russie avant la Débâcle* (Paris, Figuière, 1927, pp. 315).

Important light on Russian history from 1905 to 1917 is cast by *The Reign of Rasputin: an Empire's Collapse*, by the late Michael Rodzianko, president of the third Duma (English translation, London, Philpot). Russian life of the preceding period is well illustrated by the *Memoirs of Baron N. Wrangel, 1847-1920* (English translation, London, Benn), father of the celebrated general of the White army, and himself an important landowner and official.

In the *European Economic and Political Survey* for March 15, published at 10, rue de l'Élysée, Paris, will be found a detailed description and summary (20 pp.) of the first eighteen volumes (1922-1926) of the *Krasni Arkhiv* (Red Archives), or collection of documents of the old régime published in Moscow by the central archives of the Soviet Union.

Stanford University Press has brought out a volume entitled *On the Trail of the Russian Famine*, by Frank A. Golder and Lincoln Hutchinson. The volume embodies the records which Professor Golder and Mr. Hutchinson made, as members of the American Relief Administration, of what they saw, heard, and felt.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ingvar Andersson, *Valdemar Atterdags Tåg mot Gotland 1361* (Fornvänner, 1926, 6); N. de Baumgarten, *Le Cause Storiche della Rivoluzione Russa* (Nuova Antologia, April 1); C. Hagberg Wright, *Nicholas II. of Russia* (Quarterly Review, April).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Under the title *Collection Byzantine* the Société d'Éditions les Belles Lettres (Paris) begins a series of Byzantine texts, with translations into French on the opposite page, of which two volumes have already appeared, the first being the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos; the second the *Correspondence* of Nicephorus Gregoras. American students of Byzantine history will certainly give to this collection a cordial welcome.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons are publishing an English translation of *Byzantine Portraits*, by Professor Charles Diehl.

A new translation from the Latin of the *Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, the French ambassador, scholar, and traveller who visited Turkey in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent, has been published by the Oxford University Press.

J. Ancel, whose *Manuel Historique de la Question d'Orient* has already gone through two editions, seeks in *Peuples et Nations des Balkans* to establish the extent to which geography has determined their history (Paris, Colin, 1926, pp. 220).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Walther Holtzmann, *Die Aeltesten Urkunden des Klosters S. Maria del Patir* [12th century] (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVI. 3-4); T. W. Riker, *The Concert of Europe and Moldavia in 1857* (English Historical Review, April).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Friction between the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Arabic Orthodox community led to the appointment by the British government in 1925 of a commission to inquire into and report upon the controversies. The report of the commissioners, Sir Anton Bertram, chief justice of Ceylon, and J. W. A. Young, formerly financial adviser to the

Orthodox Patriarchate, is published as a volume, *The Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem* (Oxford University Press, pp. 379), and contains, along with matter concerning solely the modern disputes, much carefully prepared information on the history of the Patriarchate and the relations, from the Arabic conquest down, of the Greek-speaking and Arabic-speaking Orthodox populations under its supervision.

Admiral G. A. Ballard, whose papers in the *Mariner's Mirror* have from time to time been mentioned in these pages, now brings them together in a consecutive study of the long struggle between the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English for supremacy in the Oriental seas, *Rulers of the Indian Ocean* (London, Duckworth).

Professor N. J. Krom of Leyden, formerly director of the archaeological survey of the Dutch East Indies, has published an important volume on the Hindu period in the history of Java—to the fifteenth century, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (the Hague, Nijhoff, pp. 494).

The Yale University Press has published *China and the Occident*, by George N. Steiger. The work is concerned with the origin and development of the Boxer movement.

A second edition of Professor K. S. Latourette's *Development of Japan* (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 128) has been brought out by the Macmillan Company. A few corrections have been made and chapters XI. and XII. (not X. and XI. as the preface states) on Japan taking her place among the Powers and on her internal development have been extended to include events from 1894 to 1926, instead of from 1894 to 1917. Japan in Siberia, Japan at the Peace Conference, and the Washington Conference of 1921 are among the additional subjects discussed. About a dozen titles, of books published since 1917, have been added to the bibliography.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ernst Meyer, *Alexander und der Ganges* (*Klio*, XXI. 2); Admiral G. A. Ballard, *The Last Battlefleet Struggle in the Bay of Bengal* (*Mariner's Mirror*, April); Edward Thompson, *The Suppression of Suttee in Native States* (*Edinburgh Review*, April); Bruno Bruni, *L'Apostolo Francescano della Cina; Giovanni da Montecorvino* (*Nuova Antologia*, March 16); G. W. Keeton, *The Growth and Scope of Extraterritoriality in China* (*Law Quarterly Review*, April); Capt. J. K. Taussig, U. S. N., *Experiences in China during the Boxer Rebellion* (*United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, April).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The series of volumes of *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc: Dynastie Saadienne* (Paris, Leroux) has been continued by Comte Henri de Castries by the publication of two volumes of early letters and documents from the archives and libraries of England—documents English, Spanish, French, Italian, Latin, and Arabic—illustrating the history of

the Barbary Company and of the relations between England and the Moroccan sherifs from the end of the reign of Henry VIII. to the beginning of that of Charles I. Another volume is to follow.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

In the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Dr. Paullin has finished both maps and letter-press of the *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* on which he has been at work for several years. The maps are prepared for reproduction by photolithography, in 134 plates about 18 by 14 inches in dimensions, embracing about 570 maps, illustrative of political, economic, social, military, and geographical history. The explanatory letter-press will constitute a substantial octavo volume. The fourth volume of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* and the third volume of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, edited by Professor Bassett, are in the printer's hands. Mr. Leland sails for America early in July, to take up his new duties as executive secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, having finished the manuscript of one volume of his *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives and Libraries of Paris*. A second volume approaches completion, and will shortly be finished, by the aid of Mr. Parker.

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has acquired papers of Richard Lathers (1820-1903), including political letters of Calhoun; papers of John A. Procter (1890-1900), civil service commissioner; farm journals (1816-1872) of "Shirley" plantation on the James River, and additional photostats of papers of Franklin Pierce.

The Government Printing Office has lately issued a thirteenth edition of *Price List 50*, being a list of government publications relating to American history and biography for sale by the Superintendent of Documents; also a tenth edition of *Price List 24*, a list of similar character respecting Indians, mounds, and antiquities.

The American Year Book, 1926, edited by Professors Albert Bushnell Hart and William M. Schuyler, has come from the press (Macmillan).

Professor and Mrs. Charles A. Beard are the joint authors of a work in two volumes entitled *The Rise of American Civilization*, of which vol. I. deals with agricultural, vol. II. with industrial development. The work is illustrated by Wilfred Jones (New York, Macmillan).

Professor David S. Muzzey has brought out (Boston, Ginn) a *History of the American People*, a new work, distinct from his text-book, *The United States of America*.

The Agricultural History Society has inaugurated the publication of a quarterly journal bearing the name *Agricultural History*. The first issue.

that of January, is given over to a reprint (from the *North Carolina Historical Review*) of Professor E. M. Coulter's paper on the Movement for Agricultural Reorganization in the Cotton South during the Civil War.

The eleventh *Yearbook* of the Swedish Historical Society of America presents a monograph by Professor T. C. Blegen, accompanied by illustrative documents, on Minnesota's Campaign for Immigrants, especially in the 'sixties and 'seventies of the last century; an "America Letter" of 1849, by one Steffan Steffanson, with translation; a review of various Swedish emigrant guide-books of 1853-1894, by R. W. Swanson; and an account of educational work among the Swedish Baptists in America by Rev. Professor Adolf Olson.

The *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, vol. XXV., contains, among other things, a number of historical articles, chiefly by Michael J. O'Brien, who presents data on Irish schoolmasters in the American colonies, Irish pioneers in New Hampshire and Virginia, and the Irish in Charleston. The history of the Hibernian Society in the latter city is related by John I. Cosgrove, its president. William H. Mahony treats of the Irish in New Jersey, and Vincent F. O'Reilly of Major-General Richard Montgomery.

The *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society has in the December number a biographical account, by Rev. John E. McGarity, of Samuel Sutherland Cooper (1769-1843), and the concluding installment of Rev. Paul M. Judson's Sketch of the Life of Father Gabriel Richard (1767-1832). The March number contains an account, by Rev. William F. Blakeslee, of the life of Félix Varela (1788-1853), Cuban priest and philosopher, who, proscribed as a deputy of the Spanish Cortes in 1823, came to the United States, where he spent the remaining twenty years of an active life. In the same number Rev. Edward P. Curley gives a history of the Origin and Progress of the Catholic Church in Montana.

A second series of *Quaker Biographies* has been published by the Book Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, in five volumes, reviewing the lives of some thirty-five members of the Society, some of them lives of much more than denominational interest and importance, such as Moses Brown in the first volume and Isaac Sharpless in the last.

Selected Addresses and Papers of Simon Wolf is a memorial volume, published at Cincinnati by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a memorial of a patriotic and public-spirited Hebrew, author of *The American Jew as Soldier and Patriot*. Besides a biography of Mr. Wolf the volume contains an address of his on the Influence of the Jews on the Progress of the World, an elaborate biographical sketch of Mordecai M. Noah, and other papers less historical in character.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Messrs. Dutton have published *American Marriage Records before 1699*, by W. M. Clemens.

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, who not long ago retired from his professorship at Harvard, and has been appointed by President Coolidge a member of the commission to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the birth of Washington, has been made by that commission its official historian, and has in contemplation several publications appropriate to the celebration.

The first reprint, announced by us in a former number, of that rare book *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake* (London, 1765), comes from the Watauga Press, Johnson City, Tenn., in a handsome little volume entitled *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765* (pp. 197), edited by Samuel C. Williams, formerly a justice of the supreme court of Tennessee, who supplies many useful annotations and a brief introduction. The book is important for the knowledge of the Cherokees, and has a curious interest because of Timberlake's voyage with a group of that nation to England, where he died.

The Harvard University Press has published this spring *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, being the letters written from Boston during the years 1768-1775 by Ann Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, commissioner of customs at Boston.

In the issue of this journal for January, 1926 (p. 401), attention was called to the discovery of a file of the *Gazette Françoise*, a newspaper printed on the press of the French fleet at Newport, R. I., during the Revolution. The Grolier Club (47 East 60th Street, New York) has now brought out a facsimile reprint of the newspaper, with an introduction by Howard M. Chapin, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The University of Chicago Press will bring out in the autumn a book on *George Rogers Clark and the Revolution in the West*, by Professor J. A. James, of Northwestern University.

The Bureau of Naturalization has produced an *Historical Sketch of Naturalization in the United States* (Washington, Government Printing Office).

The Diary of Elbridge Gerry, jr., which Brentano has published, is the record of a journey on horseback from Massachusetts to Washington in 1813, by a route which carried him westward into Ohio and southward into Virginia.

The History of the Education of Girls in New York and in New England, 1800-1870, by Martha MacLear, is no. 7 of the *Howard University Studies in History* (Washington, Howard University Press).

Mr. Howard Major's *The Domestic Architecture of the Early American Republic* (Lippincott) treats of what he calls the Greek Revival, the movement to the adoption of a style, chiefly prevalent from 1820 to 1850, derived from classical Greek models and applied extensively to domestic as well as to public buildings.

The Harvard University Press has published *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826*, by Dexter Perkins (*Harvard Historical Studies*, no. 29).

No. 30 of the *Harvard Economic Studies* is *Banking Theories in the United States before 1860*, by Harry E. Miller, assistant professor of economics in Brown University.

Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925, by Charles H. Wesley, has been added to the series *Current Social Science Studies* (Vanguard Press).

The Navy Department has completed the series of *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* by the issue of a general index (pp. 457) to the thirty volumes of the series.

The Peacemakers of 1864 (Macmillan), by Edward C. Kirkland, is partly a story of the under-cover movements for peace during the Civil War, but also of the Hampton Roads conference.

The Buffalo *Evening News* has published *Grover Cleveland as Buffalo Knew Him*, by Charles H. Armitage.

Professor Albert T. Volwiler, of Wittenberg College, Springfield, O., has begun work on a biography of President Benjamin Harrison based in large part upon his public and private papers—the latter not hitherto used for historical or biographical purposes.

James E. Amos is the author of a small volume entitled *Theodore Roosevelt: Hero to his Valet* (New York, John Day).

The concluding volume (*War and Peace, 1917-1924*) of the *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, edited by Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd, has come from the press (Harper). The preceding parts, *College and State* and *The New Democracy*, originally published in two volumes each, have now been consolidated into one volume each, so that the whole work is now published in three volumes.

Houghton Mifflin Company has published *The Services of Supply: a Memoir of the Great War*, by Gen. Johnson Hagood.

An illustrated record of the work of the United States Shipping Board during the war, by its chairman, Edward N. Hurley, is published by Lippincott under the title *The Bridge to France*.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Portland by the Sea: an Historical Treatise, by Augustus F. Moulton, has been brought out in Augusta, Me., by the Katahdin Publishing Company.

In the December-January serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society Mr. Winslow Warren presents a survey of Massa-

chusetts Oratory, and Professor Hart, under the title "Washington to Order", deals appropriately with some of the less scrupulous of the sensational books about Washington which we seem fated to have in these years approaching 1932.

The Business Historical Society of Boston is now established in the Baker Library of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Its library includes more than 50,000 bound volumes, with many pamphlets in the field to which it is devoted. No. 7 of its *Bulletin* reprints from *An Apology for the Business of Pawn-Broking* (pamphlet, 1744), an estimated budget for a middle-class family of that period.

The April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains a biographical account of Timothy Pickering, by William D. Chapple, a continuation of the list of Prisoners of War from Massachusetts, 1812-1815, and other continued articles.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* has in the April number a body of Abstracts of the Early Probate Records of New Haven, 1647-1687, contributed by Mrs. Winfred S. Alcorn.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association has in the April number a paper by Professor Evarts B. Greene on New York and the Old Empire, one by William L. Calver on Discoveries made in British Camps of the American Revolution, one by Virginia D. Harrington on New York and the Embargo of 1807, and a continuation of the Garrison Orders and Proceedings of Fort Niagara.

The New York Public Library has issued *The New York Tercentenary: an Exhibition of the History of New Netherland, 1524-1674*, by Victor H. Paltsits.

Mrs. H. Croswell Tuttle has prepared a *History of St. Luke's Church in the City of New York* (New York, the author, 10 Hamilton Terrace).

An American Schoolmistress: the Life of Eliza B. Masters, 1845-1921, by Marion B. Shelton, is the biography of the founder of a school at Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.; it has an introduction by Dr. Henry Van Dyke (New York, Putnam).

The *Report* of the Buffalo Historical Society for January, 1927, presents, as is usual in this society's annual reports, a detailed account, day by day, occupying 100 pages, of notable happenings in the city of Buffalo in 1926. The society has had to close its building for the summer, during the construction of two wings, which will add considerably to its space.

In the April number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society Mr. E. Alfred Jones brings to a conclusion his papers on the Loyalists of New Jersey in the Revolution, and Hon. Cornelius Doremus discourses upon the Importance of Historical Societies.

The spring number of the *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association has two papers of much interest: one, by Francis R. Taylor, reviewing with insight and fairness the case of *Shotwell v. Decow and Hendrickson*, a *cause célèbre* of the Orthodox-Hicksite controversy, decided in 1833, and one on the Friends' Almhouse in Philadelphia, by Davis R. Forsythe.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* has in the April number an article by Howard E. Gillingham on Indian and Military Medals from Colonial Times to Date, one by James B. Ranck on the Attitude of James Buchanan towards Slavery, and a continuation of Frances Baxter's account of Rafting on the Alleghany and Ohio, 1844.

C. Hale Sipe of Butler, Penn., is the author and publisher of a volume entitled *The Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania: or a Story of the Part played by the American Indian in the History of Pennsylvania*.

The Allegheny County Committee of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America has brought out a collection of *Letters of General John Forbes relating to the Expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758*, compiled by Irene Stewart. The letters here assembled, which are only those found in accessible printed sources, begin in March, 1758, when Forbes was still in New York, and end at the close of November, a few days after he had taken possession of Fort Duquesne. They are principally to William Pitt, Governor Denny of Pennsylvania, and Governor Sharpe of Maryland, but there are several letters to or from other people, such as Col. Henry Bouquet, Col. James Burd, Major James Grant, and George Washington.

The April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains an article, by Mrs. Elvert M. Davis, on Fort Fayette, one by John Geise on Household Technology of the Western Frontier, a continuation of J. H. Bausman's paper on the Romance of Local History, and also of J. L. Bowman's Historical Notes of Southwestern Pennsylvania.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an article by James E. Hancock on the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay Section, an account, by J. Appleton Wilson, of the Restoration of the Senate Chamber at Annapolis, and some Colonial Records of Ann Arundel, contributed by Louis D. Scisco.

The Virginia State Library has in press vol. II. of *The Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* and vol. II. of *The Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia*. The Library has nearly completed the work of photostating all the known pre-Revolutionary vestry records in local repositories and is engaged in photostating the records of Virginia Friends now in possession of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting. The Library continues to receive occasionally bodies of non-current records from the counties.

The April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains a penetrating study, by Brig.-Gen. Eben Swift, of the Military Education of Robert E. Lee; a biographical account, by Esther C. M. Steele, of Chapman Johnson (1779-1849), prominent as an attorney in Staunton, later in Richmond, member of the constitutional convention of 1829-1830, etc.; and some documents respecting the colony west of the Blue Ridge proposed by Jacob Stauber in 1731, contributed by Ann V. Strickler Milbourne.

The contents of the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* include the first installment of a paper on the Procedure of the Virginia House of Burgesses, by S. M. Pargellis; the second installment of letters of Edward Coles (letters to Jefferson, Nicholas Biddle, Albert Gallatin, James Gallatin, Joel R. Poinsett, Henry Clay, and others); personal and land-tax lists of King William County; losses of York County citizens in the British invasion, 1781; documents of Sir Francis Wyatt (second installment), etc.

In the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Mr. C. A. Hoppin returns to the subject of Washington's birthplace, treating with some particularity the origin of Wakefield and the probable type and character of the building. Among the other contents of this number of the *Quarterly* are a paper on the state regiments of the American Revolution, from a manuscript found in the Virginia State Library; some letters to General Weedon (April, 1781); a letter from Richard Henry Lee (Sept. 21, 1781) to Capt. Daniel Morgan, respecting the siege of York Town; some letters of Henry Bedinger (1826) respecting James Rumsey's steamboat experiments; and a list of Capt. David Beattie's company at King's Mountain.

Claude L. Yowell has written *A History of Madison County, Virginia*, which has been published in Strasburg (Shenandoah Publishing House).

In the April number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., has an article on the Preservation of South Carolina History; Mr. A. R. Newsome relates the history of Udney Maria Blakeley (daughter of Capt. Johnston Blakeley, commander of the sloop of war *Wasp*, which defeated the *Reindeer* and the *Avon* in 1814) and of the action of North Carolina in her behalf; Mr. A. Curtis Wilgus contributes Some Notes on Spanish-American Patriot Activity along the Atlantic Seaboard, 1816-1822; and Professor Percy S. Flippin contributes some Herschel V. Johnson Correspondence. The correspondence here printed is of the years 1849-1850 and includes letters to Calhoun (six), R. A. L. Atkinson (two), H. S. Foote, and others.

The April number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains some correspondence (1766-1770) of Charles Garth, agent of the colony of South Carolina in England, concerning the statue of Pitt erected in Charleston. The correspondence is edited by Mr.

Joseph W. Barnwell. There is also, besides continuations, a sketch of Gen. William Henderson (1748-1821), by B. F. Taylor.

In the March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* Professor E. M. Coulter has an article on Mary Musgrove, "Queen of the Creeks", Miss Meta Barker one entitled Two Georgia Whigs in 1860 (the Rev. Lovick Pierce and his son, Bishop George F. Pierce), and Mrs. Carrie P. Wilson one entitled Candle Lights on Old Liberty County.

The contents of the April number of the Florida Historical Society *Quarterly* include part I. of a paper by Professor J. O. Knauss on St. Joseph, an Episode of the Economic and Political History of Florida (an account of the rise and decline of an "upstart" town); an article by Edgar L. Pennington concerning Rev. James Seymour, missionary in Florida of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and one by Ruthjeanne Bellamy on the Personality of Pedro Menéndez.

The Department of Archives and History of the state of Alabama is making a special effort to collect letters and other material pertaining to the life of Major John Pelham of the Confederate army, one of five Alabamians chosen by a state commission to be represented in the Stone Mountain monumental group. It is understood that Rev. Philip Mercer of St. Cloud, Minn., is engaged in preparing a life of Major Pelham.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for April, 1926, published in March, 1927, devotes some space to the history of Lafayette's visit to New Orleans in 1825, and reprints at full length the report of the joint committee, of the two houses of the legislature, which in 1815 was appointed to investigate the military measures applied by Jackson to that assembly. There is also a paper, by the editor, Mr. Henry P. Dart, on Bienville's claims against the Company of the Indies for back salary, 1737. The records of the Superior Council of Louisiana (1737) and the Spanish judicial records (1773) are continued. The number for July, 1926, prints, both in the original French and in an English translation by Mrs. H. H. Cruzat, some documents respecting the attempted escape of English prisoners from the jail in New Orleans in 1744. These prisoners (John Hayward, or Howard, and his son Josiah) were members of that party whose expedition from Southwest Virginia in 1742 Mr. Fairfax Harrison described in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* of April, 1922. This number of the *Quarterly* includes also some Marriage Contracts of the Spanish Period in Louisiana, translated; Regulations to be Observed by the Syndics and Alcaldes of the Jurisdiction of Baton Rouge, promulgated in 1804 by Governor Vicente Folch; the Inventory of the Estate of Sieur Jean Baptiste Prevost, New Orleans, 1769, translated, and with notes by Mr. H. P. Dart; and an article on Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836, by James E. Winston.

WESTERN STATES

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its twentieth meeting at New Orleans March 31, April 1-2. Papers were read on topics relating to early Southern history and commerce (Routine on a Louisiana Sugar Plantation under the Slavery Regime, Grain Trade in New Orleans, 1804-1814, etc.), the South during the Civil War (Economic Incidence of the Civil War, etc.), Latin-American history (Ecclesiastical Policy of the Emperor Maximilian, Constitutional Development of Chile, etc.), and the business of teaching history. The address of the president of the association, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, was on the Mississippi Valley in 1816 as seen in an Englishman's Diary.

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains papers by William T. Utter on Judicial Review in Early Ohio, by Professor James C. Malin of the University of Kansas on Roosevelt and the Elections of 1884 and 1888, and by Abraham P. Nasatir of the University of Iowa on Jacques D'Église on the Upper Missouri, 1791-1795.

The general assembly of Indiana, at its recent session, provided for the creation of an Indiana George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission of fifteen members and for a tax levy, estimated to produce in two years about \$400,000, for the purchase of land in Vincennes for a George Rogers Clark park and memorial structure.

A History of Crawford County, Indiana, has been recently published by H. H. Pleasant of Central Normal College at Danville, former superintendent of schools in Crawford County.

The contents of the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* include an installment of a history of Methodism in Southeastern Indiana, by Rev. Allen Wiley, originally published in a periodical in 1848; *Memoirs of the Bruce Family*, written by William Bruce in 1851; and an account, by Wilbur L. Stonex, of the Salem Bank of Goshen, Ind.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1926 contains, besides the official proceedings of the society, the following historical papers: the Shifting Cowtowns of Kansas, by Louis Pelzer; the Relations of the Primitive Cultures of the Mississippi and the Rio Grande, by John B. MacHarg; Mormon Life and Doctrines in Illinois and Utah, 1840-1860, by Willis G. Swartz; Illinois Architecture, by Thomas E. O'Donnell; Sarah Bush Lincoln, the Stepmother of Abraham Lincoln, by Louis A. Warren; A Rare Judicial Service: Charles S. Zane, by John M. Zane; Abraham Lincoln and the Traditions of American Civil Liberty, by Professor Arthur C. Cole; Abraham Lincoln and New Salem, by Rev. William E. Barton; and the Political Career of William R. Morrison, by Franklin D. Scott.

Following are among the articles in the April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*: the Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History, by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan; the First Settlement on the Site

of St. Louis, by the same author; Homeseekers in the Wilderness, by Rev. Paul J. Foik; Marquette's Burial Site Located, by Rev. Patrick Lomasney; and a second installment of Dr. Joseph J. Thompson's study, Illinois: the Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America. There are also some notes, by Frank Sheridan, on the Influence of the Irish People in the Formation of the United States.

The April number of the Filson Club's *History Quarterly* contains an article on John Findley: the First Pathfinder of Kentucky, by Lucien Beckner; one on the Old Library of Transylvania College, by Mrs. Elizabeth Norton; and one on the Salt-Making Industry of Clay County, Ky., by John F. Smith.

The Kentucky Geological Survey has issued *The Geography of the Kentucky Knobs: a Study of the Influence of Geology and Physiography upon the Industry, Commerce, and Life of the People*, by Wilbur G. Burroughs.

Among the articles in the April number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: a Story of Midland, by Lawrence H. Conrad—the story of a lumbering town that was dying and was restored to vigorous life by the chemical industry; the Personal Experiences of a Mining Engineer, by J. E. Jopling; Michigan Press Influence on Party Formation, by William Stocking; Early Days of the Calhoun County Bar, by William H. Porter; some Reminiscences of Samuel Dickie (1851–1925), by Mrs. Ada Dickie-Hamblen; a Michigan Family of Mapmakers, by William L. Jenks; and Tappan the Man and Teacher, by Charles M. Perry.

The Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library expects to publish this summer vol. I. of the *Burton Historical Records*, being the first volume of the *John Askin Papers, 1747–1794*, papers of John Askin, merchant at Mackinac and Detroit from 1764 until his death in 1815. In the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* of May Dr. M. M. Quaife relates, under the title Two Captives of Old Detroit, the story of James and Mary Moore, brother and sister.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has just published the second volume of its "Domesday Book", prepared by Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the society, and entitled, *Four Wisconsin Counties, Prairie and Forest*.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* reprints in the March number (from the *Transactions* of the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society) an address delivered by Abraham Lincoln at the Wisconsin State Fair, Milwaukee, Sept. 30, 1859. This issue contains also an account of the Fairchild Papers, by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg; a sketch, by Mary J. Atwood, of J. Stephens Tripp (1828–1915), a benefactor of the State University; an account, by Katherine Greening, of the Early Life of John F. Appleby, inventor of the harvester knot; the concluding installment of the Autobiography of Robert Fargo; and a discussion by the editor of Church Records in Migration Studies.

The state appropriation for the Minnesota Historical Society has been set for the next two years at \$47,400 per annum. The society has received three important groups of missionary papers—transcripts from the archives of the American Board for Foreign Missions, Boston; transcripts from the ecclesiastical archives at Quebec; Catholic parish registers, St. Paul. The war records division has nearly finished the first volume (of two) of its history of Minnesota in the World War.

Articles in the March number of *Minnesota History* are: Washington and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy, by President Henry M. Wriston, and New Light on Old St. Peter's and Early St. Paul, by M. M. Hoffman. In the section devoted to Minnesota as Seen by Travellers is the journal of a dragoon on the march to Pembina in 1849, reprinted from the *Minnesota Pioneer* of Mar. 6, 1850, and edited by Willoughby M. Babcock. The issue for June has a paper by I. H. Hart on the Old Savanna Portage, between East Savanna and West Savanna rivers, near where the waters of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence make their closest approach; another, on the English Colony at Fairmont in the Seventies, by A. R. Moro of London, a member of the colony 1876-1883; and an account, from diaries of Charles Francis Adams, sr., and Charles Francis Adams, jr., of their travels in Minnesota when campaigning with Seward in 1860.

The State Historical Society of Iowa will shortly bring out, in the *Iowa Biographical Series*, a biography of Leonard F. Parker, long a professor of history in the State University of Iowa and also in Grinnell College. Bruce E. Mahan, associate editor of the society, has begun the compilation of a history of the Iowa State Council of National Defense, which will be included among the *Iowa Chronicles of the World War*. The society has recently acquired a copy of the Civil War diary of John Gay, a soldier-in the 25th Iowa Infantry.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains an account of the twentieth session of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa, held in Des Moines in February, including the address of President A. B. Funk and various addresses on the lives and characters of Warren Garst, Jonathan P. Dolliver, Albert B. Cummins, and Lafayette Young. There is also a long letter from Gen. Joseph Street, sub-Indian agent, to Rev. David Lowry, missionary to the Winnebagoes, written from Rock Island in 1836.

The April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a history of Iowa Boundaries, by Erik M. Eriksson; an account, by Hubert H. Hoeltje, of Ralph Waldo Emerson's lecture tours in Iowa; and an article by William J. Berry on the Influence of Natural Environment in North-Central Iowa.

The March number of the *Palimpsest* has a translation, by Miss Elizabeth Conrad, of Gorardin's account (in *Le Tour du Monde*) of his trip in

1840 to the Bad Lands; in the April number Marie E. Myer describes Rafting on the Mississippi and O. E. Garretson gives an account of the battle of Athens, Mo.; and in the May number Mrs. Laurence C. Jones relates the story of a negro family removed by their owner from Kentucky to Iowa and manumitted.

The *Missouri Historical Review* has in the April number a paper on the Beginnings of Methodism in Missouri, 1790-1824, by Lawrence E. Murphy; a sketch, by Fred Fitzgerald, of Daniel Dunkin, fifth governor of Missouri; an account, by W. D. Vandiver, of the careers of Capt. John H. McNeill, commander of McNeill's Rangers, and his son, Jesse, who succeeded to the command on the death of his father; a paper by Lucinda de L. Templin entitled Two Illustrious Pioneers in the Education of Women in Missouri: Major George C. Sibley and Mary Easton Sibley (some extracts from a diary of Major Sibley are printed in the June number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*); the second installment of Raymond D. Thomas's Study in Missouri Politics, 1840-1870; and the second of W. J. McDonald's articles on the Missouri River and its Victims.

Articles in the April number of the *Southwest Historical Quarterly* are: the Committee of the Texas Declaration of Independence (first installment), by James K. Greer; a Reconnaissance of Texas in 1846, the diary of a journey from Louisiana and return, supposed to be by A. W. Moore; the Journal of Capt. Isaac L. Baker (from Nashville to Mobile), July and August, 1814, contributed by C. F. Arrowood; and a second installment of Descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians, translated and edited by Mrs. Hatcher.

The January-March issue of the *Nebraska History Magazine* is designated "Missouri River Number", the contents being for the most part extracts from printed books, newspapers, etc., pertaining to the discovery, region and resources, navigation, and future of the river.

Among the contents of the March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* are an account, by Muriel H. Wright, of the settlement known as Old Boggy Depot; an address delivered by Hon. Thomas H. Doyle before the House Committee on Territories in 1904 on the question of statehood for Oklahoma; and an article by Grant Foreman on Sources of Oklahoma History. The June number contains further proceedings of the Committee on Territories, with arguments of Mr. Doyle; an article on the Early Telephone History of Oklahoma, by John M. Noble; Reminiscences of Life among the Indians, by Rev. J. J. Methvin; Reminiscences of the Cherokee People, by Wiley Britton; and some extracts from the diary of Maj. George C. Sibley, of whom there is a sketch in the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review*.

The Saukie Indians and their Great Chiefs Black Hawk and Keokuk, by Amer M. Stocking, has been brought out in Rock Island by the Vaile Company.

The March number of the *Colorado Magazine* includes an article by LeRoy R. Hafen on the Fort Pueblo Massacre and the Punitive Expedition against the Utes, and a sketch of Cabin Life in Colorado, by Mrs. H. A. W. Tabor, from a manuscript obtained by H. H. Bancroft in 1884. The May number has an article by Mr. Hafen on Mexican Land Grants in Colorado, one by D. W. Working on Some Forgotten Pioneer Newspapers, and one by Roger W. Toll, superintendent of the Rocky Mountain National Park, on Mining and Mountain Climbing in Colorado, 1860-1862.

The legislature of New Mexico, by a recent enactment, constituted the Historical Society of New Mexico the official custodian of any public archives that might be transferred to it and authorized the transfer to it of any non-current records, documents, newspaper files, etc., both state and local.

The April number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains an article on Spanish Arms and Armor, by the late F. S. Curtis, jr.; the first installment of a paper on Military Escorts on the Santa Fé Trail, by Fred S. Perrine; the concluding installment of G. P. Hammond's Founding of New Mexico; and the biennial report of the president of the Historical Society of New Mexico, Mr. P. A. F. Walter, to the governor.

The following articles appear in the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*: Russian Plans for American Dominion, by Clarence L. Andrews; Oregon Immigrants of 1844, by Fred Lockley; Looking at Oregon Territory through Advertisements, by Edith Dobie; and White Salmon and the Old Blockhouse, by D. A. Brown. This number contains also Mrs. Lucy A. Ide's diary of a journey from Mondovi, Wis., to Dayton, Washington Territory, in 1878, edited by J. Orin Oliphant, and some letters of Washington Irving to his brothers Pierre and Peter concerning his preparation of *Astoria*. The letters are contributed, with an introduction, by J. Neilson Barry.

The *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (the name now used instead of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*) has in the March number an address, Nova Albion and New England, delivered by Professor Samuel E. Morison at the dedication of the Astoria Column in July, 1926; an article on England and the Oregon Treaty of 1846, by Henry Commager; one on the Currency Question in Oregon during the Civil War Period, by Joseph Ellison; and one on the Indians of Oregon: Geographic Distribution of Linguistic Families, by J. Neilson Barry.

The Oregon Constitution and Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1857 (pp. 543), edited by Charles H. Carey, is printed under the direction of the Oregon Historical Society. In an introduction of 56 pages Mr. Carey traces the agitation for statehood, and relates succinctly the history of the convention and of the subsequent steps leading to the admission of Oregon as a state. Besides the proceedings of the convention and the text of the constitution, the volume

contains the texts of the several amendments from 1902 to 1926, a list of amendments voted upon during the same period, a chapter on the sources of the Oregon constitution, and commemorative addresses delivered in former times by Hon. John R. McBride and Hon. George H. Williams.

The firm of McBride has brought out (in the *Argonaut Series*) *The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 1845-1860*, an account of pioneering in Oregon. Arthur D. H. Smith writes an introduction to the volume. Its unhistorical character is shown by a reviewer in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for May.

The University of California Press has published Francisco Palou's *Historical Memoirs of New California*, in four volumes.

Mr. George Wharton James has brought out a revised edition of his work *In and Out of the Old Missions of California* (Little, Brown).

The *Annual Publications*, vol. XIII., part II. (1925), of the Historical Society of Southern California contains a paper by Grace E. Tower on Sentiment in California for American Government and Admission into the Union and one by George W. Beattie on the Development of Travel between Southern Arizona and Los Angeles as it related to the San Bernardino Valley.

California and the Nation, 1850-1869: a Study of the Relations of a Frontier Community with the Federal Government, by Joseph Ellison, is vol. XVI. of the University of California *Publications in History*.

CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* for March opens with a brief paper by Professor Duncan McArthur of Queens University on Some Problems of Canadian Historical Scholarship. This is followed by one on Canada and Vermont: a Study in Historical Geography, by Professor W. A. Mackintosh of the same university, one on American Economic Penetration of Canada by H. L. Keenleyside of the University of British Columbia, and a presentation, by Professor Paul Knaplund of Wisconsin, of the correspondence of 1841 between Peel, Charles Buller, and Stanley relating to the choice of Sir Charles Bagot as governor-general of Canada, and the offer of the post of secretary to Henry Lytton Bulwer, afterward envoy to the United States.

In *Canada, the Great River, the Lands, and the Men* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1927) Marion I. Newbigin surveys with much detail the French period of Canadian history, and briefly summarizes the history from that date to the present. All of the foci of national life lie, according to the author, in the strip of level, fertile land which lies between the shores of the nearer of the Great Lakes and Quebec.

The first of the Recollet apostles in Canada is commemorated by Father Hugolin in *Le Père Joseph Denis, 1657-1736* (Quebec, 2 vols., pp. 106, 210).

The second report of the Commission des Monuments Historiques of the Province of Quebec is devoted to *Les Vieilles Églises de la Province de Québec, 1647-1800* (Quebec, L. A. Proulx, pp. viii, 324, with 178 photographs) and gives the history of 38 old churches.

A series of "Imperial Studies" from the University of London, prepared under the general editorship of Professor A. P. Newton, is inaugurated by the issue of *Public Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836* (Longmans), by Miss Aileen Dunham, instructor in history in the College of Wooster, Ohio.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

A *Syllabus of Hispanic-American History*, by A. Curtis Wilgus, has been published by the McKinley Publishing Company, Philadelphia, in time to be used in the work of the summer sessions in the various colleges and universities.

The Duke University Press has brought out *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain*, by Arthur S. Aiton.

No. 22 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*, an exceptionally large and important number (pp. xxix, 225) is entirely devoted to the treaty of peace of December 28, 1836, by which Spain finally recognized the independence of Mexico. The correspondence of the Mexican plenipotentiary, Don Miguel Santa Maria, with his government is presented, detailing the course of the negotiation, with accompanying documents.

The Hispanic Society of America has devoted one of its little volumes to *The Darien Venture*, by Mr. Frank Cundall, secretary and librarian of the Institute of Jamaica, whose narrative rests on a very insufficient body of sources, but embraces several interesting letters from the Archive of the Indies. A more substantial publication of the same society is *The Intellectual Background of the Revolution in South America, 1810-1824*, by Professor Bernard Moses, who treats with learning and insight the mental attitude of the colonists in Spanish South America, the influx of foreign ideas, and the working out of the intellectual forces of the time toward principles and institutions of liberty.

Following the example of several of the Spanish-American republics, the government of Panama in September, 1923, commissioned Don Juan Antonio Susto to catalogue and copy documents in the Archive of the Indies relating to the history of the region now occupied by that republic. After three years of diligent labor at Seville, the agent presents his report, *Panamá en el Archivo General de Indias* (Panama, Imprenta Nacional, 1927, pp. 48), reporting hundreds of *legajos* catalogued and thousands of documents copied. He also presents, reprinted from the *Revista de Archivos*, a catalogue of the 382 *legajos* in section V., "Audiencias", of that archive, which relate to Panama and the isthmus, *Catálogo de la Audiencia de Panamá* (Madrid, *Revista de Archivos*, pp. 53).

M. J. Gazin, archivist of the colony of Martinique, has prepared, and the Conseil Général of the island has caused to be printed, an elaborate general bibliography of the island, which students of West Indian history will find useful, *Éléments de Bibliographie Générale Methodique et Historique de la Martinique* (Fort de France, imp. Antillaise, pp. 348).

The history of an interesting commercial enterprise in the old Spanish colonial empire is related in Ramón de Basterra, *Los Navíos de la Ilustración, Real Compañía Guipuzcoana de Carácas y su Influencia en los Destinos de América* (Carácas, 1925, pp. 307).

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* for May, besides two articles noted on a later page, contains an interesting account of the archives of Francisco de Miranda, lately acquired from the present Lord Bathurst by the government of Venezuela.

The Duke University Press has published *Chile and its Relations with the United States*, by Henry C. Evans, jr.

A comprehensive history of the Brazilian Empire, to embrace five or six volumes, is being prepared by Tobias Monteiro under the title *Historia do Imperio*. Vol. I. has appeared, *A Elaboração da Independência* (Rio de Janeiro, Briguier, 1927, pp. viii, 870).

Los Primeros Alemanes en el Río de la Plata (Buenos Aires, 1926, pp. 233), by Dr. Robert Lehmann-Nitsche of La Plata, is chiefly devoted to the troubled career of Hans Brunberger of Mainz.

The Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, of Buenos Aires, expects before long to publish vol. XIX. of its *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*, containing the annual letters for 1609-1614 of the Jesuit province of Paraguay, Chile, and Tucuman, with an introduction by Father Carlos Leonhardt, S.J.

The Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana, of Buenos Aires, has published a facsimile reprint of the *Actas Secretas del Congreso General Constituyente de las Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata, 1816-1819* (pp. xiv, 306).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. T. Waterman, *The Architecture of the American Indians* (*American Anthropologist*, April-June); Lieut.-Comm. R. T. Gould, R. N., *The Landfall of Columbus: an Old Problem Re-stated* (*Geographic Journal*, May); Frederick Houghton, *The Migrations of the Seneca Nation* (*American Anthropologist*, January-March); J. Paine, *James Wolfe* (*Army Quarterly*, April); *John Adams as he Lived: Unpublished Letters to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, Professor of Physic at Harvard College*, I., II. (*Atlantic Monthly*, May, June); R. S. Harvey, *Some Legal and Historical Phases of the American Revolution* (*Georgetown Law Journal*, March); W. S. Middleton, *John Morgan, Father of Medical Education in North America* (*Annals of Medical History*, March); K. S. Latourette, *Voyages of American Ships to China*,

1784-1844 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, April); Marguerite M. McKee, *Service of Supply in the War of 1812*, II. (Quartermaster Review, March-April); Capt. W. F. Ritter, Q. M. C., *Rail Transportation: an Historical Military Study* (*ibid.*); J. D. Hill, *Some Economic Aspects of Slavery, 1850-1860* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Comm. R. C. Parker, U. S. N., *A Personal Narrative of the Koszta Affair* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); R. W. Neeser, *Historic Ships of the Navy: [Hartford]* (*ibid.*, May); Rear-Adm. J. C. Watson, U. S. N., *Farragut and Mobile Bay: Personal Reminiscences* (*ibid.*); Brig.-Gen. E. J. McClernand, *With the Indian and the Buffalo in Montana*, concl. (Cavalry Journal, April); George Robitaille, *Mgr. Laval et ses Historiens*, II. (Canada Français, April); Douglas Hemmeon, *The Canadian Exiles of 1838* (Dalhousie Review, April); W. P. M. Kennedy, *The Political Development of Canada, 1867-1927* (Edinburgh Review, April); *id.*, *Sixty Years of Canadian Progress, 1867-1927* (Quarterly Review, April); S. G. Morley, *New Light on the Discovery of Yucatan and the Foundation of the New Maya Empire* (American Journal of Archaeology, January); C. H. Haring, *The Genesis of Royal Government in the Spanish Indies* (Hispanic American Historical Review, May); J. Torre Revello, *Escritos hallados en Poder del Espía Inglés Roberto Hodgson, 1783* (Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, no. 29); L. F. Hill, *Confederate Exiles to Brazil* (Hispanic American Historical Review, May); G. Friederici, *Die Städtegründung im Kolonialen Spanisch-Amerika* (Iberica, IV. 4).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. Carleton J. H. Hayes is a professor of history in Columbia University.

Mr. Crane Brinton is an instructor in history in Harvard University.

Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox is a professor of history in Columbia University.

Dr. Charles S. Sydnor is a professor of history in the University of Mississippi.

Dr. George L. Burr is professor of medieval history, emeritus, in Cornell University

Dr. Constantine E. McGuire is one of the directors of the Institute of Economics, Washington, particularly concerned with fiscal history.

Dr. Carl F. Brand is an assistant professor of history in Stanford University.

Dr. Julius W. Pratt is professor of American history in the University of Buffalo.

Mr. Paul S. Smith is professor of history in Whittier College, California.

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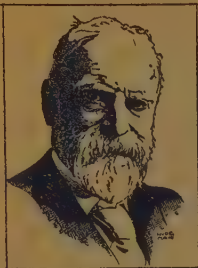
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